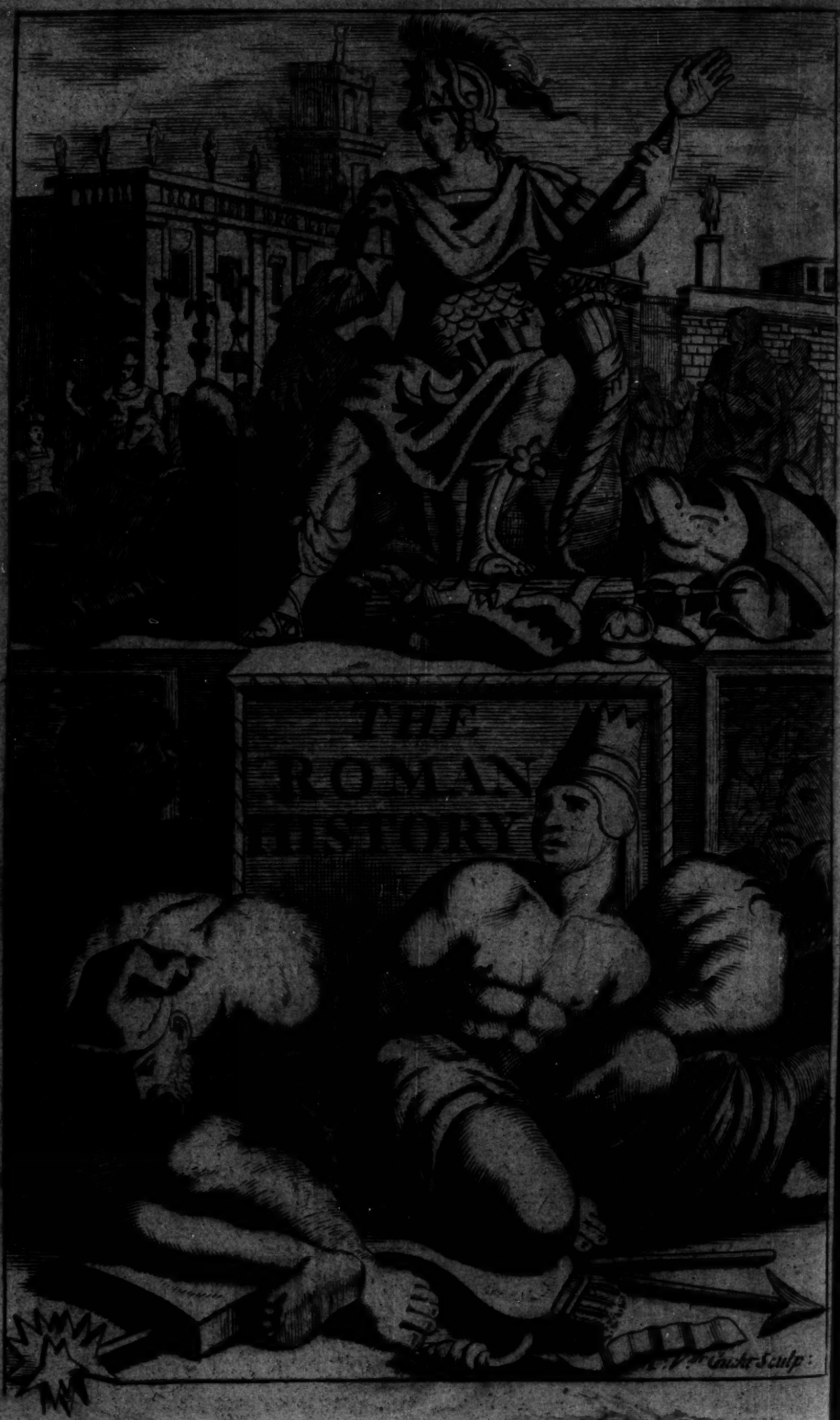
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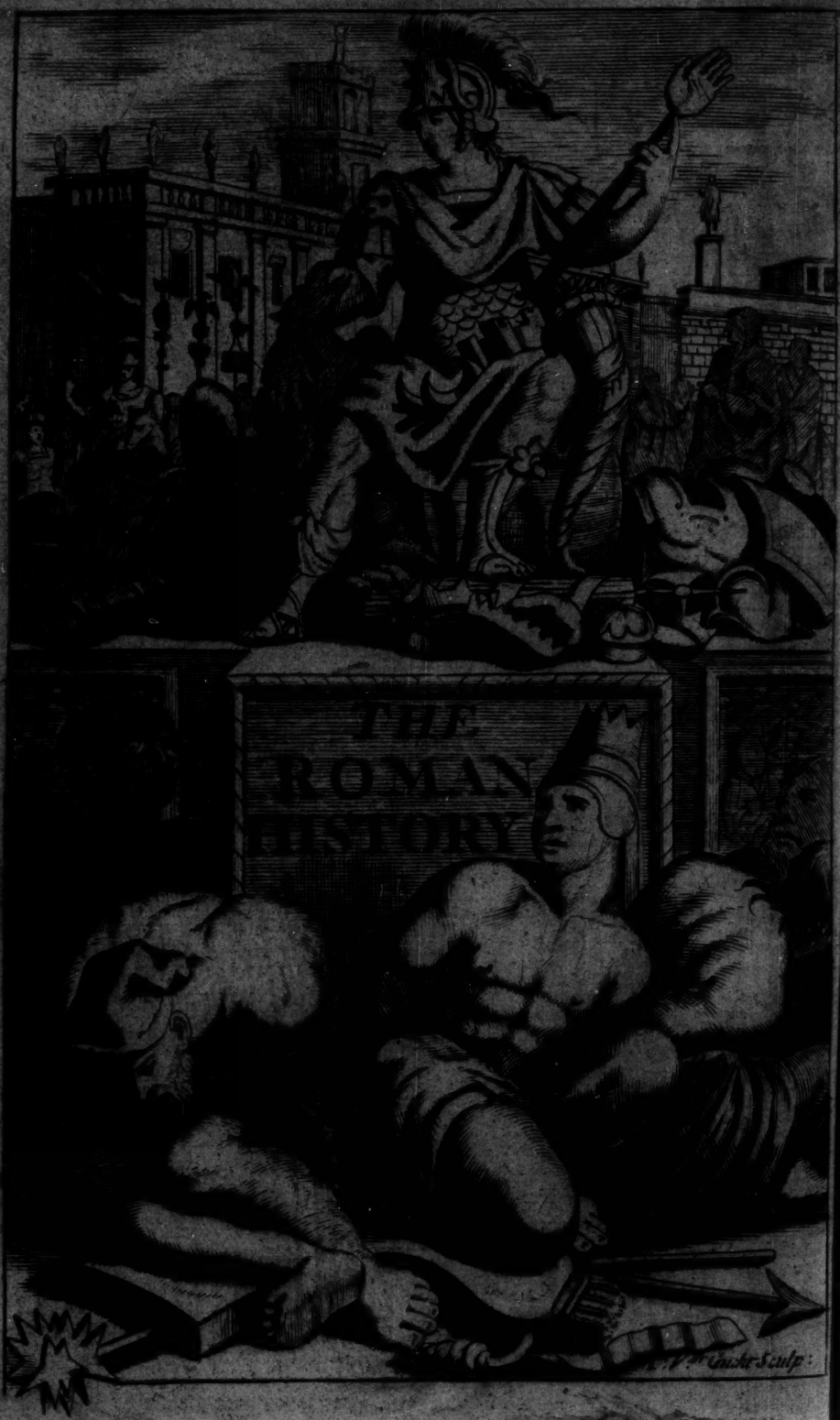
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# ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM THE

## *Settlement of the Empire*

BY

## *AUGUSTUS CÆSAR,*

To the Removal of the Imperial Seat by

## *Conſtantine* the Great.

*Containing the Space of 355 YEARS.*

VOL. II.

For the Uſe of his Highneſs the

DUKE of GLOCESTER.

*The* Sixth Edition, *Corrected.*

By LAURENCE ECHARD, A.M. Arch-Deacon of *Lincoln*, and Chaplain to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of that Dioceſe.

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W. Musgrave.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO

# His Highneſs

THE

## Moſt Illuſtrious Prince

# WILLIAM,

## Duke of GLOCESTER.

*SIR,*

THE great Encouragement Your Highneſs gave to the Firſt Part of my *Roman Hiſtory*, by reading it with Delight and Improvement, makes me preſume, that this will not be unacceptable: Eſpecially ſince it contains ſuch Variety of extraordinary Examples,

proper for the Inſtruction of Princes; ſuch Miracles of Virtue, as well as Prodigies of Vice; and ſuch amazing Conſequences of both, as are ſcarcely to be found in any other Hiſtory. Of all thoſe Emperors that I preſent to Your Highneſs, the greater Part muſt be acknowledg'd to have been notoriouſly culpable, both in their Governments and their Morals; and of thoſe Forty which compoſe the Body of this Hiſtory, Twenty Seven were brought to unnatural Death. Yet theſe will afford Matter of great Caution and Inſtruction to young Princes; their Misfortunes being almoſt all owing to their own Miſmanagements; their devoting themſelves to the dazling Charms of Rule and Empire; and their giving a full Looſe to their exorbitant Paſſions, and inſatiable Appetites. By theſe Examples Your Highneſs may learn the deplorable and fatal Miſchiefs of a boundleſs Tyranny; what Flames it raiſes on Earth, and

and what Puniſhments it draws down from Heaven. By theſe may be diſcovered various Steps of the divine Providence purſuing the Tyrants with inevitable Vengeance, and chaſtiſing them and their Progeny with the extreameſt Miſeries and Calamities: And tho' they ſometimes were for a while triumphant in their enormous Proceedings, yet all their Power and Authority could not preſerve them from the Hatred of their Subjects, or from the Treaſons of their greateſt Confidents, and moſt obliged Favourites; nor could all their numerous Forces ſecure them from violent and unnatural Deaths; which were often accompany'd with the moſt barbarous and ignominious Uſage; ſometimes with the Extirpation of their whole Race and Families, and ever with the utter Ruin of their Fame and Memory to all ſucceeding Generations.

On the contrary, Your Highneſs will find that the Reigns of the good Emperors and Governors, ſuch as *Auguſtus Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, *Trajan*, and the two *Antonines*, were conſtantly attended with the greateſt Proſperity and Felicity: Their Actions were Noble and Succeſsful; their Deaths Natural and Glorious; and their Memories ſo Dear and Precious to their Subjects, that they could not refrain from Idolizing and placing theſe Princes in a Rank above all other Mortals. And tho' when the Empire declined, and became almoſt incurably corrupted by ill Princes and Tyrants, Heaven permitted two or three of the good Emperors, namely, *Alexander*, *Gordian*, and *Probus*, to fall by the irreclaimable Inſolence of the Soldiers: Yet this is ſtill very obſervable, that tho' by reaſon of wicked Predeceſſors, and ſuch Accidents as rarely happen in the Word, theſe few good Princes were

were brought to untimely Ends; yet we find not one of the bad Emperors that eſcap'd; unleſs we may except *Severus*, whoſe Noble Service to the State and Government, exempts him, in a great Meaſure, from that Name and Rank.

Theſe are Conſiderations of the higheſt Importance to the Happineſs of a Prince and his Subjects; and therefore, I hope they may vindicate my Preſumption in offering this Book to Your Highneſs's Patronage; which, notwithſtanding I would not have attempted, without particular Leave and Incouragement. Your Highneſs has made a Progreſs far above Yonr Age, in Literature and Humanity; and thoſe extraordinary Improvements have rais'd the Nations Hopes, and given it a mighty Expectation and Satisfaction. And that Your Highneſs's Proceeding may continually anſwer theſe promiſing

Begin-

Beginnings, is undoubtedly the Prayers of all good Men, and can be no leſs of him, who is, with all poſſible Reſpect,

*Your Highneſs's*

*moſt humble,*

*moſt obedient, and*

*devoted Servant,*

Laurence Echard.

THE

# THE PREFACE

ON the Writing of this ſecond Volume, tho' I had all the Way ſome Regard to that young Prince to whom it is Dedicated; yet I took ſuch particular Care, that it might be of the ſame general Uſe with the firſt Part; and have endeavour'd, as much as poſſible, to make it of a Piece with that. As the firſt was a Series of 727 Years, to the compleat Eſtabliſhment of the Roman Empire; ſo this is a Series of 355 Years from thence, to the Removal of the Imperial Seat, which was a principal Cauſe of its Ruin; and carry'd down in the ſame Manner and Method, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the Subject and Materials. In this I have alſo interwoven ſome Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, ſuch as the ten General Perſecutions of the Church, and ſome other Matters, which are not Foreign, but make up a Material Part of the Roman Hiſtory.

The Authors I us'd for the compoſing of this Piece, were principally Dion-Caſſius, Joſephus, Euſebius, Herodian, and Zozimus, among the Greeks; and Tacitus, Suetonius, thoſe Authors call'd Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ Scriptores, and ſeveral Epitomizers, ſuch as Florus, Lætus, Victor, and Eutropius among the Latins. Out of theſe and ſome others, I have made as Regular a Story as I could; tho' I ſometimes met with great Difficulties, by reaſon of the Courſeneſs and Sterility of many Parts of my Materials, which together with ths Strangeneſs of the Subject, have often obliged me to deſcend from the Quality of an Hiſtorian, to that of a Biographer. The Reigns of ſome of the Emperors were ſo monſtrouſly Wicked,

*Wicked, and ſo extravagantly Inconſiſtent, that it was very hard to treat them either with Decency or Gravity: And for this* Seutonius *and the* Auguſtan Writers *have been juſtly blamed, for mixing too much Lewdneſs as well as Meanneſs in their Writings. I have likewiſe examin'd ſeveral Modern Authors of this Kind, and have made uſe of them, whenſoever I judg'd them for the Benefit of my Reader; and of theſe I am moſt oblig'd to* Pedro Mexia, *a* Spaniſh *Author, long ſince Tranſlated into our Tongue. But I have not had any Advatage from the* French *Hiſtorians, nor made any uſe of them, tho' I am inform'd, that ſome have writ very finely and ingeniouſly upon this Subject: And this was partly by reaſon of my Unskilfulneſs in there Language, and partly my being unacquainted with their Lax and diffuſive Way of writing Hiſtory.*

*As to the* Stile, *I have endeavour'd to make it plain and intelligible, and withal grave and nervous, free from mean and low Expreſſions, as well as too many Flouriſhes: And tho' I believe that it is generally more correct and pure, than the firſt Impreſſion of the other Parts, yet I dare not pronounce it Faultleſs. Nor had I Time to beſtow my utmoſt Pains upon it in all Places, eſpecially towards the latter End.*

*I will not detain the Reader any longer, but only entreat his Pardon for ſmall Errors and Faults, if he finds any; for the greateſt part of this Book was writ in an obſcure Place, where I labour'd under many Inconveniencies, both as to Books and Oportunities of Studying. However, I hope it will merit as favourable a Reception as the former Part.*

THE

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THE

# THE Roman Hiſtory.

## VOL. II.

## BOOK I.

*From the perfect Settlement of the Empire by* AUGUSTUS, *to the End of the Twelve* CÆSARS.

*Containing the Space of* 121 *YEARS.*

### CHAP. I.

*From the full Settlement of the* ROMAN *Empire, to the Death of* AUGUSTUS; *in whoſe Reign the State and Form of the Empire was in its greateſt Perfection.*

*Containing the Space of near* 41 *YEARS.*

THE Affairs of *Rome* were never in a more peaceable and flouriſhing Condition, than at the time when *Auguſtus Cæſar* took upon him the ſole Adminiſtration of the Goverument; whether it be conſider'd in relation to Foreign Wars or Domeſtick Troubles. U. C. 727.

Troubles. As the Temple of *Janus* was ſtill kept ſhut, ſo the Soldiers cheif Concern was the reaping the Fruits of their former Conqueſts, and as all private Pretenſions to Government were excluded by this New Settlement, ſo the ſecret Practices and ambitious Deſigns of particular Perſons, which of late Years, had miſerably harraſs'd and almoſt ruin'd the State, were now wholly cruſh'd and ſtifled. And to compleat the Happineſs of *Rome*, *Auguſtus* himſelf made it his principal Care and Employment to maintain this Peace, and to gain the Hearts and Affections of the People, who were now made his Subjects by Conſent, as before they had been by Conſtraint; without which he cou'd not with any Security have preſerv'd his Authority entire. This Love and Eſteem which he endeavour'd to gain, manifeſtly diſplay'd it ſelf ſhortly after his being nam'd *Auguſtus*, in the Senate's giving him the Title of *Father of this Country*, in theſe words; *The Senate, by the unanimous Conſent and Concurrence of the People of* Rome, *ſalutes You*, Cæſar Auguſtus, *with a Title of* Pater Patriæ, *wiſhing all manner of Proſperity to You and Your Family; and in ſo doing, they wiſh perpetual Felicity to the Commonwealth.* To which hearty Salutation the Emperor reply'd, with the utmoſt Marks of Satisfaction; *That now he was become Maſter of his greateſt Wiſhes; and what principally remain'd for him was, to implore the Aſſiſtance of the Immortal Gods to make him a true* Father *of his* Country, *and to continue him in their Love and Affections to the laſt Moment of his Life.* The Sincerity of this Anſwer was more fully confirm'd by Time; for in all his Publick Cares and Actions the general Good of his Country was manifeſtly his principal Aim. And this appear'd not only in his Diſcourſe, but in one of his Edicts, which runs thus: *Would to Heaven I might ſo firmly eſtabliſh the Common-Wealth upon its proper Baſis, and reap ſuch Fruits of my inceſ-*

*ſant*

*ſant Labour, as in after Ages I may be reputed the Founder of ſo Noble a Fabrick; and carry this Hope with me at my Death, That the Common-Wealth will perpetually flouriſh upon the Foundations which I have laid.*

His firſt Concern was to eſtabliſh the Religion of the State as he found it, and whatever Changes he made in other Publick Matters, he was ſtill careful to avoid making any in this; well conſidering how tender a Point that was, and how dangerous ſuch Alterations might prove in an unſettl'd Empire. In Matters of Civil Government and Common Right, he reform'd many ancient Laws, and enacted ſeveral New; yet he acted not wholly by his own Pleaſure, but propounded many Things to be debated in Publick, that if any diſapprov'd of 'em, they might be alter'd and corrected. He deſir'd all to declare their Opinions with the utmoſt Freedom and Openneſs, and after hearing and weighing their Reaſons, he wou'd act as he thought 'em moſt cogent; but he more particularly deſir'd to be adviſ'd by the Conſuls, or his Collegue. if he himſelf bore that Office; all which manner of Proceeding made him ſtill more highly eſteem'd and belov'd. Of the other Magiſtrates he made choice of one out of each ſort, and out of the Senate fifteen, which were elected by Suffrage, and were conſtituted for ſix Months to be his Councellors; that by this Means he might ſeem to communicate his Deſigns to the reſt. He brought many things of great Note before the whole Senate; but in Affairs of the higheſt Importance he often thought it moſt proper to conſult a few ſelect Perſons of the greateſt Wiſdom and Underſtanding. He ſometimes call'd theſe Perſons to decide Cauſes; tho' the Senate conſtantly heard ſome particular Matters, and likewiſe gave Anſwer to the Ambaſſadors of Kingdoms and other States as formerly. Tho' the *Comitia* or Aſſemblies of the People were ſometimes held, yet nothing

of Importance was there acted contrary to the Pleasure of the Emperor: He permitted the Tribunes to intercede for the People, but not to prefer or hinder any Bill; and without this particular Restraint he knew that the common Sort wou'd never suffer him to sit securely in his Throne. He partly nominated Magistrates himself, and left others to be created by the People; still taking care that no unworthy Persons advanc'd themselves by any indirect Practices. And this was the general course of *Augustus*'s Administration of the Government; no Prince in the World being more Judicious in the complying with his People, or more Skilful in the preserving his Authority.

His prudent Bearing with several Affronts, and his discreet Backwardness in punishing many Criminals, was very remarkable; being always the Effects of a most mature Judgment, and a profound Capacity. He sometimes freely pardon'd many great Persons, whom the Senate had condemn'd and that out of Policy as well as Clemency; judiciously conceiving, that the bare Questioning of Men of the highest Rank, wou'd produce as much Terror, tho' it argu'd not so much Rigour, as the Punishment of 'em. And when ever the Extremity of the Law was us'd, it was in Matters of the highest Importance and greatest Necessity; and that to settle a general Tranquility, and a more lasting Happiness. He was justly sensible, that he had still many Enemies, both upon the account of his former Contests, as well as his present Authority; therefore he the more readily embrac'd the Advice of his Friend *Mecænas*, *Never to be concern'd at what was spoken against him*; *For*, added he, *if their Accusations be true, he ought rather to correct himself than restrain others*; *if false, the contempt of such Discourses would destroy the Belief of 'em*; *but a Concern wou'd argue the Truth of 'em*; *and put it in the Power of the vi-*

*lest*

leſt Perſon to diſturb his Repoſe. This Rule was exactly obſerv'd by *Auguſtus*, as a Perſon whoſe Title and Authority was not yet well ripen'd and ſtrengthen'd by Time. And afterwards, when his Son-in Law *Tiberius* had by Letter urg'd him to puniſh one *Ælian* for his Irreverence and Scurrility towards his Sovereign, he in his Anſwer deſir'd him, *Not to indulge the Paſſions of his Years*; adding, *That if any Man dares ſpeak ill of us, we are ſufficiently happy, while our Condition is ſuch as he can do us no Injury.* His great Kindneſs and Civility to *Antony*'s Party prov'd a firm Support to his own Intereſt; and the greater, becauſe he had given ſuch Publick Demonſtrations of his Favour to 'em, by adding Places of Truſt and Honours to his Pardons. His Kindneſs and Bounty to the generality of the People was no leſs remarkable; for many of the Commons who were in a declining Condition he generally reliev'd: And when ſeveral of 'em had made him Heir to their Goods and Eſtates, he immediately reſtor'd all to the Children of the Deceas'd, intimating, *That no good Father ever appointed any Prince for his Heir but a Tyrant.* If they were too young to receive it, he kept it till they were of a competent Age; and then deliver'd it with a conſiderable Addition of his own. Which generous Action ſhew'd this Emperor to be as true a Guardian to Orphans, as a Father to his Country.

But the principal Care of *Auguſtus* was to ſatisfie his Soldiers, and to render them conſtant and faithful upon all Exigencies. A conſiderable number of which he diſpers'd in all Parts of *Italy*, in thirty Colonies, as well for the Defence of the Country, as for their more ſpeedy reaſſembling, if Occaſion ſhou'd require it. Abroad, among the Frontier Provinces, were maintain'd at the Charge of the Publick, twenty five Legions, with their Auxiliaries, ſeventeen of which were in *Europe*; namely, eight about *The Forces of the Empire.*

about the *Rhine*, four about the *Danube*, three in *Spain*, and two in *Dalmatia*; the other eight were half in *Asia*, and half in *Africa*; namely, four about the *Euphrates* and the Eastern Provinces, two in *Egypt*, and two in the Province of *Carthage*. These were for some Ages with little Alterations constantly maintain'd in Times of Peace, amounting to 170650 Men, reckoning 6100 Foot and 726 Horse in each Legion; all which were paid with the utmost Care and Exactness, their Annual Wages amounting to near six Millions of our Money, besides plentiful Provisions of Corn, and the Stipends of Officers. But nigh the City of *Rome* were always lodg'd twelve Cohorts, consisting of about 10000 Men, nine of which were call'd *Prætorian*, and the other three *Urbane*; and these were establish'd under a double Notion, the Guard of the Emperor's Person, and the Safety and Security of the City. Besides these numerous and well disciplin'd Forces by Land, *Augustus* also kept up two large and powerful Fleets at Sea; the one riding at Anchor near *Ravenna* in the upper Sea, to command and defend *Dalmatia*, *Greece*, *Crete*, *Cyprus*, *Asia*, with the Eastern Provinces; the other at *Misenum* in the lower Sea, to awe and protect *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africk*, and the Western Parts. But this was not the sole use of these two Navies, they being design'd likewise to scour the Seas of all Pirates; to serve for Convoys to the Tributes, Customs, and Imposts, upon all Occasions; and to transport Corn and other Provisions necessary for the Subsistence and Relief of the City. *Augustus* was no less careful in Re-peopling *Italy*, which he joyn'd to *Cis-Alpin-Gaul*, and brought twenty eight Colonies into it, having been much enfeebled and exhausted of Men by the late Civil Wars. He at the same time took much care about the publick High-ways, and finding them extreamly neglected of late Years

he

he left ſome of them to be repair'd by certain Senators, at their own proper Charges, and undertook the *Via Flaminia* himſelf; for which work, Statues were erected to him on the Bridge of the *Tiber*, and at *Ariminum*. At the beginning of his Adminiſtration, many Robberies and Outrages were committed in *Italy*; and ſeveral Parties had form'd themſelves into a Society, calling themſelves *The New Colledge*, and acting all kinds of Villanies; all which he ſuppreſs'd by his Guards, and aboliſh'd all Fraternities but ſuch as were ancient and legal. He alſo burnt all the old Bonds and Accounts which were due to the publick Treaſury, as the chief occaſion of vexatious Suits; and if the Title of any publick Place in the City was dubious and litigious, he awarded it to the preſent Poſſeſſor. Then to make all Men eaſie and ſatisfi'd, he generouſly releas'd all ſuch Priſoners, both Debtors and Criminals, as were kept under Reſtraint, only for the Malicious Pleaſure to the Creditors and Informers.

Thus carefully was *Auguſtus* employ'd for the two firſt Years of his new Adminiſtration, and it might have been reaſonably expected, that the Wiſdom of his Inſtitutions, and the Mildneſs of his Government, ſhou'd have prevented all Revolts and Inſurrections in the Conquer'd Countries: But ſo prevailing is the love of Liberty, that in theſe proſperous Times he was alarm'd with News of *Britain* being full of Sedition, part of *Spain* up in Arms, and *Gaul* prepar'd for an Inſurrection. All which he judg'd a ſufficient Cauſe to open the Temple of *Janus*, which he did, after it had been ſhut near five Years; and for the better Eſtabliſhment of all Affairs, he left *Rome* himſelf and departed for *Gaul* with all neceſſary Expedition. There the *Britiſh* Ambaſſadors, by their fair Promiſes, prevented his paſſing over thither; and the *Gauls*, by their Submiſſion, ſhorten'd his Stay in their Country; ſo

that his principal Buſineſs was to Chaſtiſe the Inſolency of the *Spaniards*, eſpecially the *Cantabrians* and *Aſturians*, who now had made great Devaſtations, and done much Damage to the *Roman* Allies, *Auguſtus*, at his Arrival, found 'em Beſieging of a conſiderable Town which he in a ſhort time reliev'd: After which he divided his Army into three Parts, and ſurrounded the whole Country of the *Cantabrians*, who had obſtinately reſiſted the *Romans* for many Years. Having diſcover'd the Way to ſurprize 'em in their Mountainous Country, he preſs'd forwards with great Vigour and Severity, till they were conſtrain'd to retire to one of their higheſt Mountains, with their Wives and Children, and all their beſt Effects, where they ſtrongly fortifi'd themſelves againſt any Attempt that cou'd be made againſt them.

The *Romans* finding it extreamly hazardous to attack ſo Warlike and Obſtinate a People in ſuch an advantageous Poſt declin'd following 'em, but with great Expedition built many Forts, and ſecurely block'd up all the Paſſages and Avenues to the Mountain, with a Deſign to ſtarve 'em. Yet ſuch was the Hardineſs and Reſolution of this People, that inſtead of Yielding, they endur'd all the imaginable Miſeries of Want and Famine, Mothers killing their own Children, and the Young Men ſlaying the Old, and devouring their Fleſh to ſuſtain the Neceſſities of Nature. This Evil occaſion'd another as fatal, which was a ſharp and violent Diſcord among themſelves, ſome being reſolv'd to Yield, and others to Oppoſe: the former alledging, *The abſolute Neceſſity of ſubmitting at laſt*, and the latter, *The Honour of dying bravely with their Swords in their Hands.* This dangerous Contention ſo far increas'd, that the *Cantabrians* at laſt forc'd out 10000 of the *Aſturians*, with their Wives and Children; who deſcending by the *Roman* Forts,

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begg'd of the *Romans*, with Floods of Tears, and the moſt moving Arguments imaginable, *To make 'em Slaves, and to give 'em any Suſtenance to ſave 'em from periſhing.* But the Empreſs's Son *Tiberius*, then one of *Auguſtus*'s Lieutenants, would not permit 'em to be receiv'd, that he might finiſh the whole War with leſs Bloodſhed. And when theſe miſerable People found themſelves thus depriv'd of all Hopes and Thoughts of Relief, they immediatly pounded a Venemous Herb, and poyſon'd themſelves; only the Young-Men, by a way more ſuitable to their Employments, and agreeable to their Profeſſions, kill'd themſelves by running upon each others Swords.

In a ſhort time after, the Remainder of the Enemy, to the Number of 23000, came down in a deplorable Manner, and yielded themſelves to the Mercy and Diſcretion of the *Romans*, who ſelected 10000 of the Strongeſt to ſerve in the Wars againſt the *Aſturians*, the reſt being ſold by Troops, and ſent to Places remote from their own Country. Of 10000 that were all diſarm'd, many of 'em reſented it ſo extreamly, that they kill'd themſelves with their own Hands, eſteeming their Lives of no value after the loſs of their Liberties and Arms. *Auguſtus* being then in thoſe Parts, permitted the Soldiers of his Guards of *Spaniards* to depart into *Gaul* with large Preſents, and Privilege to enter in Rank among the *Roman* Legions. He built *Saragoſa*, and ſeveral other Places of Note, which he fill'd with ſtrong Garriſons, to prevent the Inſurrections of the *Celtiberians*, and afterwards he built a large Stone Bridge over the great River *Iberus*. Then ſhortly after having overthrown the *Corniſci*, Aſſociates to the *Aſturians*, taken their City, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword; he march'd againſt the *Aſturians* themſelves, who being environ'd on all Parts, burnt, ſtabb'd, and poyſon'd themſelves

themſelves, together with a great Number of their Neighbours. Yet there remain'd many Parties of ſcatter'd People, who in a ſhort time gather'd together from all Parts, and all at once reſolv'd to attack the *Romans*, which they did with ſuch extraordinary Reſolution and Obſtinacy, that nothing but the Night could ſeparate 'em, after very great Loſſes on both Sides. The next Morning they joyn'd with more dreadful Fury than before, and the Battel continu'd very ſharp and bloody till Night, at which time the *Romans* by their extraordinary Diſcipline, and with extream difficulty, obtain'd the Victory, confeſſing, *That they never encounter'd ſuch fierce and cruel Enemies.* *Auguſtus* having thus happily finiſh'd this War, built ſeveral Places in that Country, which afterwards were much improv'd and enlarg'd.

This Year was as remarkable for ſeveral Wars in other Parts, as it had been for Revolts in *Spain*: *Marcus Craſſius*, one of *Auguſtus*'s Lieutenants on the *Danube* march'd into the Country of the *Mæſians* a fierce and ſavage People beyond *Pannonia* and the *Danube*, who had never ſeen the *Romans*. Upon the Approach of the Enemies Troops, one of their Commanders came boldly up to the Front of the *Roman* Army, and cry'd, *Who are you, that dare come to moleſt us?* The other reply'd, *We are* Romans, *the Lords of Nations.* *It ſhall be ſo*, anſwer'd the *Mæſian*, *if you overcome us*; and there upon made a Vow *to ſacrifice to their Gods the Entrails of ſuch Captains as they took of the* Romans, *and afterwards devour 'em.* Notwithſtanding their Threats and their unuſual Fierceneſs, they were ſoon put to Flight, and afterwards ſubdu'd, with all thoſe who had joyn'd with 'em. About the ſame time *Terentius Varro*, another of the Emperor's Lieutenants, ſubdu'd the *Salaſſi*, a People upon the *Alps*, diſarm'd 'em, gave part of their Territory to the *Prætorian* Soldiers, and there built

a City

a City call'd *Augusta Prætoria*, now *Aouste*. *Vinicius* at this time appeas'd some Troubles in *Germany*, and was very successful in several Places, by which Victories he obtain'd for *Augustus* the Title of *Imperator*, an Honour he had several times receiv'd before. *Agrippa*, whom *Augustus* had justly advanc'd to the highest Dignities, was no less employ'd in the City than others were in the Provinces, adorning it with several Noble Structures at his own Charges among the rest finishing the *Pantheon*; a famous Temple, so nam'd from its many Images of the Gods, or from its Arch'd Roof, which resembl'd the Heavens. *Augustus* at his Return ended the Year with the Marriage of *Anthony*'s Daughter *Cleopatra*, to *Juba* King of *Mauritania*, and with that of his own Daughter *Julia* to *Octavia*'s Son *Marcellus*, a Youth of the highest Merits and Accomplishments. And now having finish'd all Wars he shut up the Temple of *Janus* a second time, within less than a Year after it had been open'd, being not very ambitious of new Conquests: For tho' during the whole course of his Government, he neglected no Wars that might be necessary or useful, yet he always left such to *Heroes* as were purely glorious.

Pantheon.

Julia's *first Marriage, with* Marcellus.

*The Temple of* Janus *shut the fourth time.*

II. For a short space the whole *Roman* Empire continu'd in a profound Peace; and now *Augustus* entring upon his tenth Consulship with *Norbanus*, the Senate by Oath approv'd of all his Acts; and after a Donative of about twelve Crowns to each Citizen, the Senate gave him a greater Authority than ever, making him wholly free from the Power of the Laws. Many other things were decreed in Honour of him; and likewise, That his Nephew *Marcellus*, upon the account of his extraordinary Merits, shou'd take Place in the Senate among those of the *Prætorian* Rank, and that he might stand for the Consulship ten Years before the Laws permitted him

*U. C.* 730.

him. And in favour of his Empreſſes Son *Tiberius* it was ordain'd, That he might ſtand for any Office of Magiſtracy five Years before the uſual Time; ſhortly after which, *Marcellus* was made *Ædile*, and *Tiberius*, *Quæſtor*. In which Year *Ælius Gallus*, Governour of *Ægypt*, by *Auguſtus*'s Order, to revenge ſome Affronts upon the *Arabians* pierc'd a conſiderable Way into their Country, under the Guidance of *Syllæus*, a Noble Man of *Arabia*. This caus'd the Temple of *Janus* to be open'd, after it had been ſhut leſs than a Year; but *Gallus*, having firſt overthrown the *Sabæans* in Battle, and then loſt the greateſt Part of his Men in the Sandy Deſarts where *Syllæus* had treacherouſly led 'em, was at laſt oblig'd to retire. About the ſame time the *Cantabrians* in *Spain* and their Neighbours revolted, and ſurprizing a conſiderable Number of the *Romans* by a Stratagem, they put 'em all to the Sword. But *Ælius Lama*, Governour in thoſe Parts, ſufficiently reveng'd their Deaths, laying all their Country waſte with Fire and Sword, and purſuing the Enemy ſo vigorouſly, that he ſhortly reduc'd 'em to an intire Subjection.

The following Year the Emperor being in his eleventh Conſulſhip, fell into a dangerous Diſtemper, in which Time he ſeem'd to deſign the putting the Common-wealth once more into the Hands of the Senate and People; which appear'd the more probable by his not naming a Succeſſor, and by his giving the Senate a Book of all the Towns, Provinces, Allies, Forces, Riches, and Cuſtoms of the whole *Roman* Empire. When almoſt all deſpair'd of his Life, *Antonius Muſa* reſtor'd him to his Health, to the great Satisfaction of the People, who immediately erected a Statue to *Muſa*, and plac'd it by that of *Æſculapius*: The Senate likewiſe conferr'd great Honours upon him, and in favour of his Profeſſion, gave Immunity from publick Impoſts, to all

all others who from that time ſhould Practiſe Phyſick. At his Recovery there was a general Joy throughout the whole City, which was expreſs'd by many publick and magnificent Shows; and many Fathers upon their Death-Beds commanded their Children to carry their Sacrifices to the *Capitol* with this Inſcription, *THAT AT THE DAY OF THEIR DEATHS THEY LEFT* AUGUSTUS *IN HEALTH*: And further it was ordain'd, that from that time no Man ſhould be put to Death on ſuch Days as *Auguſtus* would enter the City; ſo much and heartily was this great Prince belov'd. Shortly after *Auguſtus* joyn'd himſelf to *Calpurnius Piſo* in the Conſulſhip, a Perſon of the Party of *Pompey* and *Brutus*. After which he for a time retir'd himſelf into the Country, leaving *Lucius Seſtius* his Deputy, a conſtant Friend to *Brutus* and his Memory; which impartial Carriage ſo affected the Senate, that they immediately decreed him Perpetual *Proconſul* of the *Roman* Empire, and *Tribune of the People*, and gave him Power of aſſembling the Senate whenſoever he pleas'd. In the mean time *Marcellus*, for whoſe Sake *Agrippa* had gone into *Aſia*, by his generous and noble Behaviour in his *Ædile*-ſhip, gain'd himſelf much Love and Reputation. All the City judg'd and hop'd that he ſhould ſucceed *Auguſtus* in the Empire; but ſhortly after, this extraordinary promiſing Youth died, to the excceeding Grief of all; a Perſon of whom *Virgil* ſaid, *That the Deſtinies had only ſhewn him to the World, and taken him away, leſt* Rome *ſhou'd have had too much Vanity for the poſſeſſing of ſo great a Bleſſing*. He had a Publick Funeral, with many other Honours decreed him and his Death was by ſome imputed to the Empreſs *Livia*, the moſt exquiſite Projectreſs of her Sex, who was much diſſatisfy'd at his being preferr'd before her own Son *Tiberius*.

*The Death of Marcellus.*

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The following Year had *M. Marcellus* and *L. Arruntius* for Conſuls, and was accompanied with ſo many diſcouraging Accidents, and ſo great a Plague, that the Lands of *Italy* were left untill'd. The Commons imagined theſe Calamities to have proceeded from the Want of *Auguſtus*'s being Conſul this Year, with great Ardency requir'd the Senate to make him *Dictator*, threatning to fire the Houſe, and there detain'd the Senators till they had decreed it. After which they all repair'd to *Auguſtus*, with twenty four *Axes* and *Faſces*, begging him to accept of the *Dictatorſhip*, and to permit himſelf to be made Procurator of Proviſions, as *Pompey* had formerly been. He unwillingly accepted of the latter Imployment, and acted accordingly, but wou'd by no Perſwaſions admit of the *Dictatorſhip*; and when he cou'd no otherwiſe ſatisfie the People, he in a violent Paſſion tore his Robes in their Preſence, wiſely declining the Envy and Danger of that Title, when he had already the Honour and Authority of it in moſt Caſes. He made the ſame Refuſal when they offer'd to create him perpetual *Cenſor*, naming *Æmilius Lepidus*, and *Munatius Plancus* for that Office, who were the laſt *Cenſors* of Private Perſons. And tho' they bore the Office, yet *Auguſtus* acted in many thing pertaining thereto. In this Year he put an end to ſome particular Aſſemblies, and reform'd ſome others. He requir'd the *Prætors*, whom lately he had reduc'd to Ten, to take Care of the Celebration of all Publick Games; yet ſtill that ſome Stipend ſhould be allow'd 'em by the People. He likewiſe ordain'd, by a particular Edict, That none ſhould exhibit the Show of *Gladiators*, without Orders from the Senate, and then no oftner than twice a Year, nor with more than 120 *Gladiators*. To the *Curule Ædiles* he committed the Charge of extinguiſhing Fires, allowing 600 Slaves for that Service. And becauſe the *Equites*, and many Illuſtri-

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ous Women of late were accuſtom'd to dance in the *Orcheſtra* at the Theaters, he order'd, that not only the Children of Senators, which before had been prohibited; but likewiſe that their Grand-Children, and thoſe of the *Equeſtrian* Order, ſhou'd be reſtrain'd from ſuch Exerciſes for the future. And that he might appear a Prince more ſolicitous of good Diſcipline, than Luxury and Profuſeneſs, when complaint was made to him of the great Scarcity of Wine, he made Anſwer, *That* Agrippa *had, by his* Aquaducts, *provided, that no Man need die with Thirſt.*

In all theſe Matters *Auguſtus* ſhew'd the Authority of a Legiſlator and an Emperor; but in others he ſo far humbl'd himſelf, as even to plead for ſome of his Friends, who were cited to anſwer before the Publick, and to appear in Courts of Judicature like a Private Perſon. *M. Primus*, Governour of *Macedonia*, having a Day aſſign'd him to anſwer for his making War with the *Odriſii*, alledg'd it was by Orders from *Auguſtus* or *Marcellus*; whereupon *Auguſtus* ſpontaneoully enter'd into the Court, and being ask'd by the *Prætor*, whether he had given any ſuch Orders, deny'd it. Upon which L. *Murena* who pleaded for *Primus*, with great Boldneſs and Anger demanded, *What he did there, and who ſent for him thither? Auguſtus* with as much Calmneſs and Moderation reply'd, *It was the Commonwealth.* Which Deportment gain'd him much Eſteem, tho' many harbour'd ill Thoughts of him upon this Account; and ſome not only acquitted *Primus*, but likewiſe conſpir'd againſt *Auguſtus*: The principal of which were *Murena* and *Cæpio*, who abſenting themſelves, were baniſh'd by Decree, and afterwards put to Death. At the ſame time *Auguſtus* freely reſtor'd the Province of *Gallia Narbonenſis* and *Cyprus* to the People, as little needing the Protections of his Arms; and thenceforth Proconſuls began to be ſent into

those Provinces. About this Time the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians* in *Spain* revolting again, were in a short time reduc'd; after which *Augustus* dedicated a Temple to *Jupiter the Thunderer*. The same Year also the *Æthiopians* about *Ægypt*, under the Conduct of their great Queen *Candace*, wasted all the Country as far as the City *Elephantina*; where when they understood that *C. Petronius*, Governour of *Ægypt*, was marching against 'em, they endeavour'd to make their Retreat, but were intercepted and defeated. This Success occasion'd *Petronius* to march into their Country, where he manag'd the War with great Advantage, taking, among others, the Royal City *Tanape*, which after he had demolish'd, and left a Garrison in another City, he retreated with the greatest part of his Army, not being able to proceed by reason of the violent Heats and Mountains of Sand. Yet afterwards understanding, that the Garrison which he had left behind him was vigorously attack'd, he return'd with much Celerity and Diligence, and reliev'd it; and shortly after he constrain'd *Candace* to receive Terms of Accommodation, returning with his Army, richly laden with Booty, to *Alexandria*.

*U. C.* 733. The following Year *Augustus* designing a Journey through all the Eastern Provinces the People of *Rome* fell into great Contests and Disturbances about the electing of Consuls; which gave the Emperor such Trouble, that he found it necessary to create a new Magistrate to govern the City, and to prevent these and the like Disorders in his Absence. He judg'd *Agrippa* to be the most proper Person for so great a Command, and to procure him the more Respect and Authority, he caus'd him to divorce his Wife, tho' she was his Sister *Octavia*'s Daughter, and to marry his own Daughter *Julia*: *Mecænas* having before politickly suggested him, *That since he already made* Agrippa *so great and powerful*

Julia's *second Marriage with* Agrippa.

*ful, he muſt of neceſſity make him his Son-in-Law, or take his Life.* While *Agrippa* with the utmoſt Wiſdom and Diligence was taking Care of the City, *Auguſtus*, firſt ſettling the Affairs of *Sicily*, paſs'd over into *Greece*, where he honour'd the *Lacedæmonians* with his Company, and ſhew'd 'em particular Marks of his Favour becauſe they had formerly harbour'd and entertain'd *Livia* with her Husband and Son, when they fled out of *Italy*. From *Greece* he ſail'd to *Samos*, and there Winter'd. In the Spring following when *Apuleius* and *Sillius* were Conſuls, he croſs'd over into *Aſia*, and ſettled Affairs in *Bithynia*, and other Provinces through which he paſs'd, with no leſs Care and Diligence, than if they had belong'd to himſelf, and not to the People. Upon his approaching nigh the Borders of *Parthia*, *Phraortes*, King of that Nation, out of Reſpect to his Perſon, and Dread to his Arms, ſent him all the Military Enſigns and Priſoners taken from *Craſſus* and *Antony*; which he receiv'd after the ſame Manner, and with the ſame Satisfaction as if he had overthrown the *Parthians* in Battel. Having recover'd all theſe Things with much Honour and no Bloodſhed, he caus'd Sacrifices to be offer'd, and commanded that a Temple ſhou'd be decreed in the *Capitol* to *Mars* the *Avenger*, in Imitation of that to *Jupiter Feretrius*, in which Military Enſigns were alſo to be hung up. At which time *Julia* brought *Agrippa* a Son whom he nam'd *Caius*, on whoſe Birth-Day a perpetual Sacrifice was decreed, with other Solemnities; and the *Ædiles* at their own Charge added Games on Horſeback, and Hunting, to the Birth-Day Solemnities of the Emperor.

*Auguſtus*, after he had paſs'd through many Provinces in the *Eaſt*, in the latter end of the Year return'd to *Samos*, a ſecond time, to which Places he granted great Privileges; and was met there by Ambaſſadors from *Poras* and *Pandion*, two of the mightieſt Kings of the *Indians*, who came ſuch a Diſtance to ſue for

the Alliance of ſo great an Emperor, and brought with 'em many ſtrange Creatures, and many rare and valuable Preſents. During his long ſtay at *Samos*, at the next Election of Conſuls, the City of *Rome* was fill'd with dangerous Tumults and Diſturbances, caus'd by the violent Practices of *Egnatius Rufus*, who forceably endeavour'd to be choſen Conſul in the Place of *Auguſtus*. *Auguſtus* underſtanding theſe Miſchiefs, immediately nam'd Q. *Lucretius* for the Perſon, formerly a Proſcrib'd Man, which threw *Rufus* into ſuch a terrible Rage, that he immediately form'd a Conſpiracy with *M. Genucius* and *Plautius Rufus* to aſſaſſinate the Emperor at his Return. But before that time their Deſigns and Practices were all diſcover'd, and they themſelves Executed by Order of Senate. As *Auguſtus* return'd home he was met at *Athens* by that great Poet *Virgil*, who to finiſh his *Æneis* had retir'd to *Greece*; and meeting here with *Auguſtus* he return'd with them, and viſiting *Megara* in a very hot Seaſon, contracted a Diſtemper, which ſo much increas'd with Sailing, that in a few Days after his Landing at *Brunduſium* he dy'd, in the 52d Year of his Age. This Great Men was highly in Favour, and moſt intimately acquainted with *Auguſtus*, who extreamly admir'd and lov'd him, as well for the Inimitable Excellencies of his Muſe, as the Immortal Honours he receiv'd from his Pen: For under the Name of *Æneas* he made the nobleſt, the moſt exquiſite, and moſt compleat Panegyrick upon *Auguſtus*, that ever was made in any Age of the World; and is generally believ'd to have much promoted that Veneration the Senate and People had for him, which diſplay'd it ſelf more openly at his Return home than formerly. For they now gave him the Dignity of *Conſul* for Life, ordaining, That he ſhou'd always have twelve *Axes* and *Faſces* bore before him; and that he ſhou'd ſit in a *Curule* Chair between the Conſuls. They alſo petition'd him to make new Laws, and

*The Death of* Virgil.

and offer'd to ſwear to obey 'em: He made ſeveral new Laws, but refus'd their Oaths, intimating, *That if his Laws were grateful to 'em, their Oaths wou'd be needleſs; if not, they wou'd be ineffectual.*

At this time *Agrippa*, from his Government in the City, march'd into *Gaul*, where the Invaſions of the *Germans* had rais'd ſome new Troubles. Having ſetled the Affairs of that Country, he paſs'd from thence into *Spain*, where there was great need of the Preſence of ſo renown'd a Commander: For the *Cantabrians*, who before had been Priſoners of War, and been made Slaves, had with great Dexterity deſtroy'd their Maſters; and gathering together in great Numbers, fortify'd ſeveral Places, and vigorouſly attack'd the *Roman* Garriſons. *Agrippa* march'd againſt theſe with great diligence, where he had a moſt dreadful and bloody Conteſt with ſuch of 'em as had ſerv'd the *Romans*, and had now deſpair'd of Pardon. He for a while ſuffer'd the extreameſt Inconveniencies; but at length having loſt many of his Soldiers, and fix'd a Mark of Ignominy upon many others for their ill Services, he deſtroy'd almoſt all the *Cantabrians* that were of Military Age, diſarm'd the reſt, and brought 'em all from their Mountainous Places into the open Plains. Thus *Agrippa* compleated the Conqueſt of *Spain*, which Country had with ſome Intermiſſions reſiſted the *Romans* with great Obſtinacy and Bravery for about 200 Years; and notwithſtanding *Agrippa*'s excellent Services, this Great Man modeſty refus'd a Triumph, giving *Auguſtus* the Honour of all. And *Auguſtus* himſelf was not very ambitious of the Honour of ſubduing Barbarous People, as it plainly appear'd in the following Year, when the *Getes* and *Dacians* being in Civil Wars among themſelves, *Lentulus*, who before had warr'd againſt 'em with good Succeſs, repreſented to him the Advantages he might make of theſe Domeſtick Diſturbances. *Auguſtus* with great Reaſon and Mode-

*U. C.* 726.

*Spain's final Reduction.*

ration told him, *The Injuſtice of making War with any Nation without an Injury firſt committed*; then added, *That thoſe who ſought a ſmall Gain with great Hazard and Danger, were like ſuch as angled with a Golden Hook, the breaking or loſs of which was of much greater Conſideration than the value of any Fiſh. And therefore theſe Barbarous People were to be left to their own Miſeries; and that by the Bloodſhed from their own Companions, they were abundantly puniſh'd for their Affronts they offer'd formerly to the* Romans, *who ought not to begin to do Injury.*

About this time *Auguſtus* being deſirous of reforming ſeveral Abuſes in the City, to do it the more effectually he joyn'd *Agrippa* with him in Quality of *Cenſor*; and to give him greater Authority, made him alſo *Tribune of the People* for five Years. He firſt corrected ſome Diſorders in the Senate, then reform'd the *Equites*, the Publick Spectacles and Plays, and the Methods of ſuing for all Offices; in the latter he ſometimes diſtributed Money among whole Tribes, in ſuch a Manner as might moſt probably prevent Bribes. He Fin'd many that refus'd to Marry after an appointed Age, and as much incourag'd thoſe who had many Children: He gave *Hortenſius* 25000 Crowns to procure him a Wife, that he might preſerve the Noble Family of the *Hortenſi*. He ordain'd alſo, That all Virgins ſhou'd, be twelve Years of Age before they Marry'd, and permitted any Perſon to kill an Adulterer taken in the Fact, without Puniſhment; alſo condemning all *Sodomites* without Remiſſion. And in Matters of Military Diſcipline he was more than ordinary exact; and becauſe a Knight had cut off his Son's Thumbs to diſable him from going to the Wars, he immediately ſold him and all his Goods. He reduc'd many things to the primitive Order, and wou'd ſuffer no diſolute Officers in the Camp; and particularly he diſcharg'd one *Herennius*, who ſubmiſſively begging Pardon, alledging, That he knew not what Excuſe to make to his Friends, he reply'd,

reply'd, *Tell them I diſpleas'd you.* He likewiſe took care, that the Senate ſhou'd be always holden with great Reverence; that the Senators ſhou'd meet as at a Temple of Devotion; and that no Decree ſhou'd paſs but in the Preſence of 400 Senators, if poſſibly to be effected. He alſo Ordain'd, That no Man ſhou'd have ſo great a Privilege and Honour as the Freedom of *Rome*, but after a ſtrict Examination of his Merits; ſetting new Rules and Limits to the Manumiſſion of Slaves. In this Point he was always very ſevere, and when *Tiberius* writ to him to beg the Freedom of *Rome* for a *Græcian*, who was one of his Clients, he anſwer'd him, *That he wou'd do nothing in this Caſe, 'till he came himſelf and ſatisfy'd him of the Juſtice of his Requeſt.* His beloved Wife *Livia* petitioning in like manner for a Tributary *Gaul*, he abſolutely deny'd him his Freedom, yet granted Immunity and Exemption from his Tribute, profeſſing, *That he wou'd ſooner condeſeend to a Diminution of the Publick Revenue, than to proſtitute the Honour of the* Roman *Citizens.*

This Year the Emperor's firſt Ten Years being expir'd he took the Government upon him for five longer, which were ſoon after encreas'd to Ten, and *Agrippa*'s Authority enlarg'd. At the ſame time He and *Agrippa* gave the People the Pleaſure of the great *Secular Games*, which had not been ſeen for a hundred Years before, and were now celebrated with more than ordinary Pomp and Magnificence. And in this Particular no Prince ever exceeded him, being himſelf a great Admirer of all thoſe Publick Plays, Shows, and Games which were ſo much in uſe among the *Romans*. The Charge and Variety of theſe were much greater in this Reign, than almoſt in any other; and the Emperor himſelf often gave great Rewards to the Victors in all the Martial Exerciſes. He took a peculiar Delight in the Tournament, or Warlike Paſtime call'd *Troy*, and making choice of his Boys of

*Ludi Sæculares.* *U. C.* 727

greater and leſſer Stature, he exhibited it very frequently, judging it an Ancient and Honourable Exerciſe, and becoming the Education of the principal Nobility. He much incourag'd Wreſtling, but in thoſe Games he wou'd not permit any Woman to be preſent, juſtly accounting it too groſs an Indecency for Women to gaze on Naked Men. His Affection to Plays greatly appear'd by his Rewards he gave to the beſt Actors, but more eſpecially at a particular Time, when being at the Theatre, and finding the People diſcompos'd by a ſudden Apprehenſion of the falling of the Building, he immediately remov'd from his own Seat, and plac'd himſelf where the Danger was moſt imminent. Notwithſtanding the Encouragement he gave to Players, he exactly and ſeverally examin'd their Morals; not allowing the leaſt Licentiouſneſs in their Lives, nor Indecency in their Actions. He puniſh'd their Crimes many Ways; and having Information that one *Stephanus*, a Comedian, was attended by a Woman in the Habit of a Boy, he order'd him to be whipt through the three Theatres and baniſh'd the City. In theſe *Secular Games*, one of the Players calling him *Lord*, he ſhew'd remarkable Signs of his Diſſatisfaction to the People; and the next Morning he Publiſhed a ſevere Edict, forbidding all Perſons to give him that Title for the future. Upon the finiſhing of theſe Games. he adopted *Agrippa*'s two Sons, *Caius* and *Lucius*, the latter of which was juſt now born.

**Caius *and* Lucius *Adopted by* Auguſtus.**

About the ſame time the *Sicambri*, *Uſipetes*, and *Tenchteri*, People of *Germany*, ſurpriz'd ſome *Romans* in their Territories, and crucify'd 'em; then paſſing the *Rhine* with great Expedition, waſted many Parts of *Gaul*, overthrew a conſiderable Party of Horſe; and ſhortly after *Lollius*, Proconſul of *Gaul*'s from whom they took a Standard. *Lollius*, tho' a Perſon of but ſmall Vigour and Action, in a ſhort time found an Opportunity of revenging himſelf by engaging theſe

theſe barbarous Invadors, and driven 'em beyond the *Rhine*. On the other ſide *C. Lentulus* wag'd War with the *Dacians* beyond the *Danube*, kill'd three of their Commanders, with great Numbers of their Men and afterwards plac'd a Garriſon near the *Danube*, to ſtop the Inroads and Devaſtations of theſe Savage People. *Auguſtus* finding all theſe Commotions, diſpos'd of the Affairs in *Italy* to go into *Gaul*, and that as well to make his Preſence more valuable in the City, as for any Buſineſs in thoſe Parts, as ſome have written. At the ſame time divers Nations about the *Danube* endeavour'd to Revolt, but were ſoon ſuppreſs'd by the Care and Vigilance of the Emperor's Lieutenants in thoſe Parts. But the greateſt Inſurrections were now in *Gaul*, occaſion'd by the Avarice of *Licinius Enceladus*, Solicitor of the Emperor's Affairs in that Country: For he having commanded the People to procure their Tribute every Month, by a deceitful Account reckon'd Fourteen Months in the Year, inſtead of Twelve. This Perſon being accus'd to his Maſter for Money gain'd by Rapine and Extortion found means to eſcape any ſignal Puniſhment, by laying before *Auguſtus* his large Quantities of Gold and Silver, aſſuring him, *That he aim'd at no other Deſign, than the taking from the* Gauls *their beſt Means of Rebellion.* After ſome time continuing in *Gaul*, *Auguſtus* withdrew himſelf from thoſe Parts, and ſent *Tiberius* thither to ſettle all things in the moſt peaceable Order.

During theſe Commotions, the *Rhætians*, Inhabitants of ſome Parts of the *Alpes* and *Germany*, made a very dangerous Irruption into *Italy* it ſelf, making terrible Devaſtations, and bearing away great Spoils and Booty. They were a People ſeparated from all others, and ſo fierce and cruel, that when ever they took any Place from the *Romans*, they kill'd all the Male Children; and of all the Women with Child they ask'd the Opinions of their Augurs; and if they

pronounc'd the Embryo a Male, they immediately ſtabb'd the Woman. *Auguſtus* was extreamly concern'd at their outrageous Actions and dangerous Progreſs, and with all Speed ſent his Wife *Livia*'s Son *Druſus*, a Perſon of extraordinary Valour, and other Accompliſhments to ſtop the Torrent of their Fury. He, in a ſhort time, with great Skill and Dexterity, drove 'em out of *Italy*, having firſt given 'em an entire Overthrow in a ſet Battel nigh *Trent*. They write, that the Women ſhew'd themſelves ſo cruel and barbarous in this Fight, that when their Darts fail'd them, they took their Infants by their Legs, and threw 'em at their Enemies Faces. Thoſe that were forc'd out of *Italy*, endeavour'd to enter *Gaul*, but were there repell'd by *Tiberius*; and at length they were all conſtrain'd to ſubmit, moſt of their beſt Men being carry'd away to ſerve the *Romans* in other Parts. *Agrippa* on the other ſide gave Orders for the Affairs of *Aſia*, and all the *Eaſt*, where he behav'd himſelf with that noble Skill and Bravery, that all the *Roman* Allies were more firmly eſtabliſh'd than ever, and their Enemies ſo effectually ſuppreſs'd, that *Auguſtus* had new Honours decreed him in thoſe Parts. But *Agrippa*, notwithſtanding his excellent Services, out of a peculiar Greatneſs of Mind, refus'd a Triumph when it was decreed him by the Senate; and this was the principal Cauſe of the loſs of this Cuſtom ſo highly advantageous to the *Romans*; others generally following his Example, were ſatisfy'd only with the Ornaments of Triumph.

U. C. 741. *Auguſtus* having now ſettled the Affairs of *Gaul*, ſtopp'd the Incurſions of the *Germans*, and ſuppreſs'd the Rebellion of *Spain*; he left *Druſus* with his Army upon the *Rhine*, and return'd to *Rome*, after he had been abſent near three Years. He was receiv'd with an univerſal Joy and Satisfaction, but he refus'd ſeveral New Honours that were offer'd him; neither wou'd he permit the People to come out and meet him

him as they desir'd, but according to his Custom enter'd the City by Night, that he might not give 'em too much Trouble. Upon the Death of *Lepidus* the *Triumvir* about this time, who had liv'd a private Life ever since his Disgrace, *Augustus* succeeded him in his Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, and exhibited sumptuous Shows and Games before the People. He gather'd together all the Books of Divinations and Predictions, and caus'd 'em to be burnt, to the number of 2000, reserving only some select pieces of the *Sibyls*, which he dispos'd into two gilt Desks under the Pedestal of *Apollo Palatinus*. He augmented the Number, the Dignity, and the Revenue of the Priests, especially of the *Vestal* Virgins, for which Order he had a particular esteem. He now took a Review of the Senators, and confirm'd *Agrippa* in his Office of *Tribune* for five Years longer; but not long after, this famous Man being return'd from a Journey out of *Pannonia*, where he had quell'd some Disturbances, fell sick and dy'd, before *Augustus* cou'd arrive to see him. This was a great Affliction to many Worthy Persons, especially to *Augustus*; who after his Body was brought into the City, and plac'd in the *Forum*, made a Funeral Oration himself declaring all the Noble Exploits, and generous Acts of this Great Man, who was unquestionably the best Man of his Age in *Dion*'s Opinion, the bravest Soldier, the truest Friend, and greatest Assistant that *Augustus* ever had; which prov'd highly advantageous both to the Empire and Emperor. His Funeral was celebrated with great Pomp and Solemnity, and *Augustus*, out of his great Love and just Esteem for him, laid him in his own Sepulcher, tho' *Agrippa* had a Monument of his own granted him by the Publick in the *Campus Martius*. He dy'd in the 742d Year of the City, in the 15th Year of *Augustus*'s Reign, from his Establishment by the Senate and People, and 10 Years before the Birth of our Saviour.

III. Thus

III. Thus long did *Auguſtus* Reign, in ſome meaſure with a Partner, tho' not a Rival in his Empire; and upon his Death he found it neceſſary to have one for his Aſſiſtance in the Government, ſuperior to all others in Power and Dignity, the better to prevent Conſpiracies and other Inconveniencies. For this Authority he made choice of *Tiberius*, whom he caus'd to quit his Wife *Agrippina*, the Daughter of *Agrippa* by a former Marriage, and to marry *Julia*. Shortly after he ſent him againſt the *Pannonians*, who had lately revolted; whom he ſucceſsfully ſubdu'd in a little Time, leading away the younger Sort into other Countries. On the other ſide, his younger Brother *Druſus* did excellent Service againſt the *Gauls* and *Germans*; and at his return was honour'd with the *Prætorſhip*. In the ſame Year he paſs'd the *Rhine* a ſecond time, and made very conſiderable Conqueſts; for which great Services he had Triumphal Honours decreed him; and when the time of his *Prætorſhip* was expir'd, he obtain'd *Proconſular* Power. Both he and his Brother *Tiberius* were by the Soldiers ſaluted with the Title of *Imperator*, but it was not allow'd 'em by *Auguſtus*. However the Games which *Druſus* exhibited as *Prætor*, were diſcharg'd with great Expence, and the Birth-Day of *Auguſtus* celebrated with as much Solemnity; thoſe pompous Entertainments call'd *Auguſtalia*, being now firſt inſtituted by vertue of a *Cenatuſconſultum*, which continu'd for many Ages. Theſe were made in honour of *Auguſtus*, and this Prince gain'd more and more the Love and Eſteem of his People, particularly by a late Inſtance of his Mildneſs, when his great Friends *Mæcenas* and *Apuleius* were publickly reproach'd for defending a Perſon accus'd of Adultery: *Auguſtus* came into the Court, and calmly admoniſhing the Accuſer, *Not to traduce his Friends and Kindred*, roſe up and departed. He was ſhortly after honour'd with Statues,

**Julia's third Marriage with Iberius.**

*Auguſtalia*

tues, and it was decreed, That upon his Birth-Day, unmarried Perſons of both Sexes might be preſent at the Feaſt, which had never been allow'd before.

This Year the *Beſſi* and *Sialetæ*, barbarous Nations, making an Irruption into *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, were overthrown by *Piſo*, Governor of *Pamphylia*, who obtain'd Triumphal Honours. Theſe were People of great Roughneſs and Fiereeneſs, and their Savage Temper remarkably appear'd in the Priſoners frequent Endeavours to bite and gnaw their Chains in Pieces with their Teeth. In the mean time *Auguſtus* employ'd himſelf in making an Inventory of his whole Eſtate, as if he had been a private Man; and again ſurveying the Senate, and perceiving the Members were very ſlow in meeting, he ordain'd that a *Senatuſconſultum* might be made by fewer than 400, which number had formerly been neceſſary. Now again both Senate and People contributed Money for making of Statues; but *Auguſtus* would permit none to be erected, but only to *Publick Safety*, *Concord*, and *Peace*. It was now alſo decreed, that the Temple of *Janus* ſhou'd be ſhut; but this was hinder'd by the *Dacians*, who ſuddenly paſs'd over the River *Iſter* or *Danube* when it was frozen, and made great Devaſtations in *Pannonia*: Beſides which, the *Dalmatians*, not enduring the Exaction of Tribute, began to caſt off their Yoak. The *Germans* were likewiſe up in Arms, ſince the departure of *Druſus*, who expeditiouſly return'd thither, and in a ſhort time ſuppreſs'd 'em, as *Tiberius* did not *Dacians* and *Dalmatians*, to the great Satisfaction of the City. But the Joy and Satisfaction that the People receiv'd from the Succeſſes abroad, was extreamly allay'd by the Death of *Octavia*, Siſter to *Auguſtus*, for whom the whole City had a more than ordinary Eſteem and Veneration. *Auguſtus* caus'd her Body to be laid publickly in State, in the Sacrary of *Julius Cæſar*, where he himſelf made a Funeral Oration in Praiſe of her great

*The Death of Octavia.*

great Merits and excellent Uertues. *Druſus* publickly chang'd his Senatorian Robe for a Mourning Gown, and her own Sons-in-law carry'dher a way; but *Auguſtus* thought it not convenient to admit of all the Honours that were decreed her. She died in the 744th Year of the City, and eight Years before our Saviour's Nativity.

*U. C.* 745. In the following Year, when *Druſus* was made Conſul with Q. *Criſpinus*, he endeavouriug to gain new Conqueſts and Honours, paſs'd the *Rhine*, and invaded the Territories of the *Chatti* in *Germany*, and having defeated 'em in a ſet Battel, proceeded into the Country of the *Suevi*, and from thence march'd againſt the *Cheruſci*, paſs'd the *Viſurgis*, and laid all Waſte as far as the River *Albis*, which was much further than ever any *Roman* had attempted before. Having in vain endeavour'd to paſs this River, he erected Trophies and retir'd; for a Woman of more then Human Stature, as *Dion* relates the Story, met him in the Way, and calling him by his Name, demanded of him, *Whither his boundleſs Ambition would hurry him?* Declaring further, *That the Fates did not permit him to ſee all Parts, therefore bid him retire, for the Period both of his Life and Actions was now approaching.* *Druſus* being now thirty Years of Age, ſhortly after died in his Return, before he cou'd reach the *Rhine* But his Sickneſs continu'd ſo long, that *Auguſtus*, who was at no great Diſtance from him, ſent with all ſpeed for his Brother *Tiberius*, who had travell'd the laſt Two Hundred Miles in twenty four Hours, and at his arrival found him ſtill alive, tho' juſt expiring. He convey'd his Body to *Rome*, where he was extreamly belov'd and admir'd, Centurions and Tribunes bearing it in the beginning, and afterwards the chiefeſt Men of the City, with much Sorrow and Solemnity. His Body being plac'd in the *Forum*, he was there honour'd by *Tiberius* with a Funeral Oration, and again by *Auguſtus* himſelf in the

*The Death of Druſus.*

the *Flaminian Cirque*. From thence he was born by the moſt conſiderable of the *Equites*, and others of the *Senatorian* Rank, into the *Campus Martius*, where being burnt, the Aſhes were laid in *Auguſtus*'s own Sepulcher. The Surname of *Germanicus* was alſo given to him and his Sons, beſides the Honours of magnificent Statues and Triumphal Arches, and of a noble Monument upon the River *Rhine*; all which were juſtly due to a young Perſon of his extraordinary Merits and uncommon Vertues.

*Auguſtus* leaving this City ſhortly after, retir'd himſelf, and wou'd not return this Year upon the Account of *Druſus*'s Death; but in the following he enter'd *Rome*, where he found both the Conſuls and other Magiſtrates accus'd for procuring their Places by Money. *Auguſtus* at preſent wou'd make no Inquiſition, reſolving to puniſh none by vulgar Reports, nor pardon any who were manifeſtly convicted. But he wiſely took conſiderable Sums of Money of all ſuch as ſtood for any Office by way of Pledge; and if any Indirect Practices or Briberies were diſcover'd, they were oblig'd to forfeit all. This Ordinance met with great Approbation from moſt Perſons, but his other concerning Slaves had not ſo general a Succeſs: Whereas the Laws had diſallow'd of Slaves being oblig'd by Torture to confeſs any thing againſt their own Maſters; *Auguſtus* therefore order'd, that when Neceſſity requir'd it, ſuch Slaves ſhould be ſold to himſelf, or the Publick, that their Property being alter'd, their Examination might be free. Tho' this was diſpleaſing to many, yet *Auguſtus* ſtill grew more and more popular, by reaſon of his great Clemency and Compliance in many Caſes. Particularly, when one of his Soldiers about this time deſir'd him to undertake his Cauſe, he immediately ſent him an Advocate; and that not ſatisfying the Fellow, who boldly and bluntly told him, *That he never ſerv'd him by Proxy*, he went himſelf and pleaded

ed his Cauſe. In like manner he aſſiſted another Friend at the Bar, whoſe Cauſe he gain'd; and not only diſmiſs'd his Accuſer, whoſe behaviour towards him had been very impudent, but upon his being publickly cenſur'd for his Ill Manners ſhortly after, he freely pardon'd him. He was ſo affable that he admitted the Salutations of the meaneſt of the People, and received their Petitions with ſuch Pleaſantneſs and Alacrity, that when a certain Perſon preſented him his Requeſt ſomewhat timerouſly, he merrily reprehended him, ſaying, *He deliver'd it, as tho' he was preſenting ſomething to an Elephant.* His Firmneſs and Faithfulneſs to his Friends was always remarkable; yet how great and potent ſoever his Favourites were in *Rome*, he wou'd allow 'em no greater Privileges than others, without juſt and manifeſt Reaſons; nor by any means exempt 'em from the Judiciary Laws *Proculus*, one of his Freed-men and Favourites, being convicted of Adultery with Ladies of Quality, he wou'd not ſpare him, but caus'd him to ſuffer Death. Of all the Criminals and Accus'd Perſons in his Reign, reſcu'd but one, who before had been very ſerviceable to him; but he protected him no other way than by his Intreaties with which he ſo mollified the Heart of his Accuſer in the Preſence of the Judges, that he withdrew his Proceſs, and deſiſted, as *Suetonius* relates it.

U. C. 747. *Auguſtus*'s ſecond Ten Years being now expir'd, he made ſeveral Offers of laying down his Authority, but at laſt was perſwaded to receive the Government for Ten Years longer; which Limitation contributed moſt of all to his Safety and Security in the Throne. This Year *Auguſtus* gave the Title of *Imperator* to *Tiberius*, upon the Account of ſome late ſignal Services in *Germany*, and likewiſe made him a ſecond time Conſul. He alſo inlarg'd the Bounds of the *Pomærium* of the City, and nam'd the Month *Sextilis*, *Auguſtus*, after his own Name, as his Uncle

*Julius*

*Julius* had formerly done that of *Quintilis*; and made a further Reformation of the Year. While he was thus busily employ'd, his great Friend *Mecænas* died, which griev'd him extreamly, being a Person with whom he had contracted the neareſt Friendſhip and Familiarity, and a Person who had been the moſt ſerviceable of all others in moderating his Paſſions, and bringing him to a calm and ſedate Temper. Of this there is a remarkable Inſtance, when *Auguſtus* ſet judging many accus'd Perſons, *Mecænas* perceiving by his Temper at that time that he wou'd condemn many of 'em, and not being able to approach him by reaſon of the Crowds of People, he wrote, *Riſe up Executioner*, and threw the Paper into his Lap; which *Auguſtus* perceiving, he immediately roſe up without ſentencing any of 'em. *Auguſtus* was highly ſatisfied that his Friends wou'd take the Liberty to reprove him, when his own Nature or his Buſineſs too much inclin'd him to Paſſion. This was accounted a great Evidence of his Virtue, that notwithſtanding his frequent oppoſing the Emperor's extravagant Deſires, nevertheleſs he was ſtill eſteem'd as his moſt familiar Friend. Yet tho' he had ſo great an Intereſt with the Emperor, he was never ſo ambitious as to accept of any Dignity himſelf, reſting ſatisfied with the *Equeſtrian* Degree; which ſome have attributed to his great deſire of Eaſe, and Love of Pleaſure, tho' more that of a *Vertuoſo* than a *Senſualiſt*. And in this he was much encourag'd and highly applauded by the greateſt Poets and ingenious Men in thoſe Days, of whom he was the nobleſt and moſt munificent Patron, as alſo of all Learned Perſons; a Character which has rais'd and immortaliz'd his Name as much as thoſe of the greateſt Princes in the World. He died in the 747th Year of the City, and Five Years before our Saviour's Nativity; in which Year dy'd *Horace*, the Prince of the *Latin* Lyrick Poets, as tho' he had ſympathiz'd with

*The Death of Mecænas.*

with his great Patron, being in the 57*th* Year of his Age. About this time the famous *Dionyſius Harlicarnaſſeus* began to write his Books of the *Roman* Hiſtory and Antiquities.

While *Auguſtus* was ſedulouſly employ'd in the Publick Affairs, *Tiberius* was no leſs buſie in his Conſulſhip: He undertook the Reparation of the Temple of *Concord*, upon which he plac'd his own Name, together with that of his Brother *Druſus*. After which he dedicated the Temple of *Livia* his Mother, ſhe her ſelf being preſent at the Ceremony and Solemnity; at which time he noble treated all the Senators in the *Capitol*, and *Livia*, with the Ladies by themſelves. Shortly after he left *Rome* and march'd into *Germany*, where ſome Inſurrections had been made; but nothing memorable was perform'd in that Country this Year. This Year a terrible Fire happened in *Rome* about the *Forum*, which conſum'd many Buildings, and was believ'd to have been caus'd by ſuch as were deeply in Debt, who thought to eaſe themſelves by the Ruin of their Neighbours, and the Confuſion of the City. This occaſion'd the Creation of certain new Officers, call'd *Curatores Vicorum*, who were permitted on certain Days, within the Extent of their Authority, to wear the Robe of a Magiſtrate, and to have two *Lictors* go before 'em; and to them were now aſſign'd the Six hundred Slaves who formerly attended the *Ædiles* for the extinguiſhing of Fires. And at the ſame time, by *Auguſtus*'s particular Order, the City was divided into Fourteen *Regions* or *Wards*, thoſe into inferiour Precincts, for the better Order and Conveniency in the City; the Government of which Wards was aſſign'd to the forementionid *Curatores Vicorum*, the *Tribunes of the People*, and to the *Prætors*, by Lot.

Curatores Vicorum.

In the following Year, *Caius* and *Lucius*, the Emperor's Grandſons by *Agrippa*, by reaſon of their high Birth and Fortune, began to grow proud and inſolent; inſomuch

inſomuch that *Lucius* the younger being at the Theatre, and hearing himſelf flatter'd there to a high Degree, very boldly demanded the Conſulſhip for his Brother *Caius*, tho' then but a Boy. This extreamly diſpleas'd *Auguſtus*, notwithſtanding the great Affection he bore to theſe Brothers, and with much Concern wiſh'd, *That never any ſuch Neceſſity might lie upon him as he found formerly, that the Conſulſhip ſhould be given to any under twenty years of Age.* And when the Brothers were more urgent than ordinary, he gravely told 'em, *That this high Office was to be diſcharged by a Man, and ſuch as cou'd take care that he himſelf offended not, and cou'd rightly manage the extravagant Deſires of the People.* However his Tenderneſs ſo far prevail'd, that at length he gave the Prieſthood to *Caius*, and leave to go into the Senate, and to be preſent with Senators at Shows and Feaſts. But ſomewhat to balance and curb their ambitious Temper, he at the ſame time created *Tiberius*, *Tribune of the People* for five Years, and gave him the Government of *Armenia*. *Tiberius* was notwithſtanding extreamly diſguſted at the Favour *Auguſtus* ſhew'd to his Grandſons; and either for the Riſing of theſe Youths, or rather as ſome believe, for his Diſlike of his Wife *Julia*'s Behaviour, he deſired Permiſſion to retire to the Iſland of *Rhodes*, where he pretended to betake himſelf to Study. This was no ways pleaſing to *Auguſtus*, who at firſt deny'd him leave, till by his exceſſive Grief and long Faſting, he obtain'd it; and parting with great Precipitation, he arriv'd at *Rhodes*, where he there liv'd for ſeveral Years, for the moſt part in a private and retir'd Manner, reading and converſing with the *Greeks* after a familiar Way, only upon ſome Occaſions he wou'd appear like a Publick Magiſtrate.

*Tiberius his Retirement.*

The next Year *Auguſtus* enter'd upon his twelfth Conſulſhip, in which Time he inſtituted two *Præfects* of the *Prætorian* Guards; and *Caius* being now *U. C.* 749.

come to Man's Estate, he brought him into the Court, where he made him *Princeps Juventutis*, or *Prince of the Youth*, and a *Præfect* of a *Tribe*, the *Equites* presenting him with Silver Spears. He was likewise design'd Consul the fifth Year after this; all which Honours were conferr'd upon his Brother *Lucius* afterwards. Thus were the two Sons highly honour'd and dignify'd by *Augustus*; but their Mother *Julia* met with a very different Treatment shortly after. For *Augustus* now found that she was arriv'd to that excess of Wantonness and Prodigality, that even in the *Forum* and at the *Rostra*, she had her nocturnal Meetings, and libidinous Revels, grosly abusing those Courts, in which her Father had made such severe Laws against Adultery. He formerly believ'd, that she had lived no very strict Life, but never imagin'd she had been so notoriously Infamous till now; having the Misfortune of other Princes, who are generally least acquainted with their nearest Concerns. Upon a full discovery of her Actions and Behaviour, the good Emperor was so violently and sensibly afflicted, that he could not conceal the Transports of his Grief and Anger from the Publick, but by a Writing communicated his Misfortune and the Disgrace of his Family, to the Senate it self; an Indiscretion which he afterwards said, *He would never have committed, had either* Agrippa *or* Mecænas *been living.*

Julia *her Banishment.*

But now being overcome with Shame and Rage, he thought of putting his Daughter to Death; but after a calmer Consideration, he banish'd her to *Pandataria*, an Island in *Campania*, to which Place she was voluntarily accompany'd by her Mother *Scribonia*, who had been divorced from *Augustus*, the same Day that she was deliver'd of her. Having banish'd her, he forbad her the Use of Wine, and all sorts of Delicacy whatsoever, either in Diet or Cloaths; and permitted no Person of what Condition soever, to come near her without his approv'd Knowledge of their

their Lives and Morals. Shortly after, her Daughter of the ſame Name, marry'd to *L. Paulus*, was alſo convicted of the ſame Crimes, and was baniſh'd into an Iſland in the *Adriatick* Sea, called *Tremera*.

*Auguſtus* in the midſt of theſe Misfortunes, was diverted by a Revolt of the *Armenians*, who, by calling in the *Parthians*, expell'd *Artavaſcles* the *Roman* Governour, but with the Danger of loſing their Country to the *Parthians*, who now began to make Pretenſions to it, tho' they had firſt ſet up *Tigranes*. *Auguſtus* being inform'd of this dangerous Conjunction, after a long Debate, ſent *Caius* into thoſe Parts, having firſt made him Proconſul, and marry'd him, to procure him the greater Eſteem and Friendſhip, his Wife being the Daughter of *M. Lollius*, who had been appointed Governour of his Youth. *Caius* behav'd himſelf with various Skill and Succeſs in this Expedition; but in a ſhort time through the Terror and Greatneſs of the *Roman* Name quieted all Inſurrections, the *Armenians* being willing to ſubmit, and the *Parthians* to deſiſt. *Auguſtus* being now in his thirteenth Conſulſhip with *Plautius Silanus*, having made Peace with all Nations, and ſhut up the Temple of *Janus* a third time, after it had ſtood open 22 Years, he ordain'd a general *Taxation* or *Cenſus* throughout the *Roman* Empire, that he might know the true State and Value of the whole. In which ſpace of Time the Lord of Heaven and Saviour of the World, *Jeſus Chriſt*, after an ineffable Manner joyn'd himſelf to Humane Nature, and appear'd on Earth, being born of a Virgin in the Kingdom of *Judæa*, at this time in ſubjection to the *Roman* Empire. This according to the vulgar Account of our Saviour's Nativity, was in the 752*d* Year of the City, the 3*d* of the 194*th* *Olympiad*, *A. M.* 4003, or 4004, and in the 25*th* Year of *Auguſtus*'s Reign, from his Eſtabliſhment by the Senate and People.

*The Ten of* Janu- *ſhut the fifth tin*

*U. C.* 752.

*The Birth of* Chriſt

*A. D.* 1. IV. All the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire were now in a profound Peace and Quiet, and as much as we know, all the Nations in the World were in the ſame State; and *Auguſtus* at preſent had but ſmall Employment, beſides his daily receiving thoſe Honours and Acknowledgments paid him by Foreign Nations, and by the greateſt Monarchs and Potentates upon Earth. At the ſame time *Tiberius* at *Rhodes* growing weary of his five Years Retirement, publickly declar'd, *That he left* Rome *purely to avoid the Suſpicion of Envy between him and the two Brothers,* Caius *and* Lucius; requeſting the Emperor, *That ſince thoſe Obſtacles were now remov'd by their being arriv'd at Man's Eſtate, and their being plac'd next to himſelf in Authority, he would grant him leave to return home, and viſit his Friends.* But the Favour was abſolutely deny'd him, and a Meſſage was ſent to bid him *lay aſide all Care and Thoughts of his Friends, ſince he had ſo reſolutely deſerted them.* Thus he was oblig'd extreamly againſt his deſire to continue at *Rhodes*; but to cover his Ignominy, his Mother the Empreſs with much Art and Difficulty, obtain'd that he ſhou'd be there in Quality of *Legatus* from the Emperor. But inſtead of exerciſing that Office, he retir'd to the Middle of the Iſland to avoid the Complements of ſuch as ſail'd by; only when *Caius* paſs'd that Way he croſs'd over to *Chios*, to clear himſelf from all Suſpicions, all the time ſhewing himſelf very ſubmiſſive and reſpectful to Him and his Attendants. After this he left off his uſual Riding, and other Martial Exerciſes; and layin; aſide the Habit of his Country, reduc'd himſelf to his *Pallium* and *Crepidæ*, thus continuing for almoſt two Years. Tho' he often ſhew'd himſelf generous and brave, yet now his Vices had ſo openly appear'd among the Inhabitants of the Iſland, that they daily more deſpis'd and hated him; inſomuch that the People of *Nemauſus* defac'd his Pictures and Statues:

Statues: And in a familiar Banquet, mention being made of him, one of the Company roſe up and promis'd *Caius*, then preſent, *That if he wou'd but give the Word, he ſhou'd have the Head of this Exile in a Moment.*

*Tiberius* now finding himſelf in great Danger and manifeſt Hazard of his Safety, began more earneſtly to ſolicite his Return, by the Intereſt of his Mother, who had always a more then ordinary Influence upon the Emperor; notwithſtanding which, *Auguſtus* would no ways proceed in this Affair, without the particular Conſent of *Caius*. Not long after *Caius*'s Governour *Lollius* dy'd, and *Quirinus*, a Friend to *Tiberius*, coming into his Place, ſo chang'd the Face of Affairs, that *Tiberius* by *Caius*'s Permiſſion, was at laſt recall'd, upon Condition, *That he ſhou'd bear no Office in the Common-Wealth*; and accordingly being arriv'd at *Rome*, he gave himſelf wholly to a retir'd Life, doing ſome private Courteſies, but acting in no publick Buſineſs. But the Diſquiets and Jealouſies of *Tiberius* were all at an end in no long time after; for firſt *Lucius* being appointed for the Armies in *Spain*, dy'd ſuddenly at *Marſeilles*; and in leſs than two Years after, his Brother *Caius* having firſt receiv'd a Wound in *Armenia*, in his Return towards *Rome*, dy'd at *Limyra*, a City in *Licia*, The Bodies of both Brothers were brought to *Rome* by the Tribunes of the Army, and the Silver Bucklers and Spears they had receiv'd from the *Equites* were hung up in the Senate-Houſe. Such were the Ends of both theſe Brothers, who were much belov'd by *Auguſtus*, for their Father's ſake, but of no great Fame and Renown themſelves; but the Manner of their Deaths have by many been imputed to the ſecret Arts of *Livia*, who by all poſſible Ways and Methods, endeavour'd to advance her Son *Tiberius* to the Empire. Not long before which, *Herod* King of *Judæa*, in expectation of deſtroying our Saviour, made a bar-

Tiberius *his Return.*

*The Death of* Caius *and* Lucius.

barbarous Maſſacre of all the Infants in and about *Bethlehem*, that were two Years of Age and under. His Cruelty to his Wife, his Severity to his Children, and his Tyranny to his Subjects, had given *Auguſtus* juſt occaſion to ſay, *That he had rather be a Hog, than his Son*; and his Death was no leſs miſerable, than his Life had been deteſtable, labouring under all the nauſeous and tormenting Concomitants that can be imagin'd; as Scorchings and Ulcers in his Bowels, Convulſions in his Nerves, Swellings and Rottenneſs in his Limbs, an inſatiable Appetite, and Worms and intolerable Smells from all Parts of his Body. His Reign had been ſo odious to his Subjects, that when his Son *Archelaus* was come to *Rome*, to beg the Kingdom of *Judæa*, the *Jewiſh* Ambaſſadors, accompany'd with 8000 of their Country-men in *Rome*, petition'd that they might be joyn'd to *Syria*, and live under *Roman* Governors without any King; but *Auguſtus* judg'd it moſt proper to give one half of *Judæa* to *Archelaus*, and the reſt to his two Brothers *Antipas* and *Philip*.

*Herod's Cruelty and Death.*

*Auguſtus* having thus ſettled the Affairs of *Judæa*, and his third ten Years being now expired, he took the Government upon him for ten more, tho' with ſome Unwillingneſs, and almoſt by Conſtraint. In which Year the People unanimouſly agreed to give him the Title of *Lord*; but he abſolutely refus'd it, and publiſh'd an Edict to that purpoſe; judging the Title of *Pater Patriæ* more Remarkable, as well as more Popular. Not long after which, his Palace was by accident burnt down; and when many freely offer'd him large Sums of Money for its Reparation, he, out of a Deſire to be little burdenſome, refus'd all except a ſmall and ſet Quantity out of each Body or Corporation. And when his Palace was rebuilt, he would have it accounted a Publick Edifice, either becauſe the People had contributed towards its Building, or becauſe he was *Pontifex Maximus*, who always

always were diſtinguiſh'd by their Publick, as well as Private Houſes. He did one remarkable thing this Year, as more peculiarly belonging to his Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, which was a further and compleat Reformation of the *Roman* Year. The third Intercalary Day, which had crept in by the Careleſneſs of the *Roman* Prieſts, being ſuperfluous, was omitted in the Month of *February*; but thenceforward, he commanded that one day in the beginning of every fifth Year, ſhou'd be intercalated, according to the Inſtitution of *Julius Cæſar*; and for the perpetual Obſervation of this Order, he caus'd it to be engraven in Braſs. And from this Year, the Accounts of Time took their Riſe, this Courſe being conſtantly obſerv'd, till the change made in the *Calendar* by Pope *Gregory*, 1574 Years after. But leſt the *Roman* Fairs which were held every ninth day, ſhould fall upon the *Kalends* of *January*, one day was often added in the End of the preceding Year, over and above the Cuſtom, and taken away again the Year following, that the whole Courſe might exactly agree with the former Inſtitution of *Julius Cæſar*, which was made about 47 Years before the laſt Change.

*The laſt Reformation of the* Roman *Year.*

About this time, the People, whether out of Love to the Emperor, or Reſpect to his Family, earneſtly petition'd him to recall his Daughter *Julia*; but he anſwer'd 'em, *That Fire and Water ſhould ſooner meet, than they two.* His Concern and Reſentments in this Matter were ſo great, that when he underſtood that *Phœbe*, one of his Daughter's Confidents, had hang'd her ſelf, he proteſted openly, *That he had rather have been* Phœbe's *Father, than* Julia's. Yet after five Years ſtrict Confinement, they alſo compell'd him to permit her Removal from the Iſland into the Continent, but wou'd never wholly reſtore her; and when the People were more than ordinary urgent with him in that Matter, he in a violent Paſſion wiſh'd, *That they might have ſuch Daughters and ſuch Wives.* How-

ever he conferr'd extraordinary Favours upon her Husband *Tiberius*, tho' the People had affronted him for her ſake: He firſt made him Partner in his *Tribuneſhip* for five Years, and partly through the prevailing Solicitations of *Livia*, and partly from the Hopes he conceiv'd of his Vertues outweighing his Vices, as *Suetonius* thinks, he after that adopted him for his Son. *Tacitus* wou'd inſinuate that he did this, becauſe he knew the Wickedneſs of his Succeſſor, wou'd make his Death more regretted, and his Reign more admir'd; but whatever were his Motives, he publickly ſwore before the People, *That he adopted* Tiberius, *for the ſake of the Common-Wealth.* His cautious Proceeding in this Matter, was very remarkable; for firſt to prevent any Inconveniencies that might be occaſion'd by ſuch an Advancement of *Tiberius*, he caus'd him to adopt his Brother *Druſus*'s Son *Germanicus*, a Youth of rare Vertues and amazing Excellencies, tho' at the ſame time, *Tiberius* had a Son of his own; and in the ſame Day, *Auguſtus* likewiſe adopted *Agrippa Poſthumus*, the only ſurviving Brother of *Caius* and *Lucius*. After *Auguſtus* had thus ſtrengthen'd himſelf by the Adoption of *Tiberius* and *Agrippa*, he undertook a new Purgation and Modelling of the Senate, and again ſtrictly examin'd into the Manumiſſion of Slaves, and took care that his former Laws ſhou'd be faithfully executed. At the ſame time he generouſly recruited the Eſtates and Fortunes of ſeveral young Men both of *Senatorian* and *Equeſtrian* Dignity, whoſe Lives were promiſing, and had fallen into Decay, without any Crimes of theirs.

**Tiberius adopted by Auguſtus**

**And Germanicus by Tiberius.**

In the mean time a great and dangerous Conſpiracy againſt the Emperor was diſcover'd; and *Cornelius Cinna*, Grandſon to *Pompey* by his Daughter, was found to be the principal Perſon concern'd, beſides ſome others of the higheſt Rank. The Knowledge of this was a very ſenſible Affliction to *Auguſtus*, and the more, becauſe he knew not how to determine

determine any thing advantageouſly concerning the Conſpirators Perſons: For if he ſhou'd put 'em to Death, he fear'd to exaſperate their Friends, who were able to have rais'd dangerous Diſturbances; and if he ſhou'd pardon 'em, it might too much encourage others in the like pernicious Attempts. His racking Doubts, and his penetrating Warineſs ſo tormented him in this Exigency, that he could have no Reſt for a conſiderable ſpace, till *Livia* by her reſin'd Artifices, extorted this important Secret from him, and by many ingenious and politick Arguments for Clemency, perſwaded him, *To avoid all violent Remedies, and make uſe of Lenitives, as the only Cure for this preſent Diſtemper.* But whether mov'd by her Reaſons, or led by his own Diſcretion, he ſent for the guilty Perſons, only corrected 'em with Words and Inſtructions, and diſmiſs'd them; and to ſhew a farther Inſtance of his Clemency and Genoriſity, he nominated *Cornelius* Conſul for the next enſuing Year. At which time he told him thus, *I have twice given you your Life; firſt as an Enemy, and next as a Rebel; and now I give you the Conſulſhip. Let us therefore be Friends for the future, and ſtrive to ſhew whether my Confidence or your Fidelity is moſt remarkable.* This Action, in which was ſhewn as much Courage as Judgment, ſo far oblig'd all Men, and had ſuch happy Effects upon others, that from that time, as *Dion* writes, not only all Conſpiracies againſt him ceas'd, but likewiſe the very ſuſpicion and Imagination of 'em.

In the following Year, when *Cornelius* was one of the Conſuls, the Soldiers much complain'd of the ſmalneſs of their Pay, and the want of their uſual Rewards; which occaſion'd *Auguſtus* in a ſhort time after, to erect a Military Treaſury, committing the Charge thereof to three Perſons of *Prætorian* Rank, who were to be attended by two *Lictors* and Servants. For the more ſpeedy Advertiſement of Occurrences in his Provinces, he had formerly appointed

ed young Men upon all great Roads, who being at no great Diſtance, ran on foot with the News from one to another; but now he plac'd a ſort of flying Chariots, judging them more commodious for Expedition, and more convenient for the Examination and Diſcourſing with the Meſſengers, when Occaſion requir'd it. In this and the following Year, *Rome* was much afflicted with Famine, inſomuch, that the *Gladiators*, and all the ſaleable Slaves, were ſent 80 Miles diſtant from the City, and *Auguſtus* himſelf, as well as many others, ſent away their Servants. Senators were now permitted to go whither they deſir'd; and leſt the *Senatuſconſulta* ſhould by this means be of leſs Force, it was decreed, That whatever was enacted by thoſe Senators in the City, ſhou'd be valid. *Auguſtus* ſtill gave as much Corn as formerly, to ſuch as uſually receiv'd it of the Publick, having ſome few Years ſince, reduc'd their indeterminate Number to two hundred thouſand. But finding all this too little, he wou'd not permit the People to feaſt publickly on his Birth-Day: And theſe Wants and Miſeries, made many of the common People very tumultuous and ſeditious; but thoſe Diſturbances gradually abated, as the Plenty of Proviſions and Neceſſaries encreas'd. *Auguſtus* was now no leſs embarraſs'd in the Troubles of his own Family, than in thoſe of the Publick; for Young *Agrippa*, whom he had lately adopted, by his extravagant Life, and irreclaimable Vices, became ſo ſcandalous to his Family, and odious to the Emperor, that he baniſh'd him to the Iſland of *Planaſia*. After this, whenever any mention was made of him, or the two *Julia*'s, he wou'd often with a profound Sigh cry, *Would to Heaven I had liv'd without a Wife, or dy'd without Children*: Nor did he ordinarily call 'em by any other Name, than his *three Biles* or *Impoſthumes*.

*Young Agrippa. baniſh'd.*

*A. D.* 7. At this time were many Wars in the Provinces, as well as Miſeries in the City. The *Iſauri* in *Aſia* began with

with Devaſtations, but proceeding to a War, were overthrown. The *Getuli* in *Africk*, refuſing any longer to be ſubject to King *Juba*, took Arms againſt him, and kill'd many *Romans*, making likewiſe ſo ſtrong an Oppoſition, that *C. Coſſus* for ſubduing that Nation obtain'd Triumphal Honours, and the Surname of *Gætulicus*. Several Expeditions were made againſt he *Germans*, and principally by *Tiberius*, who pierc'd with his Conquering Arms, as far as the *Viſurgis* and *Albis*, did noble Service in thoſe Parts, and gain'd great and rich Spoils; which caus'd both him and *Auguſtus* to receive again the Title of *Imperator*. But the moſt dangerous War was rais'd about this time by the *Dalmations* and *Pannonians*, who now grown in Strength, and unſatisfied with the Benefits of a long Peace, and the Burden of a longer Tribute, had revolted, and join'd with all the Neighbouring Nations, gathering together an Army of 200000 Foot, and 9000 Horſe, which very much threatn'd *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelf. Levies were therefore made with the utmoſt Expedition, the Veterane Soldiers recall'd from all Parts, and *Auguſtus* left *Rome*, and betook himſelf to *Ariminum*, for the greater Conveniency of Correſpondence and Directions: And tho' perſonal Valour was not this Emperor's greateſt Vertue, yet no Prince in the World gave wiſer Orders upon all urgent Occaſions, or cou'd tranſport himſelf with greater Expedition or Advantage into all Parts of his Dominions, when Occaſion requir'd it. The War continu'd nigh three Years, with great Dangers and Difficulties, being principally manag'd by *Tiberius* and *Germanicus*, the latter of which gain'd extraordinary Honour and Reputation againſt thoſe fierce People. Upon their Reduction, *Bato* their General being ſummon'd before *Tiberius*'s Tribunal, was ask'd by him, *For what reaſon they would revolt, and continue in Rebellion againſt the* Roman *Arms*. This General boldly reply'd,

That

*That they themſelves were the Aggreſſors, who inſtead of Dogs and Shepherds to ſecure their Flocks, had appointed Wolves and Wild Beaſts to devour 'em.*

Before this War was compleatly finiſh'd, *Auguſtus* in the Winter return'd to *Rome*, where great Complaints were made to him concerning the too great Number of the unmarry'd *Equites*, which in a great meaſure proceeded from the Looſeneſs of their Lives. This, together with the fatal Example of it to others, appear'd a Matter of ſo dangerous a Conſequence to this good Emperor, that he immediately ſummon'd the whole Body of the *Equeſtrian* Order; where, in the Aſſembly, he order'd the Marry'd and Unmarry'd Perſons to be ſeparately plac'd; Then obſerving the former to be much inferior to the latter in Number, after a high applauding of the Marry'd Sort, he told the other, *That their Lives and Actions had been ſo peculiar, that he knew not by what Name to call 'em; not by that of Men, for they perform'd nothing that was Manly; not by that of Citizens, for the City might periſh notwithſtanding their Care; nor by that of* Romans, *for they deſign'd to extirpate the* Roman *Name.* Then proceeding to ſhew his tender Care and hearty Affection for his People, he further told 'em, *That their Courſe of Life was of ſuch pernicious Conſequence to the Glory and Grandeur of the* Roman *Nation, that he cou'd not chuſe but till 'em, That all other Crimes put together, cou'd not equalize theirs: For they were guilty of Murder, in not ſuffering thoſe to be born, which ſhou'd proceed from 'em; of Impiety, in cauſing the Names and Honours of their Anceſtors to ceaſe; and of Sacrilege, in deſtroying their Kind, which proceed from the Immortal Gods, and Human Nature, the principal Thing conſecrated to 'em. Therefore, in this reſpect they diſſolv'd the Government, in diſobeying its Laws; betray'd their Country, by making it Barren and Waſte; nay, and demoliſh'd their City, in depriving it of Inhabitants. And he was ſenſible that all this proceeded not from any kind of*

*Vertue*

*Vertue or Abſtinence, but from a Looſeneſs and Wantonneſs, which ought never to be encourag'd in any Civil Government.* Having finiſh'd his Speech, he immediately increas'd the Rewards of ſuch as had Children, and impos'd conſiderable Fines upon unmarry'd Perſons, allowing them the Term of a Year, in which Space if they comply'd, they were freed from the Penalty. Yet to ſhew that he wou'd diſcourage nothing that had the appearance of Vertue, he beſtow'd upon ſuch Women as had vow'd a perpetual Virginity, Rewards equal to Mothers. And obſerving that by the Immaturity of Contracts, and frequent changing of Marriages, the Force of his Laws were eluded, he limited the Time of Contracts, and regulated the Extravagencies of Divorces. This ſame Year *Auguſtus* baniſh'd *Ovid*, the famous Poet, into *Pontus*, for his Amorous Eligies and his *Art of Love*, the Looſeneſs of which being thought capable of corrupting a larger Empire than that of the *Romans*; tho' many ſuppoſe it was for ſuch ſecret Crimes, or dangerous Diſcoveries, as muſt have been more fatal to him than Baniſhment.

*The Baniſhment of Ovid*

Upon the finiſhing the Wars in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* return'd to *Rome*, where they were decreed Triumphal Honours, and Triumphal Arches in *Pannonia*, on which magnificent Trophies were plac'd. *Germanicus* for his excellent Services was alſo allow'd *Prætorian* Honours, and Liberty to ſtand for the Conſulſhip, tho' only twenty four Years of Age. But the Joy of theſe Triumphs and new Advancements in *Rome* immediately vaniſh'd upon the dreadful News from *Germany* of the entire Defeat of *Quintilius Varus*; a Perſon rather of an Illuſtrious than a Noble Family, who commanded in that Country, and acted as tho' the *Germans* were more eaſily curb'd by the *Roman* Laws than the *Roman* Sword. He had manag'd his Affairs with that exceeding Careleſsneſs and Indiſcretion, that the

*A. D.* 10.

*Germans*,

*Germans* by their Industry and Stratagems easily found means to draw him into their Country, through Woods and Marshes in separate Bodies, which caus'd the loss of his Life, and the entire destruction of three compleat Legions, with as many *Alæ*, and six Cohorts; an Overthrow the greatest that the *Romans* ever receiv'd since that of *Crassus* against the *Parthians*, above 60 Years before. These were the best and choicest Legions of the whole Empire, either for Valour, Discipline, or Experience; so that the News of this Loss at *Rome*, together with the defenceless State of *Italy* against the *Gauls* and *Germans*, put the City into a great Consternation, Guards being set in all Places to prevent Tumults and Disturbances. This was such a sensible Affliction to the good Old Emperor, that he let his Beard and Hair grow for several Months; and, as many write, did sometimes in a very disturb'd and disorderly manner, knock his Head against the Wall, crying, *Restore the Legions*, Varus! He vow'd the great Games to *Jupiter*, when he recover'd the Commonwealth, as had been done formerly in the Wars of the *Cimbri* and *Marsi*; and he yearly observ'd the Day of this Defeat as a Day of Mourning. Upon Intelligence, shortly after, that the *Germans* had not pass'd the *Rhine*, as was expected, nor made any great Advantage of their Victory, the Peoples Fears were much abated; however *Augustus* was still very diligent in raising what Men he cou'd procure, which he suddenly dispatch'd away under the Command of *Tiberius* into *Germany*.

*Tiberius* invaded *Germany* with much Vigour, together with *Germanicus*, who had the Power of Proconsul: They made great Devastation in many Parts; but subdu'd no Nation, nor fought any Battel, keeping chiefly about the *Rhine*, and prudently avoiding those false steps which ruin'd *Varus*. In the latter end of the Year they return'd to *Rome*, at which time Young *Drusus*, the Son of *Tiberius*, was made

made *Quæſtor*, and ſixteen *Prætors* were created at this time, tho' for many Years following there were but twelve. Some Diſturbances being now rais'd by Augurs and Fortune-tellers, *Auguſtus* wiſely forbad all ſuch Perſons to uſe any Publick or private Predictions concerning the Death of any Man; not that he was any way apprehenſive himſelf, for he publickly expos'd the Scheme of the Heaven under which he was ſuppos'd to have been born. He alſo commanded that none ſhould give Publick Honours to Governors of Provinces, during the Time of their Adminiſtration, nor within ſixty Days after their Departure; becauſe by reaſon of the Honours and Applauſes they receiv'd there, they often carry'd themſelves haughtily, and acted injuriouſly to the Publick. He ſhew'd more than ordinary Kindneſs and Favour to *Germanicus*, who, according to his high Merits, was ſhortly after made Conſul with *C. Capito*; and now *Auguſtus* being grown ancient, in the 74th Year of his Age, he by Writing recommended *Germanicus* to the Senate, and the Senate to *Tiberius*. He deſir'd the Senate, *That they wou'd no longer ſalute him at the Palace, according to their Cuſtom, nor take it amiſs if for the future he could not publickly converſe with 'em as formerly.* From this time *Tiberius* was join'd in the Government of the Provinces with *Auguſtus*, and inveſted with almoſt the ſame Authority: Yet after this *Auguſtus* did no ways throw off the Care and Concern of the Commonwealth, or give himſelf up to his Eaſe, but by many wiſe and vertuous Actions, ſhew'd himſelf ſtill a hearty and zealous Lover of his People, and a true and affectionate Father of his Country.

The Year following the Conſulſhip of *Germanicus*, *Auguſtus*'s fourth Ten Years being expir'd, he with much unwillingneſs took upon him the Government for Ten longer; but transferr'd the Authority of his perpetual *Tribuneſhip* upon *Tiberius*; and likewiſe *A. D.* 14.

wiſe granted his Son *Druſus* the Privilege of ſtanding for the Conſulſhip within three Years. Finding it very inconvenient to come to the Senate by reaſon of his Age, he deſir'd to have twenty Privy-Counſellors aſſign'd him for a Year, having formerly but fifteen for ſix Months; and it was decreed, That whatever he agreed upon with them, together with the Conſuls, and his adopted Nephews, ſhou'd have the ſame Force as if they were voted in the *Curia*. This Year *Auguſtus* made his Will, and deliver'd it to the Veſtal Virgins; in the following, he ſolemniz'd a *Cenſus*, in which *Luſtrum* were found four Millions and 137000 Heads in *Rome*, a Number proportionable to the vaſtneſs of the *Roman* Dominions. While the Ceremonies were performing, with a mighty Concourſe of People in the *Campus Martius*, an Eagle was obſerv'd to fly about him ſeveral Times, and directing her Flight to a Chappel, ſat over the Name of *Agrippa*; which, with ſome other things of the like Nature, was by all look'd upon as a preſaging Omen of his Death ſhortly after. The Augurs declar'd it wou'd be after a hundred Days, from the firſt Letter of *Cæſar* being ſtruck off his Statue by a Thunder-bolt; at which time he ſhould be reckon'd among the Gods, for *AESAR* in the *Hetrurian* Tongue ſignifies a *God*. Shortly after he ſent *Tiberius* into *Illyricum*, and accompany'd him as far as *Beneventum*; but returning back indiſpos'd by a *Diarrhœa*, he came to *Nola* high *Capua*, and there finding himſelf dangerouſly ill, he ſent for *Tiberius*, and his moſt inward Friends and Acquaintance, to whom he recommended many wiſe and uſeful Things, particularly telling 'em, *That he had found* Rome *built of Brick, but he had left it of Marble*, meaning not only the Beauty and Neatneſs of the Buildings, but alſo the Majeſty and firmneſs of the Empire. Then calling for a Looking-Glaſs, he caus'd his Hair to be comb'd, and his wrinkl'd Cheeks

Cheeks to be ſmooth'd up, as an Actor upon the Stage, he ask'd his Friends, *Whether he had play'd his Part well?* And upon their anſwering, *Yes*, he cry'd, *Plaudite!* and ſo expir'd in the Embraces of his belov'd Wife *Livia*, bidding her *Remember their Marriage, and Farewel.* *The Death of Auguſtus.*

Such was the End of the great *Auguſtus*, who dy'd almoſt in the 76*th* Year of his Age, to the unexpreſſible Grief of the whole City and Empire; his Death being promoted, as ſome believe, by the exquiſite Contrivances of *Livia*, who, by reaſon of a late private Viſit to his Baniſh'd Grandſon *Agrippa*, much fear'd the Diſinheriting of her Son *Tiberius*. To draw his Character in ſhort, He was a Perſon of the higheſt Learning and Eloquence, and the moſt amazing Wiſdom and Sagacity; and tho' he cannot be ſaid to have had ſo large a Soul, and ſo vaſt a *Genius* as his Great Uncle *Julius Cæſar*, yet he had as Generous a Temper, a Mind as penetrating, and certainly a more regular Spirit. His principal Vices were his Love of Women, and his Cruelty and fallacious Actions in the ſecond *Triumvirate*; in the former he was not very exceſſive, except in relation to his own Wife *Livia*; and the latter proceeded not from his Nature and Temper, but were purely the effects of his exquiſite Policy: However, his innumerable Acts of Wiſdom and Virtue afterwards, ſufficiently wip'd away thoſe Blots and Imperfections; and never any Prince, in what Age ſoever, was more univerſally honour'd and eſteem'd by the greateſt Potentates upon Earth, nor more truly belov'd and ador'd by his own Subjects. He was almoſt Matchleſs in his Government, yet conſidering the many Misfortunes of his Life, it's hard to judge whether he was more happy than miſerable. He is moſt properly call'd the Founder and Former of the *Roman* Empire, as *Julius Cæſar* is ſaid to have mark'd it out, having Reign'd almoſt 41 Years, from the full Eſtabliſh-

ment of his Authority by the Senate and People, and 44 from the Death of his Rival *Anthony*, or rather from the Battel of *Actium*, from which time many will have his Reign to commence, as ſome will have it from the Death of *Julius Cæſar*, which makes his Reign 57 Years, according to that Account. He dy'd in the *767th* Year of the City, the ſecond of the *198th Olympiad*, and the *15th* Year of our Saviour *Chriſt*, leaving *Rome* in a State flouriſhing beyond all other Cities in the World.

## CHAP. II.

*From the Death of* AUGUSTUS, *to the Death of* TIBERIUS *the Third Emperor, who debas'd, and brought the chief Corruptions into the* Roman *Empire.*

*Containing the Space of above 22 YEARS.*

*A. D.* 15. I. THE Affairs of the Empire were now ſo unſettled. and the Fears of *Livia* ſo ſtrong, that for ſome Space of Time the Death of *Auguſtus* was kept ſecret, leſt upon the Abſence of *Tiberius* in *Illyricum*, ſome Tumults and Diſturbances might happen to his Diſadvantage. It is very doubtful, whether *Tiberius* at his Return found him alive or dead; for *Livia* had carefully guarded and ſecured the Paſſages to the Houſe, ſometimes intimating his Recovery, and again a Relapſe; till having ſettled Matters as the Time and Occaſion requir'd, the ſame Report which not long before brought the joyful News of *Auguſtus*'s Amendment, now publiſh'd his Death, and that *Tiberius* was in actual poſſeſſion of the Empire. In the time of theſe ſecret Practices and Contrivances, Young *Agrippa*, whom *Auguſtus* had baniſh'd, was now

*Young Agrippa murder'd.*

now murder'd by order of *Tiberius*, with this Report made, *That it was done by the particular Appointment of* Auguſtus, *who had given Charge to the Centurion that guarded him, to diſpatch him upon the firſt Intelligence of his Death.* And *Tiberius*, the better to ſupport this Story, when the Centurion gave him an Account, *That he had perform'd his Commands*, immediately anſwer'd him, *That he had given him no ſuch Command, and that he ſhou'd anſwer it before the Senate.* *Criſpus Salluſtius*, who was acquainted with the greateſt Secrets of *Tiberius*, hearing of this, and fearing his own Danger, immediately advis'd *Livia*, *by no means to divulge the Secrets of her Houſe, the Counſel of Friends, and the Services of Soldiers; and that* Tiberius *ſhou'd beware of weakening and diminiſhing the Sovereign Authority, by referring all Things to the Senate; the Nature of abſolute Power being ſuch as cou'd not be preſerv'd entire but in one alone.* By which means the whole Matter was huſh'd and paſs'd over without any further Noiſe or Enquiry about it.

In the mean time the Body of *Auguſtus* was born by the principal Men of the ſeveral Cities from *Nola* to *Rome*, where it was receiv'd in a ſolemn and pompous Manner by the *Equites*, and brought into the City by Night. The Day following the Senate were aſſembled by vertue of *Tiberius*'s *Tribunitial* Power, to which Aſſembly the Senators came only in their *Equeſtrian* Habit, and the Magiſtrates in their *Senatorian*, except the *Prætexta*, *Tiberius* and his Son *Druſus* both appear'd in deep Mourning, and offer'd Incenſe at their coming, omitting the uſual Ceremony of Trumpeters. The Senators being ſeated in their uſual Places, and the Conſuls at this time below 'em. *Tiberius* began a conſolatory Oration to 'em, but ſuddenly ſtopp'd in the begining of his Speech, as unable to reſtrain the Violence of his Sorrow, and with a profound Sigh wiſh'd, *That not only his Voice, but his Life might fail him*; and at the ſame

time gave his Notes to his Son *Druſus* to read 'em out. After which *Polybius*, one of *Auguſtus*'s Freed-men, publickly read his Will in the Senate-Houſe, wherein he made *Tiberius* and *Livia* his Heirs; and by that *Livia* was likewiſe adopted into the *Julian* Family, and intituled by the Name of *Auguſta*. His Will began in this term, *Whereas my Sons* Caius *and* Lucius *have been unfortunately taken from me, I do hereby nominate* Tiberius *to be my Succeſſor*, &c. Which Preface made moſt conclude, that his choice of *Tiberius* was more the Effects of Neceſſity than Freedom. He gave conſiderable Legacies to many private Perſons, to thoſe of the *Prætorian* Guards, to the Legionary Soldiers, and to all the Inhabitants of *Rome*. He was very bountiful to the Children of many, but wou'd not reſtore his Daughter *Julia*, Wife to *Tiberius*; but particularly forbad her being bury'd in his Sepulchre, notwithſtanding he left her a Legacy in his Will. Beſides his Will, four other Writings of his were produc'd at this time: In one he had left Inſtructions concerning his Funeral: In another, an Enumeration was made of his ſeveral Exploits, which was to be cut in Tables of Braſs, and plac'd before his Monument. The third Writing contain'd, an Account of the Provinces, Forces, and Revenues of the Empire, with the Iſſues, Arrears, State of the Treaſury, with other Matters belonging to the Publick. In the fourth he gave many wiſe Inſtructions and Directions to *Tiberius* and the Commonwealth: Among other Things there, it was his Opinion, *That they ought carefully to endeavour the committing the Government to Perſons beſt qualify'd for it, and not to allow too much Authority to one Man, leſt he ſhould turn Tyrant, or his Ruin endanger the Commonwealth.* He likewiſe charg'd 'em, *to be ſatisfy'd with their preſent Fortune, and not to deſire the Enlargement of the Empire's Bounds; for it being difficult to keep what they had already gain'd, they would probably, by endeavouring to obtain*

*tain more, loſe what they now poſſeſs'd.* After this follow'd his Funeral, which was ſolemniz'd with extraordinary Pomp and Magnificence, *Tiberius* himſelf making his Funeral Oration, which he did with ſuch Eloquence and Artifice, as ſuited both the Greatneſs of his Parts, and the Depth of his Deſigns. It was decreed, that Women ſhould mourn for him a whole Year; Temples were erected to him, Divine Honours allow'd him, and a Sum of Money given by *Livia* to *Numerius Atticus*, a Senator, as *Dion* relates it, for having ſworn that he ſaw him aſcending into Heaven, as *Proclus* anciently had ſaid of *Romulus.*

The People of *Rome* at this time began to raiſe various Diſcourſes, and ſeveral had great Expectations of their ancient Liberties; but now the *Conſuls*, *Senators* and *Equites*, ran headlong into Servitude, as *Tacitus* writes; and that Complaiſance and juſt Eſteem they had for the Perſon of *Auguſtus*, was now degenerated into baſe Fawnings and vile Flatteries to *Tiberius.* All Suits and Petitions were now made to him; and being offer'd the Government in the Senate, tho' he had already ſecur'd it to himſelf, he with much Artifice began to diſcourſe of the Greatneſs of the *Roman* Empire, and in modeſt Terms of his own Inſufficiency, thought the *Care and Wiſdom of* Auguſtus *only capable of ſo weighty a Charge: That himſelf, being advanc'd by* Auguſtus *as an Aſſociate and Partner in the State, had by ſufficient Proofs learnt the Difficulties, Contingencies, and Dangers inſeparably annex'd to Rule and Sovereignty: And ſince the City was ſo happily repleniſh'd with great Numbers of famous and worthy Perſons, it were highly more advantageous, that many by joining their Cares and Counſels, ſhould undertake this Charge, than to lay the whole Burden upon one Man.* After which he expreſt himſelf in more doubtful and ambiguous Terms than before, till the whole Body of the Senators, in the moſt low and humble manner imaginable, begg'd of him to ac-

cept of the Government. *Tiberius* then insinuating, *That he was unable to take Charge of the whole, but at their Requests was willing to undertake the Protection of any one Part they should think proper to assign him*; *Asinius Gallus* ask'd him, *What Part he was willing to accept of?* Which unexpected Demand much startled *Tiberius* who for a while stood mute; but recovering himself, he with a subtle Coldness answer'd, *That it ill became his Modesty to chuse or refuse any one Part of that, from all which he begg'd to be excus'd.* *Gallus* perceiving him inwardly offended, as readily reply'd, *That he did not offer that Question, as tho' he design'd to divide what in it self was inseparable; but by his own Confession to convince him, That the Commonwealth was but one Body, and consequently to be actuated by one Soul.* Then continuing his Speech, he insisted upon the great Merits and Accomplishments of *Tiberius*, and enlarg'd upon the noble Victories and Conquests he had gain'd abroad; all which would by no means appease his private Anger and secret Malice against him. At length *Tiberius* being wearied by the Clamours of all in general, and the Importunities of some in particular, by little and little yielded to their Requests; not that he would confess, *That he took so mighty a Charge as that of the* Roman *Empire upon him, but to finish all troublesom Denials, and all further Intreaties:* Adding at last, *That he would accept and keep the Empire, till such time as they in their great Prudence should think fit to give Repose to his Old Age.* Thus was a crafty Dissimulation on one Side, and a more dangerous Flattery on the other, carry'd to a Degree that prov'd very injurious to the *Roman* State and People.

**Tiberius** *takes upon him the Empire.*

*Tiberius* was now Fifty six Years of Age, when he enter'd upon the Government; and was not well settled in his Throne, when he receiv'd Intelligence that the Legions in *Pannonia* or *Hungary*, hearing of the Death of *Augustus*, and desiring Novelties and a more

more licentious Freedom, had mutiny'd and revolted from *Julius Bleſus* their Commander, a Captain call'd *Percenius*, being Principal of the Mutiny. Againſt theſe *Tiberius* ſent his Son *Druſus* with the utmoſt Diligence, who, after their requiring many great and unreaſonable Advantages, quieted 'em with much Danger and Difficulty, firſt by taking advantage of a total Eclipſe of the Moon, which had much diſcourag'd 'em, and then by putting to death *Percenius*, with ſome other Perſons moſt engag'd in this Mutiny. As this Accident had much mov'd *Tiberius*, and caus'd him to be extreamly cautious in his Government at home, another Commotion had ſtill greater Effects upon him: For almoſt at the ſame time, and for the ſame Cauſes, the Legions of *Germany*, in the abſence of *Germanicus* their General, rebell'd; which prov'd the more violent and dangerous, as being far more ſtrong and numerous than the other. Theſe boldly began to affirm, *That the whole* Roman *Empire was in their Hands, and that its principal Grandeur was owing to their Arms and Conqueſts*; and when *Germanicus* arrived at the Camp, they unanimouſly reſolv'd to chuſe him Emperor, in oppoſition to *Tiberius*. *Germanicus* was the Soldiers Darling, and was almoſt Idolized by 'em; ſo that he might with no great Difficulties have rais'd himſelf to the higheſt Dignity in the *Roman* State: But his unbounded Greatneſs of Mind and Generoſity wou'd not permit him to accept of any ſuch Offer; tho' his Refuſal, and his indefatigable Endeavours to appeaſe the Soldiers, often endanger'd his Life. His great Loyalty here put him with his Wife and Children to the extreameſt Hazards imaginable; till at laſt, by his induſtrious Skill and wiſe Conduct, by a home and unexpected cutting off many of the principal Revolters, and a quick and ſudden turning his Forces againſt the *Germans*, he wholly quieted theſe Diſturbances. *Tiberius* extreamly rejoyc'd at

this News, but was much dissatisfied to find *Germanicus* succeed so prosperously in this and other Actions; tho' at the same time he highly applauded all his Exploits before the Senate, who for this and other great Successes against the *Germans*, shortly after decreed him great Honours. In the same Year died *Julia* in extream Want and Misery, being first depriv'd of her Annual Pensions by her Husband *Tiberius*, and then of all Hopes or Assistance; an End suitable to one who had so vilely debas'd her self, and so publickly scandaliz'd the noblest Family in the World.

*The Death of* Julia.

The late dangerous Disorders in *Germany*, together with the venerable Esteem all had for *Germanicus*, was a severe Restraint to the Actions of *Tiberius*, who now with a wonderful Dissimulation conceal'd those Vices and Enormities, which afterwards display'd themselves so openly; and in almost all things acted like a truly generous, discreet, and mild Prince. He utterly rejected many of those great Names and Titles of Honour, which were so readily offer'd him by the Senate, and wou'd not allow 'em to build any Temples to him. He likewise forbad 'em to erect any Statues to him, without express Command; and if at any time he did permit it, it was with this particular Caution, *That they shou'd not place 'em among the Images of the Gods*, as they had done many others. He seem'd much displeas'd when he heard himself prais'd and extoll'd, and wholly refus'd the Title of *Father of his Country*, which the People had often, and with great Applauses attributed to him. Nor wou'd he permit any to swear to the Observation of his Ordinances, tho' the Senate were there consenting to it; affirming, *That all mortal Things were mutable and uncertain, and the higher he was rais'd, his State wou'd be the more expos'd to Danger and Ruin.* He dissembled likewise an extraordinary Patience and Meekness upon all Occasions; and tho' in the Senate there pass'd some

Things

Things contrary to his Will and Opinion, and in other Affairs he met with ſome Oppoſition, yet he ſeem'd not the leaſt diſpleas'd or offended. And underſtanding that ſome ſpoke very detractingly of him, and us'd many opprobrious Speeches againſt him and his Adminiſtration, he ſhew'd no Diſcontent or Alteration; but mildly ſaid, *That in a free City, the Tongues of Men ought to be free alſo.* And when the Senate wou'd have exhibited Informations, and have proceeded againſt ſome who publiſh'd Libels againſt him, he wou'd not conſent to it, alledging, *That he had greater and more uſeful Employments, than to embarraſs himſelf with ſuch Trivial Matters*; adding further, *That he wou'd uſe no other Puniſhment againſt ſuch as defam'd him, than troubling 'em with keeping an Account of his Actions; if that were inſufficient, he cou'd ſatisfie himſelf with having as ſmall an Eſteem for them, as they had for him.*

By theſe and other Acts of Patience and Clemency, he not only cover'd over his Cruelty, Pride, and Ambition, but by his extraordinary Addreſs, he for a time mask'd his Incontinence, Looſeneſs, and Avarice, which laſt was his moſt apparent and prevailing Paſſion; all which he did with ſuch exquiſite Artifices, that he ſeem'd to be no ways infected with theſe Vices. And when ſome Governors of Provinces demonſtrated to him by what Means he might eaſily increaſe his Revenues from thence, he with ſome Concern anſwer'd, *That a good Shepherd ought to ſhear, but never to flea his Flock*; and immediately abated ſome Tributes, and conferr'd Honours upon ſome particular Perſons there. He conceal'd his luxurious Temper by reſtraining the Delicacies of Eating-Houſes and Taverns, and his libidinous Diſpoſitions by ſeverely puniſhing and baniſhing many diſhoneſt Matrons and looſe Young Men: and in this Particurlar hew as ſo ſtrict, that by Proclamation he prohibited the Kiſſes which were daily given by way of Salutation. In the Adminiſtration and

Execu-

Execution of Justice he made many good and laudable Beginnings, taking exact care for the preventing of Thieves and Robbers, who were grown very numerous and inconvenient in *Italy*; and that Justice should be truly and regularly executed in all Towns and Villages, and to ease the Citizens of *Rome*, he caus'd the *Prætorian* Cohorts, which were the Emperor's Guards, to encamp and lodge themselves without the City Walls in the Fields, where they were oblig'd to continue, being us'd in the Palace by Parties and by Turns. For a considerable time his Carriage towards the Senate was very respectful, to which Assembly he shew'd a high Esteem, giving them so great an Authority in all Publick Matters, that he acted nothing of moment without their Counsel, desiring that all should be done by their Advice and Consent. Having one day in a Publick Matter dissented in his Opinion from *Q. Haterius* in the Senate, *Pardon me, I beseech you*, said he, *if as a Senator I speak against you with more Freedom than ordinary*: Then turning to the whole Assembly, he said, *Most venerable Fathers, I now but repeat what I formerly said, That a good and prudent Prince, to whom you have given so great and absolute a Power, ought to be as serviceable as possible to the Senate and Body of the City: Nor do I repent of any Thing I have said in this nature, having always accounted you my good, just, and most gracious Lords.* The Senate on the other side, continually return'd him the most extravagant Praises and Commendations, as likewise did many of the Nobility; so that no Prince upon Earth was ever accompanied with more servile Flatterers than he; which he perfectly knew how to use and manage to the enslaving and weakning the State. And at his first coming to his Throne, the *Romans* seem'd far more dispos'd to serve, than he to command; and gave up themselves to Slavery at a time, when he cou'd scarcely have hop'd for their Subjection.

In

In the mean time *Germanicus* with admirable Skill and Succeſs proceeded in the Wars againſt the *Germans*, overthrowing 'em in ſeveral Battels, ſubduing the *Augrivarii*, the *Cheruſci*, and the *Chatti*, with other fierce Nations beyond the *Rhine*, recovering the Enſigns loſt by *Varus*, and erecting ſeveral magnificent Trophies and Monuments in Honour of the *Roman* State and Emperor. Upon one of which he modeſtly put this Title, *The People between the* Rhine *and the* Elbe *being vanquiſh'd*, Tiberius Cæſar's *Army dedicates theſe Monuments to* Mars, Jupiter, *and* Auguſtus; not ſo much as mentioning his own Name, to avoid all Envy, or becauſe the Memory of the Action was a ſufficient Teſtimony of him, as *Tacitus* obſerves. But as all his cautious and dutiful Proceedings cou'd not extinguiſh the Jealouſies and Suſpicions of *Tiberius*, ſo his great Fortune and Succeſſes only ſerv'd to blow up his Envy and Hatred; which began to appear in his uſing ſo many plauſible Pretences to draw *Germanicus* from the *German* Legions, which he knew wou'd ſerve him to the utmoſt. But at preſent *Tiberius* was diverted in his Intentions, and more buſily employ'd in ſuppreſſing a Domeſtick Inſurrection made in *Italy* by one *Clemens*, a Slave to that *Agrippa*, who had been ſlain immediately after the Death of *Auguſtus*. This Perſon being about the ſame Age, and very much of the ſame Shape with his Lord, took upon him his Name, and caus'd it to be reported in all Parts, *That* Agrippa *by the peculiar Goodneſs of the Gods, was ſtill preſerv'd alive*; which rais'd great Tumults in many Parts of *Italy*, and brought over great numbers of looſe and ſeditious People, *Clemens* himſelf boldly pretending a Right to the Empire. But as his Pretenſions had but a weak Foundation, and himſelf a ſmall Reſpect from Perſons of Note, ſo he was ſoon defeated, by a Stratagem taken Priſoner, and brought before *Tiberius*, who having ask'd him how he was made *Agrippa*, the Fellow anſwer'd, *As you were made Cæſar*, A. D. 17.

*Cæsar.* Tho' *Tiberius* had him wholly in his Power, yet great was his Fear, or his Policy, that he did not punish him publickly, but in a secret Place of his Palace, commanded him to be executed, and his Body to be privately convey'd away. And tho' many of the Emperor's own House, Senators and Nobility, were said to have supported him with their Purses, and assisted him with their Counsels; yet he made no further Enquiry after any such Persons.

*Tiberius* had now quell'd all Domestick Disturbances according to his Desires, but still the Actions and Exploits of *Germanicus* increas'd his Fears and Jealousies, and made him extreamly unsatisfy'd. He had frequently sought for plausible Pretences of drawing him from *Germany*; and the Affairs of this Year presented him with the fairest Opportunity for that purpose, that he cou'd expect: For at this time the *Parthians* having First slain two of their Kings, and refus'd their lawful Successor, whom *Tiberius* had freed from being his Hostage, they made War against the *Roman* Empire, breaking the Peace ratify'd in *Augustus*'s Reign and enter'd *Armenia*, whose King was a Tributary of the *Romans*. *Tiberius*, that he might proceed more by Policy than Authority, having procur'd *Germanicus* a Triumph decreed for his Exploits in *Germany*, writ to him, *To return to the Triumph which had been so justly decreed him*; telling him besides, *That he was truly sensible that he had pass'd through numerous Dangers and Hazards; that he had the most desirable Success in many honourable Battels; that he had been sent nine Times into* Germany *by* Augustus *of famous Memory, where he had atchiev'd many noble Exploits both by his Counsel and Courage, but since he had reciv'd the Submission of so many People and Nations, and since the* Romans *had sufficient Revenge on 'em, he thought it most proper to leave those Nations to finish their own Wars.* But *Germanicus* shewing no Inclination to a Triumph, and earnestly begging for one Year longer to finish the Enterprizes he had begun

gun; *Tiberius* more briskly attack'd his Modesty, by offering him the Consulship once more, which he shou'd execute in Person. *Germanicus* now thought he cou'd not with Decency any longer withstand these pressing Importunities, and finding the Season very far advanc'd, he made no longer stay in *Germany*; tho' he was well satisfy'd that these were all but colourable Pretences, and the Effects of Envy, to draw him from the Glory he had already obtain'd. Before his Arrival at *Rome*, upon the account of his Victories, a Temple was built to *Fortune*, in the Gardens which *Julius Cæsar* had given to *Rome*; and likewise a Chappel dedicated to the *Julian* Family, with a fair Image erected to *Augustus*.

Germanicus's *Triumph.*

In the beginning of the following Year, *Germanicus* return'd to *Rome*, and being met many Miles with infinite Throngs of People, he triumph'd, and after a very Magnificent manner; an Honour now more uncommon than formerly. The extraordinary Gracefulness of his Person and Carriage, and his Triumphal Chariot loaden with five of his Children most beautifully adorn'd, added much to the Pomp and Splendor; and the Joy was the more universal, both because of his being so extreamly belov'd, and because of his recovering the Ensigns and Standards lost by *Varus*, which had been a most mortifying Disgrace to the *Roman* Nation. *Tiberius*, in the Name of *Germanicus*, gave to all the People 300 Sesterces each Man, and the succeeding Year made him his Collegue in his *Consulship*. Yet these Favours did not throughly satisfy the People, who now perceiv'd some Signs of *Tiberius*'s Envy towards *Germanicus*: And at this time his envious and treacherous Disposition,, began to discover it self in some few Instances; particularly as to *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*, whom he maliciously remember'd, for not shewing any Duty to him when he continu'd at *Rhodes*, many Years before. For which reason, after he had allur'd

him

him over to *Rome*, with many gracious Promiſes of Kindneſs, he caus'd him to be unjuſtly accus'd, and committed to Priſon; where ſhortly after this unfortunate King dy'd in great Miſery and Extremities, his Kingdom being upon this made Tributary to *Rome*. At the ſame time *Antiochus*, King of *Comagena*, and *Philopater*, King of *Cilicia*, being both dead, ſome Differences aroſe in thoſe Nations, to the Prejudice of the *Romans*; and likewiſe *Syria* and *Judæa*, overcharg'd with Taxes, made earneſt Supplications for Eaſements. All theſe Accidents, together with the *Parthian* and *Armenian* Wars, much haſtned the Deſigns of *Tiberias*; who plauſibly repreſented to the Senate, *That the Diſturbances in the Eaſt, cou'd by no means be ſo effectually ſuppreſs'd, as by the Preſence of* Germanicus *in thoſe Parts.* Whereupon all the Provinces in *Aſia* were readily decreed to *Germanicus*, and a larger Power and Command given him, than had been granted to any Governour before him. But *Tiberius*, to balance and reſtrain the Power of *Germanicus*, as much as poſſible, had before depos'd his great Friend *C. Sylanus* from being Governor of *Syria*, and ſent *Cn. Piſo* in his Place, a Perſon of a furious and headſtrong Temper, and in every reſpect, fit to execute thoſe fatal Purpoſes for which he was chiefly deſign'd. His Wife *Plancina*, who was of a more haughty Temper than he himſelf, had likewiſe ſecret Inſtructions from *Tiberius* and *Livia*, to procure and excite all the Envy and Hatred they cou'd againſt *Germanicus*; and even his Death, if occaſion ſhou'd require it, as it afterwards appear'd.

A. D. 19. In the ſame Year that *Germanicus* was made Conſul with *Tiberius*, he departed from *Rome*, for his Eaſtern Expedition, carrying with him his Wife *Agrippina*, and his Children; and arriving at *Lesbos*, his Wife, in her laſt Delivery, had *Julia*. In the mean time *Piſo*, purſuant of his Deſigns, by Gifts, Flatteries, and all imaginable vile Methods, was induſtriouſly gain-

gaining the Hearts and Affections of the Army againſt *Germanicus*, whom he took the liberty of abuſing and vilifying beyond meaſure. But *Germanicus* more purſu'd the glorious Ends of his Expedition, than obſerv'd the private Deſigns of *Piſo*; and in a ſhort time by his wiſe and diligent Management, he plac'd the King in *Armenia*, who was a Friend and Ally of the *Romans*: And the Kingdoms of *Comagena* and *Cilicia*, being void by the Deaths of their Kings, he reduc'd thoſe Countries into Provinces, and plac'd *Prætors* and Governors there; in the former *Q. Servius*, in the latter *Q. Veranius*, moderating in them the Royal Subſidies and Tributes. After this he manag'd his Affairs with ſo much Skill and Dexterity, that he in a very ſhort time conſtrain'd the King of *Parthia*, to ſue for Peace and Alliances; which he granted and concluded, much to the Honour of the Empire, and the *Roman* Name. However, *Piſo* and his Wife *Plancina* continu'd to defame him, and openly to tax his Proceedings; all which Affronts *Germanicus* ſuffer'd with great Prudence and Patience, ſtill carrying himſelf towards 'em with that Courteſie and Civility which was peculiar to him; well knowing the original Spring of their Deſigns and Actions. And now having happily finiſh'd the *Parthian* War, he took a Voyage into *Ægypt*, principally to view the celebrated Rarities and Antiquities of that famous Country; which highly offended *Tiberius*, *for preſuming to enter that Province*, as he writ to him, *when* Auguſtus, *among other great Secrets of State, had ſtrictly forbidden all Senators, Noblemen and Knights, to travel thither without ſpecial Permiſſion.* In the Abſence of *Germanicus*, *Piſo* had form'd ſuch Plots and Deſigns againſt him, that when he underſtood of his Return, he for his better Security, departed out of his Province. But as he had practis'd his Death, he went not far diſtant; but remain'd for

ſome

some few Days in a small Island. During which time, *Germanicus* coming to *Antioch*, was there poyson'd with a slow working Poyson, by the Practices of *Piso* and his Wife, but by the Directions and Counsels of *Tiberius*, as most Authors are of Opinion.

Germanicus *poysoyn'd.*

The unfortunate *Germanicus* now finding his End approaching, call'd for his Friends about him, and spoke to 'em after this manner. *Since I am so suddenly snatcht from you, my faithful Friends, and my too much lov'd Country, my last Favour to you is, that you would signifie to my Father and Brother, with what Cruelty torn, with what Fraud circumvented, I have finish'd my miserable Life, with a most inglorious Death. If Hopes conceiv'd of me have mov'd any; if Proximity of Blood have excited any; nay, if Envy towards me when living has provok'd any; they now will weep, to find Him, who before flourish'd, and escap'd so many Battles and imminent Dangers, to end his Life by the perfidious Arts and Treachery of a Woman. But you, I am sure, will do something more: You will revenge my Death. Therefore shew to the* Roman *People my Wife, the Grand-Child of* Augustus, *and my Children; and the Actors themselves will have Remorse; and those who pretend impious Commands, will either not be believ'd, or not pardon'd.* His Friends with weeping Eyes, taking him by the Right Hand, all swore *That they would sooner lose their Lives, than their Revenge.* Then turning to his Wife, he conjur'd her by is Memory, and all the Bonds of Nuptial Love, *That she would lay aside her aspiring Mind, and submit her Courage to the cruel Shocks of Fortune; lest at her return to the City, by emulation of Greatness, she shou'd procure the mortal Enmity of two more powerful than her self.* Thus much he spoke openly, other Things he said in Secret; and shortly after expir'd, to the exceeding Grief of his Province, and all the Foreign Princes in those Parts; so great had his Courtesie been to the Allies, and his Mildness to his Enemies. Thus dy'd the noble and most valiant Captain *Germanicus*, in the 34th

Year

Year of his Age; a Person of admirable Vertues, rare Accomplishments, and of a most sweet Disposition; and a Person perfectly skill'd in a just Compliance and Obedience, yet most worthy of the highest Authority and Command. He was nearer ally'd to the Empire than *Tiberius* himself, his Mother *Antonia* being Daughter to *Anthony* and *Octavia*, and his Wife *Agrippina*, Daughter to *Agrippa* and *Julia*; and he left behind him three Sons, *Nero*, *Drusus*, and *Caligula*, and as many Daughters. His Death happen'd in the sixth Year of *Tiberius*'s Reign, and the 772d Year of the City; the Year before which dy'd *Livy* the renown'd Historian, and *Ovid* the famous Poet, in his Banishment.

II. *Tiberius* was now freed from the Person so much belov'd by others, and so much dreaded by himself; yet still he was oblig'd to stand the Shock of an After-Blow, proceeding from the Peoples Heat and Resentments. For never was a greater and more real Sorrow in *Rome*, than at the News of the Death of *Germanicus*; and without any Edict of Magistrates, or Decree of Senate, Vacation was suddenly made, the Places of Judgments abandon'd, Shops and Houses shut up, and great Sighs and Mournings heard in every Street. The People threw Stones at their Temples, pull'd down their Altars, cast their Houshold Gods out of Doors, while the new-born Infants were expos'd, and in their Indignation forsaken by their Parents. A violent Rage and Fury appear'd among many, and grievous Complaints and Murmurings were made against *Piso*, and against the Emperor himself, with his Mother *Livia*; all which Troubles were renew'd, and increas'd at the arrival of *Agrippina*, shortly after with the Ashes of her Husband. At her first Landing, she was met by innumerable multitudes of People from *Rome*, and from most Cities and Towns in *Italy*, all manifesting their mighty Esteem and *A. D.* 20.

Affection; especially the old Soldiers, many of whom had serv'd under this great General, who gave the highest Marks and Testimonies of their deep Concern, and unfeign'd Sadness, At the City she was met by the Senate and the whole People of *Rome*, with a strange and wonderful mixture of Lamentations and Acclamations; *Tiberius* himself outwardly appearing as highly concern'd as any other, for the untimely End of his adopted Son. On the Day that the Ashes were reposited in the Tomb of *Augustus*, all were in a profound Silence, in the former Parts, when of a sudden they broke out into loud Cries and Lamentations, and the *Campus Martius* was fill'd with mighty Throngs of People, and shin'd like the Day with blazing Torches; where the Soldiers and people with extream Passion cry'd out, *The Common-Wealth was fallen to the Ground!* not considering the jealous Temper of the present Governours. *Tiberius* most craftily dissembled all this, but nothing so sensible touch'd him, as the fervent Affection the People shew'd to *Agrippina*; calling her, *The Honour of their Country, the true Pattern of Antiquity, and the only Blood of the great* Augustus; and turning towards Heaven, and praying, *That her Issue might continue long, and outlive the Wicked.*

The People's zealous Affection towards *Agrippina*, was not more remarkable than their violent Hatred to *Piso*, whom they publickly accus'd of murdering *Germanicus*. *Piso* having now overcome all Fear and Modesty, and presuming upon the great Favour of *Tiberius*, shortly after came to *Rome*; where in behalf of *Agrippina*, and her Friends, he was accus'd before the Senate of many other Crimes besides the Death of *Germanicus*; particularly, That he had corrupted the common Soldiers with Licentiousness and Debauchery, and had done great Injury to the Confederates; that he was call'd, *Father of the Legions* by all the lewder Sort; that he had been barbarous and cruel to all good Men, and had born Arms against the

the State. He defended himſelf but weakly againſt theſe Accuſations, only the Poyſoning of *Germanicus*, cou'd not be ſo evidently made appear as ſome other things. However the Anger and Severity of the Judges, the Cries and Threats of the People, and above all the Artifices and Diſſimulations of *Tiberius*, drove him to ſuch Extremities, that before his Caſe could be finally determin'd he was found dead in his Bed, by his own Hands, as was conjectur'd. He had been often ſeen with a little Book in his Hand, which as his Friends reported, contain'd the Emperor's Letter and Commiſſion to kill *Germanicus*; all which he deſign'd to have ſhewn openly in the Senate, and to have charg'd *Tiberius* with the Murder, had he not been cunningly deluded by his Favourite *Sejanus*'s vain Promiſes: And moreover, they affirm, *That he kill'd not himſelf, but was privately murder'd by a Perſon ſent for that purpoſe.* His Wife *Plancina*, who is believ'd to have been more guilty than himſelf, by the Perſwaſion and Interceſſion of *Livia*, eſcap'd publick Puniſhment; and thus all Diſturbances rais'd upon this Account, were by degrees quieted.

*Tiberius* having now got free from all his Troubles and Jealouſies, began to pull off the Mask; and to appear ſomewhat more bare-fac'd in his vicious Actions and looſe Life, tho' not yet ſo open in his Tyrannical Deſigns. However, it was apparent to many, that he had much receded from the wiſe Maxims of his Predeceſſor *Auguſtus*, all whoſe publick Actions manifeſtly tended to the general Happineſs of the *Roman* People and Empire: But the Maxims of this Emperor taught him to make a Science of the Cloſet, wherein was ſhut up a falſe and myſterious Intereſt of the Prince, ſeparate from the Intereſt of the State, and almoſt always contrary to the Publick Good. Here Judgment, Capacity, and the wiſe Secrets of State, were converted into Slineſs, Artifice, and a dangerous Diſſimulation,

where there could be no knowing of good and evil Actions of themſelves, but every thing was taken according to the nice Intention of the Emperor, or judg'd by the Fineneſs of ſome malicious Speculation. He began more and more to diminiſh the Power and Authority of the Senate, which Deſign was much facilitated by the nauſeous Flatteries of moſt People; a Vice which had now ſo overſpread and corrupted the City, that not only the common Nobility were oblig'd in that ſervile Manner to ſuſtain their Reputation, but ſuch as had been *Conſuls* and *Prætors*, and alſo many *Senators* ſtrove who ſhould propound Things moſt vile and ſordid, as *Tacitus* aſſures us. It is alſo written, That as *Tiberius* was wont to go out of the Senate and Publick Aſſemblies, he often ſaid in *Greek*, *O Nation, ready for Servitude!* as tho' he, who cou'd ſo little endure the Publick Liberty, did yet abhor ſuch baſe and ſervile Submiſſion, which, by little and little, fell from indecent Flatteries to Practices more lewd.

Above a Year after the Death of *Germanicus*, *Tiberius* made himſelf Conſul, taking alſo his Son *Druſus* for his Collegue; after which feighing an Indiſpoſition, he retir'd from *Rome* as for the Recovery of his Health; but with deſign, that his Sons Government ſhould facilitate his Settlement and Eſtabliſhment in the Empire after his Deceaſe. During the Time of this Government, ſeveral Nations of the *Gauls* made Inſurrections, being unable to endure the heavy Tributes and ſevere Exactions which *Tiberius* had lately impos'd upon 'em. The principal Leaders and Promoters of this Rebellion, were two valliant and hardy Men, call'd *Florus* and *Sacrovir* whoſe Arms were ſo proſperous in the beginning, that *Rome* it ſelf was in ſome kind of Conſternation, there being much more reported there, than prov'd true. This was a great Concern to *Tiberius*, who never had Commanded in the Field ſince he came to the Empire, and had

had now almoſt forgotten all his former Valour and Bravery, and had given himſelf up to Vice and Senſuality in his Old Age. But *Caius Silius* who Commanded in thoſe Parts, march'd ſpeedily with his Legions againſt thoſe Revolters, and in one general Battel put 'em to Flight, and deſtroy'd great Numbers of 'em, by which he ſettl'd and ſuppreſs'd all the Diſturbances in *Gaul*. *Druſus*, in the mean time, diligently employ'd himſelf in his new Government; and the Year following, his Father gave him the *Tribunitial* Power. In which Year *Tacfarinus*, a great and powerful Man in *Numidia*, who had rebell'd and been defeated by *L. Aſtronicus* two Years before, was now again overthrown and reduc'd by *Blæſus*; and for that Service *Tiberius* gave him the Honour of being ſaluted *Imperator* by his Legions, according to the ancient Cuſtom.

*Tiberius*, tho' he had carefully endeavour'd, and ſucceſsfully gain'd ſo ſtrict a Command over the Perſons of others, yet he had the Misfortune of being in a great meaſure rul'd by his Favourite *Sejanus*, a *Roman* Knight, bold and aſpiring in his Attempts, cloſe and crafty in his Deſigns, but modeſt in outward Shew and Appearance. This Perſon had by many ingenious Sleights, and cunning Inſinuations, ſo gain'd upon the Affections of the Emperor, that tho' he was ever reſerv'd and ſecret to others, he became free and open to him, making him Captain of the *Prætorian* Guards, and advancing him to the higheſt Dignities; beſides, he extol'd him in the Senate as an Aſſociate in his Labours, permitting his Statues to be ſet up in the Theatres, and other publick Places. Theſe extraordinary Favours ſo ſwell'd him, that he thought of nothing leſs than the Empire it ſelf; as a ſtep to which he firſt turn'd the Force of his Deſigns againſt *Druſus*, with whom he was highly incens'd, by reaſon of ſome late Affronts. In order to this Attempt, he addreſs'd himſelf to *Druſus*'s Wife *Livia*, Siſter

Sejanus *his Riſe.*

Sister to *Germanicus*, and by many Pretences of a most violent Passion for her, he enjoy'd her; after which he put her in great hopes of Marriage, and Partnership in the Empire, *if she would be assistant in Murdering her Husband.* All which was easily effected by the means of *Lygdus* an Eunuch, and a slow working Poyson, which was chosen to make his Death appear to be the effects of some casual Distemper. Great Murmurings arose in *Rome* upon this Account; tho' the greatest part of the People were not much concern'd, having now Hopes that *Germanicus*'s Children should succeed in the Empire, whom they highly respected and esteem'd for their Father's sake. *Tiberius* shew'd much Concern at first, but in a great measure laying aside the Care for him, or the Publick, he unexpectedly shorten'd the Vacation upon this Occasion; and shew'd so little Respect to him, that when the Ambassadors fram *Troy* or *Illium* came somewhat late with their Compliments of Condolency, he told 'em in Derision, *That he also could not but lament their Misfortune, in having lost so brave and eminent a Citizen as* Hector. *Drusus*'s Death happen'd on the ninth Year of *Tiberius*'s Reign; in which and the following Year, the War with *Tacfarinus* in *Africk* was renew'd, and concluded by *Pub. Dolabella*, with the Death of *Tacfarinus* himself. *Dolabella* petitioning for the Honour of Triumph, *Tiberius* deny'd it him, lest the Glory of his Uncle *Blæsus* before him shou'd be obscur'd thereby; but gave it to *Sejanus*, who had perform'd nothing to deserve it.

*Drusus poysoned.*

A. D. 25. *Tiberius*'s Ten Year's Government being now expir'd, he took upon him the Imperial Authority for Ten Years longer, without receiving it from the Senate and People, as *Augustus* had done for five Times successively; after which, by *Tiberius*'s Means, it became only a pompous Ceremony, and none of those Ends preserv'd for which it was first design'd. And now the State and Empire began to be more and more

more corrupted by the ſiniſter Deſigns of its Prince; diſtant Honours and Employments were generally ſo many myſterious Exiles; and Charges and Governments were chiefly given to Perſons deſign'd for Ruin, or for the Ruin of others. So that the Benefit of Merits and good Services were rarely conſider'd; for the Armies had rather Out-Laws than Generals, and the Provinces baniſh'd Men than Governors. All which Inconveniencies and Corruptions were very much promoted by the vile Practices of *Sejanus*, who at preſent was likewiſe conſpiring the Ruin of *Germanicus*'s Children, the undoubted Succeſſors to the Empire. But finding the inviolable Fidelity of their Keepers, and the invincible Chaſtity of *Agrippina*; and that theſe and many other Deſigns could not be eaſily effected while the Emperor continu'd in the City; he us'd all Methods to perſwade *Tiberius*, to retire to ſome pleaſant Place remote from *Rome*. By this he foreſaw many Advantages to himſelf; as that there cou'd be no Acceſs to the Prince but by him; that all Letters being convey'd by Soldiers at his Devotion, ſhow'd paſs through his Hands; that *Tiberius* declining in Age, and grown ſlothful and effeminate through the Solitude of the Place, wou'd disburden himſelf of the Cares of the State; and by theſe Means, all vain Shadows remov'd, he might grow Mighty in real Power and Authority. Therefore by little and little he cunningly inſinuated to *Tiberius*, *The great and numerous Inconveniencies of the City, the ſlaviſh Attendance and Trouble belonging to the Senate, and the diſturb'd and ſeditious Temper of the Inferior Sort; highly extolling a quiet and ſolitary Retirement, a Life without Anguiſh of Mind, free from Envoy and Ill-Will, and more fit to think on important and weighty Matters.* *Tiberius*, whether moſt prevail'd upon by his plauſible Perſwaſions, or his own natural Inclinations to Eaſe and Debauchery, in the twelfth Year of his Reign left *Rome*, and went into *Campania*; but

*Tiberius's Retirement.*

only with Pretence of dedicating a Temple to *Jupiter* at *Capua*, and another to *Augustus* at *Nola*. After this, tho' he remov'd to several Places, he never return'd to the City in all his Reign; and from this time we hear not much of his Actions, besides a black Train of prodigious Cruelties, abominable Practices, and detestable Vices.

*A. D.* 27. III. The same Year that *Tiberius* departed from *Rome*, he sent *Pontius Pilate* into the *East*, to be Governor of *Judæa*, who at his first Arrival, set up the Image of *Tiberius* at *Jerusalem*; but after many Petitions and Dangers of Insurrections, he remov'd 'em to *Cæsarea*. The following Year was introduc'd by a fatal Accident at *Fidenæ*, not far from *Rome*; occasion'd by the sudden Fall of a new-built Amphitheater, which kill'd and wounded about fifty Thousand People of all Ranks and Conditions, to the uncredible Surprize and Consternation of the City. In the mean Time *Tiberius* having dedicated his Temples in *Campania*, he publish'd an Edict, forbidding all Persons to disturb his Repose, and stopp'd the Concourse of Citizens by placing Soldiers in the Ways; and still growing weary of Towns and Colonies, and all Places on the Continent, he withdrew himself into a very pleasant and remarkable Island call'd *Capreæ*, over against *Naples*, and three Miles from the Continent, where he wholly abandon'd himself to all imaginable Scandal and Wickedness; upon which Account he was publickly called by the Name of *Caprineus*. He never was more Suspicious and Credulous than at present, Qualities which *Sejanus* always endeavour'd to excite, and now secret Spies and Informers were employ'd in all Parts of the City, which caus'd numerous Disturbances and Cruelties, and the Deaths of many Worthy Persons. If a Person of considerable Merit testify'd any Concern for the Glory of the Empire, *Tiberius* immediately sus-

ſuſpected it was only a ſecret Deſign of gaining it. If any other had an innocent Remembrance of Liberty, he was look'd upon as a dangerous Perſon, and one who aim'd at the re-eſtabliſhing the Commonwealth. To praiſe *Brutus* and *Caſſius* was a capital Crime; to bewail *Auguſtus*, a ſecret Offence; and ſo much the more dangerous, becauſe *Tiberius* had always commended him in Publick, and caus'd Divine Honours to be decreed him. And every Action became liable to forc'd Interpretations; Simplicity of Diſcourſe, they ſaid, expreſs'd evil Deſigns; a diſcreet Silence conceal'd miſchievous Intentions; Joy was the Hopes of the Prince's Death; Melancholy an Envying his Proſperity; and Fear the juſt Apprehenſions of a guilty Conſcience: So that to ſpeak, to be ſilent, to be glad, to be griev'd, to be fearful or aſſur'd, were all Crimes, and very often incurr'd the extreameſt Puniſhments. Many of theſe things were likewiſe promoted by the pernicious Practices and Contrivances of *Sejanus*, who more principally employ'd his Deſignsagainſt *Nero* and *Druſus*, the two Sons of *Germanicus*, whom *Tiberius* after the Death of his Son *Druſus*, had recommended to the Senate. *Sejanus* never deſiſted from proſecuting 'em all manner of Ways, till he had unjuſtly caus'd 'em to be declar'd Enemies to the State; after which he found Means to ſtarve 'em to Death, barbarouſly uſing their Mother *Agrippina*, who had been free in upbraiding and reprehending him for his impious Actions. About the ſame time dy'd the Emperor's Mother *Livia*, in the 86*th* Year of her Age; a Woman of wonderful Policy, ſaid to have had all the Skill and Subtilty of her Husband, and all the Artifice and Diſſimulation of her Son; one who had been an inſupportable Step-Mother to the State, and had labour'd under the Scandal of many great and notorious Pieces of Treachery; For which ſhe was in ſome meaſure puniſh'd by her Son's great Contempt of her

*The Death of* Livia.

for

for a conſiderable time before her Death; his refuſing to bury her, and ſuffering her Body to putrifie; his rejecting the Honours decreed her, and vacating her Will; and by his proſecuting and puniſhing her Friends with the utmoſt Severity.

*A. D.* 30. The ſame Year that *Livia* dy'd, which was the 15*th* of *Tiberius*'s Reign, and the third of his Retirement, *Jeſus Chriſt*, our bleſſed Saviour, in *Judæa*, enter'd upon his Miniſterial Function, and began to preach the Goſpel in that Country to the *Jews*. And after three Years teaching moſt perfect and ſaving Doctrines, and after a glorious Train of many Miracles and Acts of Mercy, he ſhew'd a more unexpreſſible Inſtance of his Love to loſt Mankind, infinitely ſurpaſſing all Human Conceptions, and mortal Imaginations: And this was his voluntary Death and Sacrifice for the Sins of the World, which was brought about by the falſe and malicious Accuſations of the *Jews*, and the Ignorance and Suſpicions of *Pilate* their Governor, who commanded him to be Crucify'd, leſt he ſhou'd be accus'd to *Tiberius* of protecting a Seditious Perſon who aim'd at the Crown of *Judæa*. His Death was accompany'd with terrible Earthquakes and dreadful Prodigies, the Sun it ſelf being darken'd for three Hours, as is acknowledg'd even by Heathen Writers: And what appear'd no leſs wonderful to Men, was his raiſing himſelf from the Dead, within three Days after his Crucifixion, and his aſcending into Heaven from whence he came. Shortly after which, *Pilate* wrote to *Tiberius* an Account of his Paſſion and Reſurrection, with the Miracles perform'd by him, and others in his Name, and, *That the Multitude of his Followers daily increaſing, he was accounted a God.* Whereupon *Tiberius* made report of the whole Matter to the Senate, and further with this favourable Suffrage, *That* CHRIST *might be accounted a God by the* Romans. But the Senate being diſpleas'd, that

*Chriſt crucify'd.*
*A. D.* 33.

that they had not first mov'd it, and alledging an ancient Law which gave to them in particular the Superintendence in all Matters of Religion, refus'd to Canonize him; and by an Edict commanded that all *Christians* should be banish'd the City. But *Tiberius* by another Edict threatned Death to the Accusers of *Christians*; and in all his Reign he would not permit, or at least not promote any Persecution of the *Christians*, tho' they were considerably numerous before his Death.

Tho' *Tiberius* was thus favourable to the *Christians*, yet he liv'd at present neither like a true *Christian*, nor like a rational Man, still more and more abounding in his Mercileſs Cruelties, and his abominable Lusts. His Inclinations to the former were first discover'd in his Infancy by his Master in Rhetorick, who wou'd oftentimes by way of Reprehension call him, *A Mass of Clay temper'd with Blood*. He now condemn'd many of the principal and noblest Men in *Rome*, and confiscated their Estates, for very light Causes, and most of 'em forged. Besides these Innocent Persons, fell his great Minister of State *Sejanus*, whose Death was most just, and whose secret Practices against *Tiberius*'s Life, and whose deep Designs upon the Empire, began more manifestly to appear than ever, *Sejanus* was very near dispatching him, when the Emperor, as by a Miracle, return'd from his fatal Blindness, preserv'd his unhappy Days, and destroy'd this great Confident, who would have ruin'd him. *Tiberius* proceeded with all imaginable Care and Caution in this Matter, prepared Ships for his Flight, order'd Soldiers for his Security, and sent servile Letters to the Senate, beseeching the Fathers, *To protect a poor old Man abandon'd of all People*. When *Sejanus* was secur'd, a thousand Indignities were offer'd to him; after which he was Strangled by the Hand of the Common-Hangman, his Body was ignominiously dragg'd about the Streets, and his whole

Sejanus's Execution.

whole Family Executed with him; a Puniſhment ſcarce proportionable to the Number and Heinouſneſs of his Crimes. Shortly after him follow'd *Piſo*'s Wife *Plancina*, who met with an unjuſt Accuſation and Condemnation, tho' a moſt juſt Puniſhment for her former practices againſt *Germanicus*, and fell almoſt as unpity'd as the other. Great numbers of others dy'd with ſmall Appearance of Juſtice, which very often proceeded from the inſatiable Avarice as well as exorbitant Cruelty of this Prince, for he now augmented his Subſidies and Tribunes in ſuch a Meaſure, that the Provinces became deſolate and miſerable, and Confiſcated the Eſtates of ſeveral Princes of *Gall*, *Spain*, *Syria*, *Greece*, and other Parts upon the moſt ſlight and inconſiderable Informations. His unbounded Cruelties reduc'd the Nobility of *Rome* to a dangerous State, and made himſelf become odious to thoſe who before had ſwell'd him with their extravagant Flatteries; for now he acted openly, and treated his Subjects as Enemies, becauſe he had firſt afforded 'em an occaſion of being ſo. No Perſon, tho' never ſo vertuous and cautious, could be ſafe; for it was not enough for 'em to be free from the Corruptions of Accuſers, the falſe Reports of Spies, and the Suppoſitions of infamous Informers; but they alſo ſtood in fear of the very Imagination of the Emperor; and when they juſtly thought themſelves ſecure by the Innocence, not only of their Actions, but their Thoughts alſo, they were often ruin'd by the Malice of his Conjectures.

Thus miſerable were the *Romans* under the Arbitrary Government of an outragious Tyrant; and the more, becauſe he made no Diſtinction of Perſons in his Cruelties: For of the twenty Noblemen he choſe for his Council, he put ſixteen to Death; and with the ſame Severities proſecuted his Allies and own Kindred; impiouſly averring, *That* Priamus *was a happy Man in out-living his whole Race and Poſterity.*

*Poſterity.* His uſual Saying to ſuch as alledged the Hatred of his Subjects to him, was, *Let 'em hate, as long as they ſubmit*; and there was not a Day without ſome barbarous Execution, for which he ſtrictly forbad the Relations of the Condemn'd to Mourn, or to make any ſort of Lamentations. And what ſtill made his Executions more terrible and deteſtable, was his ordering the Condemn'd Perſons to ſuffer many ſhameful Indignities and Exquiſite Torments before they dy'd, which ſeveral prevented by Poyſons and Daggers. He generally executed his Fury with ſuch extreme Severity, that he eſteem'd it a Favour, and an Act of Mercy, to put Perſons to an ordinary Death; ſo that when a particular Perſon call'd *Carnulius*, had kill'd himſelf to prevent further Torments, he cry'd out, *Ah, how has* Carnulius *eſcap'd me*? And to another, Priſoner, who earneſtly begg'd, That he wou'd not defer his Death, he ſaid, *He was not yet ſo much his Friend as to haſten it.* Sometimes he was more merry, jocoſe in his Cruelties; particularly when a certain Buffoon had ſtopp'd a Hearſe, and deſir'd the Dead Body to tell *Auguſtus*, *That his Legacies given to the People were yet unpaid*; *Tiberius* ſent for him, and having paid him his Share, caus'd him to be immediately executed, bidding him go tell *Auguſtus*, *That he was paid.* Notwithſtanding his being ſo continually hardened in his Vices, he had ſo much Senſe of Remorſe at particular Inſtances, that his Actions ſometimes proved his own Scourge and Puniſhment; particularly when he wrote to the Senate to ſpare a Favourite of his, he after ſome ſervile Entreaties told 'em, *That the Gods and Goddeſſes had ſo afflicted and confounded him, that he knew not how or what to write.* Whereupon, *Tacitus* obſerves, That if we could look into the Breaſts of Tyrants, we might ſee the Marks of a thouſand Stripes and Stabs; ſince the Mind is more wounded by Cruelty, Luſt, and Ambition, than the Body by Racks and

and Tortures. At particular Intervals he ſhew'd ſome Sparks and Reliques of his Former Virtues and Ingenuity; but theſe were always ſtifled, and his Cruelties encreaſed by his prodigious Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, and his more prodigious Luſts, which ſtill more violently rag'd at a Time when Age and Nature deſign'd to correct and cure 'em. He filthily abus'd moſt of the eminent and illuſtrious Ladies of the City, and made 'em ſubſervient to his Luſts; and his great Parts and Ingenuity now only ſerv'd for exquiſite Inventions, and to make his Vices more extravagant and abominable. At his Retirement in the Iſle of *Caprea*, he Invented Rooms on purpoſe for his libidinous Exerciſes, where he made uſe of all manner of Incentives, ſome of which were of that monſtrous and deteſtable Nature, that they ought not to be mention'd or imagin'd.

For all this ſpace *Tiberius* was ſhamefully negligent of his Armies and Governors of Provinces, and of the Security of his Dominions from Foreign Devaſtations. He ſuffer'd *Mæſia* to be ſeiz'd on by the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*, *Gaul* to be waſted by the *Germans*, and himſelf to be inſulted over by *Artabanus*, King of *Parthia*, who not only poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Armenia*, but alſo highly affronted him by Letters, accuſing him of *Parricide*, *Murders*, *Lazineſs*, *and Luxury*, and bad him *with all poſſible ſpeed ſatisfie the moſt juſt hatred of his Subjects by a voluntary Death.* Theſe were Affronts which were never offered to a *Roman* unreveng'd; but they could not move the overgrown Stupidity of this Emperor, who left his Provinces wholly to the Care of his ſtanding Legions; and proceeding in his vile Enormities, often wiſh'd, *That Heaven and Earth might be deſtroy'd at his Death.* In the twenty ſecond Year of his Reign, his Strength began to forſake him; which occaſion'd him to remove to ſeveral Places, ſetling at laſt in a Promontory of *Miſenum*. Here, after many nice Conſiderations and Con-

Conſultations with his Favourite *Macro*, he nam'd *Caius Caligula*, the only ſurviving Son of *Germanicus*, for his Succeſſor, together with a young Grandſon of his call'd *Tiberius*. It is probably conjectur'd, that he named the former, expecting to have his Vices efface the memory of his own Wickedneſs, and with Belief that he would extinguiſh the *Roman* Nobility. For he had often ſaid, *That in* Caligula *he had brought up a Serpent for the People of* Rome, *and a* Phaeton *for the reſt of the World.* Though his Spirits ſenſibly declin'd, his Diſſimulation was as ſtrong as ever, and he deſpis'd all Phyſick. But his Weakneſs was diſcover'd by *Charides*, a Famous Phyſican, who pretending to kiſs his Hand, felt the Defect in his Pulſe. This was immediatly perceiv'd by this ſubtle and wary Prince, who ſhortly after ſeem'd to fall into ſuch Faintings, as all then judg'd Him dead, and began to make their Court to the new Emperor; but recovering again to the great Surprize, and almoſt Confuſion of *Caligula* and *Macro*, they ſoon found Mean to diſpatch him, which was by ſmothering him with a Pillow, or by Poyſon, as ſome Authors report, being now 78 Years of Age. Authors differ about the Manner of his Death, and ſome ſeem to excuſe *Caligula* of the Fact, though he publickly confeſs'd, that he deſigned his Death, *to revenge the Murther of his ſeveral Relations.* *The Death of* Tiberius.

This was the deſerv'd End of *Tierius Nero*, the third Emperor of *Rome*; and thought he had highly oblig'd the City by a liberal Contribution towards the Damages of a Fire in the preceding Year, yet the News of his Death was receiv'd at *Rome* with all the imaginable Demonſtrations of Joy, ſome running about in great numbers, and crying *Throw* Tiberius *into the* Tiber! others beſeeching their Mother *Earth*, and the Infernal Gods, *to vouchſafe him no Place but among impious and deteſtible Wretches*; and others threatning to drag his vile Carcaſs into the *Gemoniæ*, the Place

Place for Common Malefactors. All theſe Indignities, together with his Unnatural Death, was bu a juſt Vengeance from Heaven to a Perſon whom it had endued with the greateſt Wit and Ingenuity, and who had wickedly employed it to the ſatisfying his Luſts and Ambition, the enſlaving of his Country, the deſtroying of his Subjects, and the corrupting and weakning the moſt glorious Empire in the World by his Pernicious Maxims. To give his Character in ſhort: As *Auguſtus* may juſtly be ſaid to have been the wiſeſt and greateſt Monarch, and the moſt skilful Politician in the World, ſo *Tiberius* may truly be ſaid to have been the moſt ſubtile and ſwelling Tyrant, and the moſt exquiſite State-Jugler that *Rome* ever ſaw. He corrupted all that was good, and introduc'd all that was bad in the Empire: And what prov'd a far greater Misfortune to the State, was its having his falſe Politicks embrac'd by the greateſt Part of his Succeſſors, ſeveral of which were greater Monſters, and far more ignorant than himſelf, who plac'd the Honour and Glory of their Reigns not in governing the Empire beſt, but enſlaving it moſt; Methods that generally prove as fatal to Princes, as deſtructive to Subjects. *Tiberius* reign'd twenty two Years, ſeven Months, and ſeven Days, according to *Dion*; and dy'd in the 790th Year of the City, 63 Years after the perfect Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 38 Years after our Saviour's Nativity, and five after his Crucifixion.

CHAP.

## CHAP. III.

*From the Death of* TIBERIUS, *to the Death of* NERO, *the Sixth Emperor; which ended the* Julian *Family, and firſt broke the Succeſſion of the Empire.*

*Containing the Space of about* 30 *YEARS.*

A. D. 38.

I. THE Death of *Tiberius* prov'd a double Satisfaction to the Senate and People of *Rome* both for its freeing them from a mercileſs Tyrant, and for its making Way for ſo hopeful a Succeſſor as *Caius Caligula*; who was highly belov'd and reſpected, upon the Account of the extraordinary Merits of his Father *Germanicus*, and the great Injuries done to him and his Family. Therefore as he remov'd from *Miſenum*, where *Tiberius* dy'd, infinite Numbers of the principal Men of *Rome*, went out to entertain him upon the Way, with extraordinary Rejoycings and Congratulations, notwithſtanding he came mourning with the dead Body of *Tiberius*, which the Soldiers brought to be burnt at *Rome*, according to the Cuſtom of that Time. At his Entrance into *Rome* with great Solemnity, he was receiv'd with new Names and Epithets of Honour, and the utmoſt Marks of real Affection; and the Senate being aſſembled, with the People thronging into the Houſe, he was by univerſal Conſent declar'd Emperor, with full Power, contrary to the expreſs Will of *Tiberius*, who left him but Coheir with his Grandſon *Tiberius*, then under Age, and in his *Prætexta*. The Joy for this new Emperor, was not confin'd to the narrow Bounds of *Rome* and *Italy*, but dilated it ſelf through all the Empire; So that in the Space of three Months, by Computation above 160000 Cattle were ſacrific'd upon that Occaſion. Shortly after his Election,

Caligula *made Emperor.*

upon his Paſſage into the Iſle of *Campania*, not far diſtant from the City, the People made Vows for his Return, not omitting the leaſt Opportunity of expreſſing their exceeding Care for his Safety; and when afterwards he fell Sick, the People throng'd whole Nights about his Palace, ſome offering themſelves to Combat for his Safety, and others devoting themſelves to Death at his Recovery, and ſet up Bills of their Reſolutions in the Streets. To this infinite Affection of the Citizens, was added the no leſs Favour and Reſpect of Strangers; for *Artabanus* King of *Parthia*, who had expreſs'd nothing but Hatred and Contempt to *Tiberius*, ſought his Alliance himſelf: and coming to a perſonal Conference with one of his *Legates* who had been Conſul, he paſs'd the *Euphrates*, ador'd the Eagles and other Enſigns of the Empire, and kiſs'd the Images of this new Emperor. So that *Caligula* wanted no Advantage nor Opportunity of making himſelf the greateſt Prince in the World, ſince he had ſo much the Love of his own Subjects, and the Reſpect of all Foreigners.

*Caius* was not much above 25 Years of Age when he arriv'd at the Empire; and was ſurnam'd *Caligula*, from his wearing the Military Buskin in his Youth, call'd *Caliga*. He was of a fierce and cruel Temper, and no leſs remarkable for his extream Subtilty and Diſſimulation: The former Diſpoſition he is ſuppos'd to have ſuck'd in with the Milk of his Nurſe, who uſually anointed her Breaſts with Blood; and to have learnt the latter from the Familiarity and Converſation of his Maſter *Tiberius*. His Enormities were all conceal'd in the Beginning of his Reign; but ſoon after, as ſeveral of his Actions gave ſome Indications of an irregular Head, and a diſtracted Brain, ſo we are told that his Wife *Cæſonia* gave him a Drink which a little diſtorted his Reaſon and Underſtanding; tho' ſhe did it with a deſign of making him love her, and to prevent his Divorcing Her, as

he

he had ſome others before her. After which, Authors report, that he never ſlept but three Hours in twenty four, ſometimes riſing in a great Fright, as tho' he had ſeen Apparitions and Viſions; notwithſtanding he always retain'd an extraordinary ready Wit and Apprehenſion, and an admirable faculty and fluency in Speaking. In the beginning he was very buſie and careful of the Publick; and having perform'd the Funeral Solemnities of *Tiberius*, he haſtened to the Iſland *Pandataria* and *Ponta*, to remove the Aſhes of his Mother and Brothers, expoſing himſelf to the danger of tempeſtuous Weather, that his Piety might be the more remarkable. Having gather'd them together, and put them with much Reverence into their Urns, with no leſs Pomp and Formality, he carry'd them to *Oſtia*, ſetting up his Standard in the Stern of his Galley; and from thence along the *Tiber* to *Rome*, where they were convey'd by the moſt illuſtrious of the *Equeſtrian* Order, into a famous *Mauſolæum*. Beſides which, he ordain'd publick Services and Devotions to be annually obſerv'd in their Commemoration; inſtituted ſolemn Games for his Mother in the *Circus*, and in Honour of his renowned Father call'd the Month *September* by the Name of *Germanicus*. Theſe Ceremonies being over, by an Act of the Senate, he conferr'd upon his Grandmother *Antonia*, all the ſame Honour that *Livia Auguſta* had formerly; and that there might be no room left for Apprehenſions in the Informers, againſt his Mother and Brothers, he caus'd all the Regiſters and Records relating to thoſe Matters, to be brought publickly into the *Forum*, and there to be burnt in his Preſence; firſt calling the Gods to witneſs, *That he never read them.* And the Kindneſs which he had hitherto ſhewn them, was the reaſon he refus'd a Note that was offer'd him, tending to the Diſcovery of a Conſpiracy againſt him, alledging, *That he was not conſcious of any Action*

*that might deſerve the Hatred of any Man; therefore he had no Ears for Informers.*

The Beginning of this Emperor's Reign was all Clemency and Regularity; and pretending to govern with Juſtice and Moderation, he caus'd the famous Models and Inſtitutions of *Auguſtus* to be publiſh'd and reviv'd, which had been neglected and diſus'd by *Tiberius* giving likewiſe a free Juriſdiction to the Magiſtrates, without reſerving any Appeal to himſelf. He likewiſe began to regulate and reform many Abuſes in the State, and ſeverely puniſh'd corrupt Governors; among which he baniſh'd *Pontius Pilate* to *Vienne* in *Gaul*, where he afterwards kill'd himſelf, with his own Hands, and ſo became the Revenger of his Wickedneſs upon himſelf, as the Betrayer of our Saviour had done before. He took a ſtrict View of all the *Equites*, taking away their Rings and Horſes in a moſt publick manner, when he found them guilty of any infamous Crime; and baniſh'd without remiſſion the *Spintriæ* or Inventers of abominable Recreations from *Rome*. He remitted ſeveral Impoſitions invented by *Tiberius*, and was ſo popular, that *Suetonius* tells us that he endeavour'd to reſtore the ancient Manner of Elections of Magiſtrates, by the Suffrages of the People. Though the Will and Teſtament of *Tiberius*, was declar'd null by the Senate, and that of *Livia Auguſta* ſuppreſt by *Tiberius*, yet he caus'd all their Legacies to be punctually paid, without either Clamour on one ſide, or Fraud on the other; and to make Young *Tiberius* ſome amends for his miſſing the Crown, he made him *Princeps Juventutis*. He made good the Loſſes which ſeveral had ſuſtain'd by Fire; and when he reſtor'd ſome Princes to their Kingdoms who had been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſs'd by *Tiberius*, he gave them likewiſe all the Arrears of their Revenues, particularly to *Antiochus*, King of *Comagena*, to whom he return'd almoſt a Million of our Money. And that he

*the Death of* P. Pilate

he might appear an Incourager of great and good Examples, he gave to a Libertine Woman 80000 Seſterces, for enduring the moſt exquiſite Torments, without diſcovering the Secrets of her Patron. For theſe worthy Actions, among other Honours done to him, a Shield of Gold bearing his Image, was decreed to be carry'd annually upon an appointed Day by the College of Prieſts into the Capitol, being follow'd by all the Senate in order. with the Children of the Nobility ſinging in Praiſe of the Emperor's Vertues; and beſides it was ordain'd, That the Day in which he was eſtabliſh'd to the Empire, ſhould be call'd *Pubitia*, implying a new Foundation of the City.

Thus happily did *Caligula* reign for above eight Months, in which Space he had all the Appearance of a good Prince, and a Patron of Vertue; but all his Moderation and Clemency vaniſh'd in a ſhort Time, and giving a full Looſe to his furious Paſſions, he ſoon degenerated into a Tyrant and a Monſter of Men; ſo that it was truly ſaid of him, *There never was a better Servant, and a worſe Maſter than He.* And for the reſt of his Reign, the Reader is to expect nothing but an uninterrupted Train of execrable Vices, monſtrous Extravagancies, and ſuch ridiculous Inconſiſtences, and cannot be well related, with that Gravity and Decency neceſſary to an *Hiſtorian*, nor with that Order and Method which I wou'd willingly obſerve. His Pride and Vanity began firſt to diſplay themſelves, and he was the firſt Emperor that caus'd himſelf to be call'd *Lord*, looking upon all Mankind as his Servants and Vaſſels. When certain Kings, who came to pay him Homage, had ſome Conteſt about Place and Superiority in reſpect of their Crowns, he interrupted their Diſpute, by repeating a Verſe in *Homer*, in the Perſon of *Ulyſſes*, which ſays, *Let there be but one Lord and King below:* And had then taken upon him the Crown and Dia-

dem of a King, which was moſt odious to the *Romans*, but was told, *That he was already above all the Kings and Monarchs in the World.* From that Time he took upon him the Title of *Father of Armies*, *Optimus* and *Maximus*, with other Epithets of Honour, which the *Romans* gave only to their great God *Jupiter*; and ſeeing Shepherds and Herdſmen were in a Degree far above their Beaſts and Cattel, ſo he judg'd that the Lord of Mankind was not to be rank'd in the Degree of Men, but of the Gods; whereupon he impiouſly aſſum'd Divine Honours. He caus'd the Heads of the Statue of *Jupiter* and of ſome other Gods to be taken off, and others reſembling his own to be put in their places; and in the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, he often plac'd himſelf between the Images of thoſe Brothers, to be ador'd of all that came thither, ſome being ſo prophane as to ſalute him by the Name of *Jupiter Latialis*. But being poſſeſt with the Spirit of Inconſtancy, he chang'd his God-ſhip as often as he chang'd his Clothes, being one time a Male Deity, and at another a Female: Sometimes he was *Jupiter*, other times *Juno*, ſometimes a *Mars*, other times *Venus*; ſometimes *Neptune* and *Apollo*, and other times *Diana*. At length his prodigious Pride and Impiety carry'd him ſo far, as to build and dedicate a Temple to his own Divinity, in which Temple he had his own Image in Gold, done to the Life, and every Day cloath'd in the ſame Robes that he himſelf wore He likewiſe inſtituted a Set of Prieſts to officiate in his Temple, who daily ſacrific'd Peacocks Pheaſants, *Numidian* Hens, and the moſt rare and delicate Fowls that cou'd be procur'd; and generally the richeſt Men of the City, either by Money or Favour, purchas'd the Dignity of this Prieſthood, according as Vacancies fell. And as tho' his other Follies were not ſufficiently extravagant, he became Prieſt to himſelf, and admitted his Wife and his Horſe to be

Fellow-

Fellow Prieſts with him; and becauſe he would be a real *Jupiter*, he had Inventions to imitate Thunder and Lightning, frequently defying *Jupiter*, in *Homer*'s Speech, *Do you take me from hence, or I'll take you.* As he accounted himſelf a God, he ſometimes went out in a full Moon, and courted and made Love to her, as if ſhe had been a fair Lady, inviting her to his Bed, *To taſte of the Pleaſure of his Embraces.* He often went to the Temple of *Jupiter*, and joining himſelf to the Image, whiſper'd to it; then laid his Ear to that for the receiving an Anſwer, ſometimes ſeeming very angry, and threatning, *To ſend it packing to* Greece; and afterwards to be paciſi'd, being contented *that they two ſhou'd dwell friendly together:* And in this manner he proceeded to a thouſand monſtrous Abſurdities, as well as abominable Impieties.

On the other ſide, this Prince who preſumed to diſplace the immortal Gods, and to make himſelf one, cou'd not avoid envying and grieving at the Honours and Felicities of Mortal Men. He batter'd and defac'd the Images of Statues of many illuſtrious Perſons; and ſo much hated the Memory of his Grandfather *Agrippa*, that rather than be thought of his Extraction, he publiſh'd, *That his Mother was conceiv'd by the Inceſt between* Auguſtus *and his Daughter* Julia: And being not ſatisfi'd with this unjuſt Aſperſion upon *Auguſtus*, he forbad the Celebration of the Feſtivals, inſtituted in Commemoration of his Victories in *Sicily*, and at *Actium*, condemning them as pernicious to the Common-Wealth. He us'd all endeavours to bring the Poem of *Virgil*, and the Hiſtory of *Livy* into Diſgrace; the former he ſaid *had no Wit*, the latter was *Verboſe and Negligent*, ordering his Statutes to be remov'd from the Libraries in *Rome*; and he ſaid. *Seneca was all Sand without Lime*, cenſuring in like manner the ſublimeſt Witsin *Rome*. Beſides which, he took from many *Patricians* and

Noblemen of the City, the ancient Arms and Ornaments of their Families; as from *Torquatus* the Chain, from *Cincinatus* the Lock of Hair, and from *Cn. Pompeius* of very ancient Extraction, the Title of *Great Ptolemy*; the latter of which being call'd from his Government, and receiv'd with great Honour, was inhumanly slain, only because the Lustre of his Purple Gown, had drawn the Eyes of the Spectators in the Theatre upon him, when the Emperor was present himself. His Envy yet descended to meaner Matters; so that there was no Man of so low and abject a Condition, whom he envy'd not, if any natural Blessing or Qualification distinguish'd him from others, even to the causing several in the City to be shav'd, for having Hair more beautiful than ordinary. For the like Reason he barbarously treated *Esius Proculus*, a worthy Gentleman, who was so extraordinary beautiful, and so remarkable in the City for his great Comliness and Tallness of Stature, that he was usually call'd *Colosseros*, or the lovely *Colossus*. This Person being observ'd by *Caligula*, as he sat viewing of the bloody Spectacles in the Amphitheatre, out of pure Envy he caus'd him to be drag'd down from the Seats above to the Combatants, and there to fight for his Life. When after a brave Tryal with two several Men, he came off Victorious, this Tyrant immediately caus'd him to be bound, and cloath'd in Tatters and Rags, to be led about the City, shewn to the Women, and then slain. Being at a publick Game, where a particular Gladiator had succeeded with more than ordinary Applause, he was so highly displeas'd, that he flung himself out of the Amphitheatre in a Fury, and stumbling upon the Seats, he cry'd out with great Indignation, *That the People of* Rome, *Lords of all Nations, gave more Honour to a pitiful Fencer, than to consecrated Princes; nay, than to himself, then present before them.*

*Caligula*

*Caligula* was no leſs notorious for his Luſts and Brutality, than for his Pride and Envy; and in thoſe he equall'd, if not exceeded his Predeceſſor *Tiberius*, ſcarce making any Diſtinction of Perſons or Places. Beſides his unnatural Luſts, there was ſcarce any Lady of extraordinary Quality that eſcap'd his Leudneſs, which was uſually attended with the moſt impudent Circumſtances imaginable. He committed Inceſt with all his three Siſters, and at publick Feaſts they laid with their Heads in his Boſom by Turns: Of theſe he took *Druſilla* from her Husband *Longinus* and kept her as his Wife; and proſtituted *Livia* and *Agrippina* to his own vile Companions, then baniſh'd them as Adultereſſes and Conſpirators againſt his Perſon. He lov'd the former ſo affectionately, that being Sick, he appointed her Heireſs both of his Empire and Eſtate, and after her Death, he made her a Goddeſs, whom all his Life long he had made his Harlot. Such a Deity the *Romans* never knew before, but only her Brother; and ſhe troubled them as much in her Heaven; as he did on the Earth: For it was impoſſible for any Man ſo to comport himſelf, as not to be embarraſs'd by means of this new Goddeſs. To mourn for her Death was a high Crime, becauſe ſhe was a Deity Immortal; to rejoice for her Deity was Capital, becauſe ſhe was Dead; and to be Silent was an unpardonable Inſenſibility, either of the Emperor's Loſs, or his Siſter's Advancement. Thus he made his Siſter ſubſervient to his Profit, as before he did to his Pleaſure, raiſing vaſt Sums by the Purchaſe of the Lives of ſome, and the Confiſcation of the Goods of others. As to his Marriages, whether he contracted, continu'd, or diſſolv'd them with greater Shame and Diſhoneſty, it is not eaſie to determine. Being preſent at the Nuptials of *Livia Oreſtilla* with *Piſo*, as ſoon as the Solemnity was over, he commanded her to be brought to him as his own Wife; yet in a few Days he diſmiſs'd her, and after that ba-

baniſh'd her, upon ſuſpicion ſhe had been with her Husband after ſhe had parted from him. He was alſo enamour'd of *Lollia Paulina*, upon a bare Relation of her Grandmother's great Beauty; and thereupon ſent for her from another Country, where her Husband *C. Memmius* was General of an Army, and forc'd her to become his Wife; but he not only divorc'd her ſhortly after, but likewiſe forbad her future matching with any Man whatſoever. *Cæſonia* came next into his Affections, and there continu'd; a Mother of three Children, neither Young nor Beautiful, but ſo addicted to Luxury and Laſciviouſneſs, that he now met with a proper Conſort: And he lov'd her ſo intirely, that he ſometimes ſhew'd her to the Soldiers all in Armour, and ſometimes to his Friends ſtark Naked, transforming her by theſe Viciſſitudes into two Extremes equally unbecoming her Sex, to a Man and to a Beaſt.

But not to dwell any longer in theſe Scenes of Impurity, *Caligula* was as boundleſs in his Prodigality, as he was extravagant in his Luſts; and yet at the ſame time inſupportable in his Avarice. In Luxury and riotous Expences, he exceeded the Inventions of all the Prodigals of that Age; having contrived new Ways of Bathing, and found out moſt prodigious Diſhes for his Entertainments. He us'd Baths of the richeſt Oils, and moſt precious Perfumes in the World; and had Banquets with the moſt valuable Pearls and Jewels diſſolv'd and put amongſt his Meat, and ſometimes had Services of pure Gold to be given to his Gueſts inſtead of Meat, affirming, *That a Man was either to be a good Husband or an Emperor.* Beſides which, for ſeveral Days together, from the Top of *Julia*'s Tower, he caſt down conſiderable Sums of Money among the People. He commanded certain Ships to be built of prodigious Bulk, the Timber being Cedar, the Sterns Ivory, beſet with Gold and Jewels, the Sails and Tackling of various Silks, the

Cabins

Cabins and Galleries ſpacious and convenient, with great variety of Vines and Apple-Trees, under the Shade of which he often din'd amongſt Voices and other Muſick, ſometimes coaſting along the Shore of *Campania* with great Pomp and Splendor. In all his Buildings both of Palaces and Houſes of Pleaſure, he conſider'd nothing but his own particular Fancy, and continually deſign'd ſuch Works as to others ſeem'd impoſſible. He order'd large Pillars and Towers to be built in the bottom of the Sea, cut his Way through Rocks of prodigious bulk, levell'd Mountains, and elevated Plains and Valleys, preſuming to alter and correct the greateſt Works of Nature; and all with incredible Expedition, puniſhing the leaſt Lazineſs or Delay in the Workmen with preſent Death. By his various kinds of Extravagancies, in leſs than a Years ſpace, beſides all his ordinary Revenues, he conſum'd about Eighteen Millions of our Money, which *Tiberius* had ſcrap'd together before his Death: Which ſhews, that though there is a Treaſure in the World ſufficient to maintain and ſupport all its infinite Numbers of Inhabitants, yet there is not enough in the whole World to maintain one prodigal Tyrant.

But the moſt notorious Inſtance of his Prodigality and Vanity, was his vaſt Work at *Puteoli*, which he undertook in the third Year of his Reign; and it is difficult to determine which was greater, the Folly or the Extragavancy of the Attempt. To ſhew his Power and Greatneſs, and that he was able to walk upon the Sea, as well as the Land, he order'd an infinite Number of Ships to be ſecur'd in all Parts, and many others to be new built, and all to be brought into the Bays of *Baiæ* and *Puteoli* in *Campania*, about ninety Miles from *Rome*. With theſe he ordered a wonderful Bridge to be built, from the Point of *Baiæ* to the oppoſite Shore of *Puteoli*, above Three Miles and a half in length; the Ships being plac'd in two

*A wonderful Bridge.*

Rows

Rows in Form of a Creſcent, faſtened and moor'd together with Anchors, Chains and Cables, to make them firm and ſecure. Over theſe were laid vaſt Quantities of large Planks and Boards, very ſtrong and even, and cover'd over with ſo much Earth, as it ſeem'd to have been firm Ground, and one of the Streets in *Rome*. Then to make this ſtupendious Work the more magnificent and ſurprizing, he ſent for innumerable Numbers of Artificers and Labourers, and with infinite Charge and Expedition built Houſes and Lodgings upon the Bridge for the Reception of Himſelf and Followers, into which was brought freſh Water in Pipes from the Land, to ſerve the Occaſions of his Revels. All this being compleated, He and all his Court repaired thither with prodigious Throngs of all ſorts of People, who came from all Parts to behold his mighty Pomp; where, after ſome ſolemn Sacrifices to the Gods, *Caligula* proudly adorn'd with magnificent Robes of Gold and Pearl, ſitting on Horſeback with a *Civick* Crown and *Alexander*'s Breaſt-plate, accompany'd with the Great Officers of his Army, and all the Nobility and Gentry of *Rome* he enter'd at one End of the Bridge, and with an awful Majeſty rode to the other. And lodging all Night upon his Bridge, he caus'd ſuch an infinite number of Torches, Lanthorns, and other Lights to be plac'd in all parts of the Work, that all the neighbouring Mountains were illuminated, and what was his Horſe-Way by Day, was his Amphitheater by Night; *Caligula* boaſting at the ſame time, *That he had turn'd the Night into Day, as well as the Sea into Land.* The next Day he rode over in his Triumphal Chariot, follow'd by a mighty Train of Friends in their Chariots, all his Soldiers in bright Armour, and *Darius* an Hoſtage of *Parthia* attending his Chariot. And after this great Exploit of Walking and Riding ſo many Miles upon the Sea, he aſcended a *Roſtrum* erected on purpoſe, where he made

made a moſt ſolemn Oration in praiſe of his own vaſt Attempt, and of the Pains and Care of his Soldiers and Workmen, diſtributing large Rewards among them. Then, that he might perform ſome memorable Action before he left his Bridge, he ſuddenly caus'd great Numbers of the Multitude to be caſt into the Sea, and when they laid hold of Rudders, or any Thing that might ſave their Lives, he commanded them to be thruſt off, ſo that all periſh'd without Remedy. He ſpent two Days in this Place in all manner of Feaſtings and Extravagancies, in which time the Sea proving ſmooth and calm, he ſaid, *That* Neptune *took care of that, out of Fear and Reverence to him*; after which he return'd to *Rome* in a moſt magnificent and triumphant Manner, for having ſurmounted, as he thought, the very Order and Laws of Nature. Which ſhews how fooliſh that Man is, who has let looſe the Reins of Reaſon, and how boundleſs that Folly is, which is ſupported by Arbitrary Power.

*Caligula* having by this and many other Extravagancies drain'd and exhauſted his Exchequer, he betook himſelf to all manner of Rapines and Extortions, inventing all kinds, of Penalties, Confiſcations, and Impoſts: And in theſe Matters there was no ſort of Fraud or Diſſimulation which he ſcrupled to uſe often upbraiding all Perſons with their Covetouſneſs, and *that they were not aſhamed to have more Riches than he.* He us'd ſtrange Exactions and Impoſitions, ſuffering nothing to paſs in common Uſe without bringing Money into his Treaſury; ſet a Rate upon all Meat, a Rate upon Proceſſes in Law, a Rate upon Porters Wages, and a Rate upon Proſtitutes Gains. He caus'd Freemen to purchaſe their Freedom a ſecond time; and poiſon'd many who had nam'd him for their Heir, to have an immediate Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates; ſelling likewiſe the Jewels and Goods of his condemned Siſters, the Royal Robes

Robes and Ornaments of *Anthony*, *Auguſtus*, *Julia*, *Antonia*, and others of the Imperial Blood. And beſides the ſtrange Profits ariſing from his Dead Siſter *Druſilla*, that he might not be unexperienc'd in the baſeſt and moſt ſcandalous Impoſitions, he ſet up a Brothel-Houſe in his own Palace, throughly furniſh'd with all kinds of Proſtitutes, Bawds, and Panders, for an Improvement of his Revenues. And likewiſe he made his Palace a common Gaming houſe, and himſelf the Maſter-Gameſter, not ſcrupling Cogging, Cheating, Lying, Forſwearing, and any kind of Artifice to enhance his Gains. Having once in the midſt of his Game eſpy'd two Rich Knights paſſing through his Court, he ſuddenly went down, caus'd both to be apprehended, and their Eſtates to be confiſcated; and returning to his Game, boaſted, *That he never had a better Throw in his Life.* Another time wanting Mony for his Stake, he went down and caus'd ſeveral Noblemen to be ſlain; then returning, told the Company, *That they ſat playing there for a few Pence, while he had won* 600000 *Seſterces at one Caſt.* Having a Daughter born about that time, he complain'd publickly of his Poverty, not only as an Emperor, but as a Father; and therefore publiſh'd an Edict, That he would receive *New-Years-Gifts* ſhortly, and accordingly ſtood himſelf in the Porch of his Palace, to receive the Preſents which the People with full Hands and Laps pour'd out before Him, And having by all poſſible Methods amaſs'd together an infinite Sum, he often laid down, and rowl'd himſelf upon it, eſteeming it the greateſt Recreation in the World. As his Prodigality and Avarice were both prodigious, ſo he had the greateſt Variety of Affections that cou'd be imagined: Sometimes he was openly familiar, other times as ſeverely reſerv'd: Sometimes he openly defied all the Gods, yet the Noiſe of a Thunder-clap caus'd him to hide himſelf under his Bed: Sometimes he diſpatch'd Buſineſs with incredible Celerity and Expedition,

pedition, and other times with as much Slowneſs and Negligence. He excus'd many that had committed hainous Crimes, and executed others who had committed no Offence; and wou'd one Day praiſe a Thing, and in the next condemn him who commended it. Finally, he was ſo ſtrangely variable, that no Man cou'd know how to act or ſerve him with Safety; and he was alſo the ſame in his Habit and Apparel, in his Exerciſes and Recreations, and in all his other Actions: Only,

In his Severities and Cruelties he was ever conſtant and implacable, and had no reſpect to Family or Friendſhip, uſing his Grand-mother *Antonia* ſo barbarouſly, as ſhe poyſon'd her ſelf, murdering his Coheir *Tiberius* for uſing a Sweet Powder, and almoſt all his Kindred, except his Uncle *Claudius*, whom he preſerv'd only for a Laughing-ſtock. He caus'd *Ptolemy*, Son of King *Juba*, *Macro*, and *Ernia*, and ſeveral others who were in League and Alliance with him, to be barbarouſly executed and likewiſe *Sillanus*, who had been his Father-in-Law, for refuſing to go to Sea with him when he was indiſpos'd. He ſlew divers of the Senate, and afterwards cited them to appear as if they had been alive; at laſt pretending they dy'd by their own Hands; others of them were cruelly ſcourg'd, and the Soldiers order'd to tread upon them as they lay, that they might have them at full Command. Being diſturb'd at Midnight by the Noiſe of ſuch as got Places in the *Circus* for the following Day, he caus'd them to be driven out with Clubs; in which Tumult were ſlain above twenty *Roman* Knights, as many Ladies, and an innumerable Company of the common People. He condemn'd many Perſons of the higheſt Quality to dig in the Mines, and to repair the High ways, for not ſhewing ſufficient Reſpect to his Gifts and Publick Games. He likewiſe caſt great numbers of old Infirm Men, and poor decrepid Houſe-keepers to the

wild

wild Beasts, to free the State from such unserviceable Persons; and caus'd all the Publick Granaries to be shut up, that such as escap'd the wild Beasts, might perish with Famine. He order'd Wild-Beasts, which he kept for Feasts and Publick Games, to be fed with the Bodies of living Men; and to that end every tenth Day he sign'd Warrants for the Executions of what Prisoners he thought fit, which he call'd, *Clearing his Accounts.* A certain Knight who he had cast to the Wild Beasts, crying out, *He was Innocent*, he caus'd him to be taken up, and his Tongue to be cut out of his Head, and then to be thrown in again. He forc'd Parents and Relations to be present at the Executions of their Kindred, compelling them to discourse of pleasant Matters; and to one who excus'd himself by reason of his Sickness, he sent his own Litter to carry him. Demanding of one whom he had recall'd from a former Banishment, *How he employ'd himself in his Exile?* upon his answering, *That he often pray'd for the Death of* Tiberius, *that he might be Emperor*, he immediately concluded, that all whom he had banish'd likewise, pray'd for his Death, therefore commanded, that all that could be found shou'd be slain without Mercy. He took such an exceeding delight in Cruelty and Blood, that he often had Men rack'd and tortur'd in his Presence as he sat at Meat, mingling his Sawce, as it were, with innocent's Blood; and when the poor Wretches were miserably torn and mangled, he added another Cruelty of spitefully pitying and condoling their Misfortunes, blaming only their Tormentors.

As this Tyrant was barbarous in his Actions, so he was no less cruel in his Words and Sayings; for he often declar'd, *That he esteem'd nothing in his Nature so commendable as his* Adriatrepsian, *or his* Unrelenting Temper *at the sight of Executions.* Being blam'd by his Grand-mother for his numerous Cruelties, he made answer, *Remember I may do what I please, and*

*to*

*to whom I pleaſe.* An Eminent Citizen, who for an Indiſpoſition had got leave to retire into the Iſle of *Anticyra*, deſiring to have his Stay prolong'd, he was ſo far from obtaining his Petition, that *Caligula* commanded him to be ſlain; adding withal, *That Blood-letting muſt of neceſſity do him good, who had taken* Hellebore *ſo long without Succeſs.* He took delight to kill Men with ſlow and reiterated Strokes, that according to his uſual Expreſſion, *they might feel themſelves die*: and once executing a wrong Perſon by miſtake, upon finding his Error, he ſaid, *'Twas well done, he deſerv'd it as much as the other.* In ſhort, ſo unlimited and boundleſs was his Inhumanity, that he often made uſe of that impious Expreſſion, *Oderint dum metuant, Let them hate, as long as they fear*; and to add to the natural Fierceneſs of his Countenance, he often view'd himſelf in his Glaſs to conſider what Looks would make him moſt terrible to his Subjects. Whenever he kiſs'd his Wife or Miſtreſs, he generally laid his Hand upon their Necks, uſing this Sentence, *As ſmooth and as lovely as it is, I can take it off when I pleaſe*; and he many times proteſted, *That he would rack* Cæſonia *to diſcover what made him love her ſo paſſionately.* All his Sayings had the genuine Marks of Tyranny and unlimited Power; and particularly he declar'd, *That he wou'd ſo eſtabliſh the State, that the Lawyers ſhould have nothing to plead but what he thought Juſt and Equitable.* And that he might ſhew himſelf a real Monſter, as well as a true Tyrant, he us'd frequently to complain of the unhappineſs of his Reign, *becauſe not afflicted with any conſiderable Calamity to make it remarkable*; lamenting, *That the Reign of* Auguſtus *was memorable for the Overthrow of* Varus; *That of* Tiberius *for the Fall of the great Amphitheatre at* Fidenæ, *but ſuch was his unfortunate Proſperity, that he was in great danger of being forgotten*: Inſomuch that he many times wiſh'd for the Deſtruction of ſome of his Armies, Famine, Peſti-

lence, Fire, or ſome great Opening of the Earth, as wou'd ſwallow up a large Proportion of his Subjects.

The inſupportable Cruelties, and monſtrous Diſpoſitions of this Emperor caus'd many to conſpire againſt his Life; but their Deſigns were for a while deferr'd, by reaſon of a famous Expedition he deſign'd againſt the *Germans* and *Britains*, which he undertook in the latter End of the third Year of his Reign. He caus'd vaſt Numbers of Men to be rais'd in all Parts, made ſuch mighty Preparations, us'd ſuch great Expedition, and ſhew'd ſuch uncommon Reſolution, that many believ'd, that he wou'd overrun all *Germany* and *Britain* with no difficulty. In his March he ſometimes mov'd with ſuch Fury and Haſte, that the *Prætorian* Cohorts were conſtrain'd to diſpoſe their Standards upon the Backs of their Sumpters to be brought after; other times ſo ſlowly, and in ſuch State, that cauſing himſelf to be carry'd upon eight Mens Shoulders, he ſent before and commanded the neighbouring Cities to have their High-ways well ſwept and water'd to defend him from the Duſt. Notwithſtanding all his great Threats and Boaſtings he perform'd nothing in his Expedition but receiving *Adminius*, the Son of *Cynobelinus*, a King in *Britain*, who being baniſh'd by his Father, fled to him with a ſmall Attendance. However, *Caligula* immediately ſent magnificent Letters to *Rome*, as if he had conquer'd and poſſeſs'd himſelf of the whole Iſland; ſtrictly enjoyning the Meſſengers who carry'd his Letters, *to ride directly through the great* Forum *into the Palace, and not to deliver them to the Conſuls, but in the Temple of* Mars, *and in a full Senate.* Not long after having no other Martial Imployment, he commanded certain of the *German* Guards to croſs the *Rhine*, and hiding themſelves for a while, to return in a great Tumult and Conſternation with an Alarm, that the Enemy

**Caligula's *Expedition.***
*A. D.* 41.

was

was at hand; which being exactly perform'd, he haſten'd with a few ſelect Friends, and a ſmall Party of Horſe, into a neighbouring Wood, where cauſing his Men to adorn themſelves with Branches of Trees for Trophies, he return'd by Torch-light with great Courage and bravery, reproaching them with Lazineſs and Timidity, who neglected to follow him, and rewarding his Fellow Adventurers with new ſorts of Crowns, and the honourable Names of *Exploratorii*. Soon after, that his Exploits might be numerous as well as noble, he ſecretly order'd ſome Hoſtages to be forceably taken from their appointed Places; and being at Supper when the News was brought him, he ſhew'd ſo much Concern for their Eſcape, that he aroſe ſuddenly from the Table, mounted and purſu'd them with a great Party of Horſe, as if they had been Fugitives; and having taken them, he brought them back in Chains, expreſſing himſelf in this Interlude no leſs vainly and extravagantly than in the former. At the ſame time he publiſh'd a ſevere Complaint againſt the Senate and People of *Rome*, ſhewing, *That while* Cæſar *was fighting abroad and expos'd to infinite Hazards and Perils, they indulg'd themſelves in their Riotous Feaſtings, and in all the Pleaſures and Diverſions in the Town.* Laſtly, for a final Determination of this War, he march'd with his whole Army to the Sea-ſhore in *Batavia* or *Holland*, where diſpoſing his Engines and Machines in great Order, and drawing up his Army in Battalia, he went on to the Sea in a Galley, and immediately returning, he commanded the Trumpets to ſound, and the Signal to be given for Battel, then of a ſudden order'd all his Men to gather the Shells of Cockles and Muſcles into their Helmets, terming them, *The Spoils of the conquer'd Ocean, due to the Palace and Capitol.* Then calling his Army together, in ſuch a Manner as Generals uſually did after a Victory, he made a pompous Oration

to them, highly extolling their renown'd Exploits and Atchievements, commanding also a ridiculous Distribution of Money to be made amongst them, and bidding them *Rejoyce and be Rich.* In Memory of this great Victory, he caus'd a lofty Tower to be erected by the Sea-side; and order'd the Galleys in which he had put out to Sea, to be convey'd to *Rome*, and for the most part by Land.

At his Return towards *Rome*, and entrance into *Gaul*, he sent Messengers before him to prepare a most solemn Triumph for his Conquests, carrying with him some few Prisoners, and *Barbarian* Fugitives for that purpose; and for the greater Pomp, he took with him the principal of the *Gallick* Nobility, compelling them to discolour their Faces and Hair, to learn the *German* Language, and to take upon them their barbarous Names. But before his Departure from this Province, this Tyrant enter'd upon the most impious and bloody Design that was ever remember'd; which was to murder all those Legions which had formerly mutined under his Father *Germanicus*, when he was a young Child in the Camp; and after all possible Perswasions against this notorious Barbarity, he could not be diverted from a Resolution of killing every tenth Man; in which he persisted so obstinately, that he immediately call'd them together without their Arms, as to an Harangue, and caus'd them to be surrounded by a strong Body of Horse, in order to this abominable Design. But observing that his Intentions were suspected, and that many of them slipt away to recover their Arms, in case of any Violence, he suddenly fled out of the Assembly, and went immediately towards *Rome*, turning all thoughts against the Senate, and threatning to revenge on them the Ignominious Reports that were rais'd of him; complaining, amongst other things, *That by their Faults he was defrauded of his Triumph:* Tho' he had lately forbad them, upon pain of Death, to con-

concern themſelves with any of his Honours. Being met on the way by Ambaſſadors from that venerable Aſſembly, with their humble Requeſt to him to come and partake of the Honours deſign'd for him, he laid his Hand upon his Sword, Saying, *I will come, and bring this along with me:* And alſo by an Edict he declar'd, *That he wou'd return, but it ſhould be only to the Gentry and Commons; as to the Senate, he would be neither a Prince nor Citizen for the future:* and forbad any of the Senators to meet him. In this Manner, either quite omitting his Triumph, or deferring it to another Time, he contented himſelf to enter the City by way of *Ovation*, on his Birth-Day, without any further Ceremony. But about the ſame time the Senate found a remarkable Occaſion of Reconciliation, by means of *Protogenes*, one of his bloodieſt Executioners; who coming into the Houſe, was ſaluted and fawn'd upon by all the Senate, and more particularly by *Scribonius Proculus*. Whereupon *Protogenes*, with a fierce Countenance reply'd, *Why do you ſalute me, you that ſo hate my Maſter the Emperor?* Upon which Words the reſt of the Senators immediately ſeiz'd upon *Proculus*, and violently tore him in Pieces; which piece of Service ſo well ſuited with the Tyrant's prodigious Humour, that he was pleas'd to declare, *That the Senate had now regain'd his Favour.*

Continuing in *Rome*, *Caligula* proceeded in his former Cruelties after a more barbarous Manner than ever; and being incens'd with the Citizens, he us'd this execrable Wiſh, *O that the* Roman *People had but one Neck, that I might diſpatch 'em all at a Blow!* And when the People petition'd him at the Theatre for an Eaſement of their Taxes, he commanded his Guards to ſet upon them, and put great Numbers of them to the Sword. He deſign'd to remove his Court to *Antium*, and then to *Alexandria*, reſolving firſt to deſtroy the Principal of the *Senatorian*, and *Equeſtrian* Rank; as appear'd from two Books found

in his Cabinet one intituled *Gladius* the Sword, and the other *Pugio* the Dagger; in which were written the Names of such as were mark'd out for Execution. So that now indeed he prov'd a real *Phaeton* to the World, according to the Predictions of that impious Politician *Tiberius*; but as he began to set all things on Fire, so he was soon scorch'd and consum'd in those Flames which he had so furiously blown up. When neither his own Reason, his Subjects Petitions, nor his Countries Customs cou'd move him to Moderation, or divert him from his Cruelties, many began to conspire against him, but durst not execute their Designs by reason of his Guards; till at length *Cassius Chæreas*, an Officer of his Guards resolv'd upon it, being prompted to it upon many Accounts. He secretly imparted his Designs to several *Senators*, *Equites*, and others, who readily joining with him, privately kept themselves in Arms, every Person promoting it with all possible Vigour and Resolution. *Chæreas* having appointed a set Time for this fatal Attempt, he order'd his Companions to attend him in a Vault, or private Gallery, where the Emperor usually pass'd unseen from his Palace to certain Baths not far distant. There *Chæreas* repair'd to his Associates, and shortly after meeting with *Caligula*, and first paying some Respect to him, he gave him a mortal Wound, crying out, *Tyrant, think upon this*; and immediately the rest of the Conspirators rush'd in, and dispatch'd him with thirty Wounds, he for some space crying out, *That he was still alive.* This was the miserable end of *Caius Caligula*, the fourth Emperor of *Rome*, in the 29th Year of his Age, after a short Reign of three Years, ten Months, and eight Days; a Person commendable only for his sharp Wit and Eloquence, and so monstrously Wicked, that *Seneca* truly said of him, *That Nature seem'd to have brought him forth, to shew what was possible to be produc'd from the greatest Viciousness, supported by the greatest*

*The Death of Caligula.*

*eſt Authority*. His prodigious Enormities juſtly pull'd down Heaven's Vengeance upon the Head of him and his Family: For he himſelf not only fell by the Hands of his own Friends and Subjects, and had his Body left half burnt upon a poor Pile erected privately and in haſte; but alſo his Wife *Cæſonia*, whom he lov'd to Madneſs, was at the ſame time ſtabb'd by a Centurian: and his only Daughter, an Infant in the Cradle, had her Brains daſh'd out againſt a Wall, with Deſign to extirpate the whole Race of a Tyrant, who had made himſelf ſo inſupportably odious to all Mankind. His Money was alſo melted down by Decree of Senate; that, if it were poſſible, both his Name and Feature might be forgotten by future Ages. He dy'd in the 794*th* Year of the City, 42 after our Saviour's Nativity, and 9 after his Crucifixion: In whoſe ſhort Reign, the Name and Faith of *Jeſus Chriſt* was preach'd in a conſiderable Part of the World by the Holy Apoſtles and many others, St. *Matthew* writing his firſt Goſpel, and the Believers of *Chriſt* obtaining the Name of *Chriſtians*.

II. As ſoon as the Death of *Caligula* was publiſh'd in the City, it caus'd a great Alteration and Confuſion in all Parts. The Conſpirators, who provided only for their Safety and not Soveraignty, had all retir'd to private Places, tho' not without great difficulty; and ſince the Act was committed in ſuch a ſecret Place, many imagining it ſome Artifice to diſcover the Affections of the People, ſuſpended their Belief of it, till the *German* Guards had ſufficiently manifeſted it by the Diſturbances the rais'd, and the Murders they committed in the Palace. The Senate was immediately aſſembl'd; where after a ſerious Debate, *Saturninus* the preſent Conſul, inſiſted much upon the Benefits of Liberty, and the Miſeries of Tyranny, particularly, *That the latter utterly extinguiſhes all Vertue, deprives Free Men of all* *A. D.* 42.

*true Magnanimity, and teaches 'em both to flatter and fear; by which Means the Common-Wealth is not guided by the Wisdom of Laws, but abandon'd to the Fury of intemperate Governors; all which fatal Miseries,* Rome *had severely experienc'd,* After which he much pleaded for the rewarding of *Chæreas, who,* he said, *had done so great a Piece of Service to State; not like* Brutus *and* Cassius, *who murder'd* Julius Cæsar; *for they were the Original of Seditions and Civil Wars: But* Chæreas *by the Death of a Tyrant, had not only deliver'd* Rome *from his Person, but likewise from all those Miseries which arose by his Means.* The Senate being terrify'd with the past Calamities, readily agreed with his Opinion, resolving to restore *Rome* to her ancient Liberty, and utterly to extinguish the Name of the *Cæsars* and the Monarchy; and persisting in this Determination, they immediately seiz'd on the *Capitol,* with some of the Cohorts of the City, who were likewise of their Opinion. But the City was much divided, the Commons urging hotly for the Election of a New Emperor, and the Nobility as violently promoting the Restoration of their ancient Privileges. The former hated the Senate, and had been highly oblig'd by the publick Spectacles and Donatives of the Emperors; therefore resolv'd to continue the Monarchy, and endeavour to discover the Conspirators. The *Prætorian* Cohorts and the *German* Guards, had all the same Intention and Resolution with the Commons; the former in hopes that the Election of the Emperor wou'd fall to their Determination, and the latter upon the account of the great Profits they had reap'd from the Execution of *Caligula*'s Cruelties, These Divisions and Dissentions rais'd violent Disturbances in the City; and while Affairs continu'd in this Confusion, neither the Citizens nor Soldiers knew whom to nominate for Emperor, till some of the Soldiers running about the Palace, discover'd *Caligula*'s Uncle *Claudius* in a secret Hole, in which he had hid himself out of fear of his Life,

Life, and brought him upon their Shoulders to the Camp, where they proclaimed him Emperor, when he in great Fear expected nothing but Death at their Hands; the People in the mean time pitying him as going to his Execution. Whereupon the Senate ſent the Tribune of the People to adviſe him *to ſubmit to their Eſtabliſhment, and not to diſturb the Publick Peace with his Pretenſions, and to come and treat of ſuch Matters as were for the Publick Good*; but *Claudius* alledg'd, *That he was detain'd by Force*, being much encourag'd by *Herod Agrippa*, King of *Judæa*, and then at *Rome*, to oppoſe the Senates Determination. But *Claudius* had neither the Courage to attempt any thing for himſelf, or the Publick, behaving himſelf with all imaginable Fear and Concern, till the Diſturbances of the People, and the Terror of the Soldiers caus'd ſome Compliance in the Senate, who finding *Claudius* nearer ally'd to the Empire than any other, as being Uncle to *Caligula*, and Brother to *Germanicus*, agreed to make him Emperor, confirming him ſhortly after. *Claudius* diſtributed fifteen great Seſterces to each of the Camp, who promis'd him Allegiance, which, as *Suetonius* obſerves, was the firſt time that any of the Emperors gave Money to the Soldiers to bribe them to their Duties.

*Claudius* was now fifty Years of Age, and till this time had liv'd in great Obſcurity, beſtowing much of his Time in ſtudying and writing of Hiſtory and other Subjects, of which he gave frequent and publick Teſtimonies of his Proficiency. But whether from his Bodily Diſtempers, the groſs Stupidity of his Nature, or the unactive Cowardice of his Temper, he cou'd not with all his Learning, acquire any Dignity in the State, beſides ſome few Months Conſulſhip with *Caligula*; nor yet extinguiſh the ill Opinion conceiv'd of him by moſt Perſons. He had now cur'd himſelf of the Infirmities of his Body, and in a great meaſure ſeem'd to have corrected thoſe of his

Claudius *made Emperor.*

his Mind; as was believ'd from his great Care he ſhew'd for the State, and his ſeveral good Acts he did in the beginning of his Reign. The firſt Thing he did was the aboliſhing the Memory of theſe two Days in which the Alteration of the Government was ſo fervently debated; whereof he caus'd an Act of Oblivion to be paſt for all Words and Actions whatſoever in that time. After which he diſannull'd all the cruel Edicts made by *Caligula*; commanding all to deliver'd from Priſon and Baniſhment, who had been unjuſtly confin'd, particularly *Caligula*'s Siſters and Nieces. He ſhew'd himſelf very merciful to his Enemies and Oppoſers in the Election, and paſs'd a general Act of Indemnity for all paſt Crimes; yet for a publick Example, and to terrifie others from the like Attempt, he commanded *Chæreas*, and ſome of the Conſpirators, who ſtill oppos'd his Election to be executed, who ſuffer'd Death with great Boldneſs and Reſolution, *Chæreas* deſiring only to die by the ſame Sword he had us'd againſt *Caligula*. This Emperor ſhew'd himſelf very diſcreet and temperate as to Honours and Titles; and upon ſevere Penalties, forbad all Perſons to ſacrifice to him as they had done to *Caligula*; tho' he omitted no occaſion of celebrating the Memory of his Brother *Germanicus*, which was dear to the *Romans*. He now acted much by the Authority of the Senate, and ask'd the Conſents of the Conſuls in many Things. In the Hearing and Examination of Cauſes he was frequently preſent, and as diligent as any of the Advocates. He as frequently adminiſter'd Juſtice in Perſon, in which he did not always bind himſelf to the Letter of the Law, but moderated the Severity of the Mulcts, as in his Judgment he thought equitable and juſt. But on the other ſide, if Perſons were convicted of more than ordinary Fraud and Colluſion, he ſtrain'd the Penalty of the Law, and condemn'd them to the Wild Beaſts. A Woman being unwilling to own her Son, and

and the Proofs of either ſide not being clear, he adjudg'd her to marry him, and by that Award brought her to acknowledge him. The Tribunes of the People coming one day to attend him, when he was on his Tribunal, he courteouſly excus'd himſelf for not having Room for them to ſit down. By his Deportment in this and other Caſes, he ſo much gain'd the Favour and Affection of the People in a ſhort time, that upon a bare Report of his being ſlain by ſurprize, in a Journey to *Oſtia*, they ran about the Streets in a dreadful Rage and Tumult, calling the Soldiers *Traytors*, the Senate *Paricides*, and with horrible Imprecations curſing all Perſons who were acceſſary to it. Nor could they be appeas'd, till ſeveral diſtinct Meſſengers appear'd at the *Roſtra*, to aſſure them he was living, and wou'd be amongſt them in a ſhort time.

This Emperor took a more than ordinary care that *Rome* ſhou'd be continually ſupply'd with all ſorts of Corn and Proviſion, ſecuring the Merchants againſt all Pirates by Sea; and this Care was the more neceſſary, becauſe of the incredible number of People in *Rome*; for in this Reign *Tacitus* aſſures us, that in one *Luſtrum* were found 6844000 Heads. He likewiſe was very much employ'd in magnificent Works, and Buildings, of which three were of as great Note as any that the World could ſhew: The firſt was a wonderful Conduit or Aqueduct, call'd after his own Name *Claudia*, much ſurpaſſing any other in *Rome*, either for the nobleneſs of the Workmanſhip, or the abundance of the Water it convey'd, which was brought forty Miles from *Rome*, through great Mountains, and over ſtately Arches in Valleys and from thence carried on to the higheſt Hills in the City. The Second was a Haven of prodigious Capacity, digg'd into the firm Land at *Oſtia*; a Work of that exceeding Coſt and Charge, that his Succeſſors were not able to maintain it. The laſt was the draining of a Lake call'd *Fucinus*, the largeſt of all *Italy*, in

*Rome incredibly populous.*

the

the Country of the *Marsi*, and the bringing all the Water into the River *Tiber*, to ſtrengthen the Current of the Stream. For effecting which, among other vaſt Difficulties, he mined through a high Mountain of Flint three Miles in length; a ſtupendious Undertaking, which conſtantly employ'd 30000 Men for Eleven Years together, as many good Authors teſtifie.

*Claudius* was no leſs careful about the Provinces and Governments, than about the City and Edifices; firſt confirming *Herod Agrippa* in his Kingdom, which *Caligula* had taken from his Uncle *Herod Antipas*, whom he likewiſe baniſh'd with *Herodias*; both being juſtly puniſh'd for their inceſtuous Match, and the unjuſt Death of *John Baptiſt*. *Claudius* enlarg'd *Agrippa's* Dominions, by an Addition of *Judæa* and *Samaria*, which formerly belong'd to his Grandfather *Herod* the Great; and publiſh'd favourable Edicts in behalf of the *Jews*, who had groan'd under the Tyrannies of *Caligula*. This *Herod* endeavouring by all Ways to gratifie the *Jews*, rais'd a ſevere Perſecution againſt the Apoſtles and *Chriſtians* in thoſe Parts, deſtroying *James*, and impriſoning *Peter*; but was ſhortly after puniſh'd by an Angel from Heaven, who in the midſt of all his Pride and Glory, ſtruck him with a foul Diſeaſe, which ſoon ended his Impious Life, his Kingdom being given to his Son. *Claudius* alſo reſtor'd *Mithridates* the *Iberian* to his Kingdom. *Mithridates* the *Cilician* to the Kingdom of *Boſphorus*, and *Antiochus* to *Comagena*, all which had been depriv'd of their Kingdoms by his Predeceſſor *Caligula*. But he depriv'd the *Lycians* and *Rhodians* of their Liberty; the former for raiſing a Sedition, and killing ſeveral *Romans*, and the latter for crucifying ſome of that Nation.

About the Beginning of this Emperor's Reign, many of the *Britains* having been harraſs'd with Civil Wars, and exaſperated with dangerous Factions, began to ſeek the Protection of the *Romans*, and us'd all

all Methods to ſubject their Native Country to their Government. The principal of theſe was one *Bericus*, who by many Arguments perſwaded the Emperor to make a Deſcent upon *Britain*, which none had attempted ſince *Julius Cæſar*, about 96 Years before. *Claudius* therefore ordered *A. Plantius* the *Prætor*, to paſs over from *Gaul*, who making Preparation for this great Expedition, his mutinous Soldiers refus'd to march, telling him, *That they would not make War out of the Compaſs of the World*; for ſo they judg'd *Britain* to lie. But *Plantius*, by the Aſſiſtance of *Narciſſus*, the Emperor's Favourite, in a ſhort time quieted 'em; and paſſing over into *Britain*, overthrew the Sons of *Cynobelinus* ſeveral times, *Flavius Veſpaſian*, his Lieutenant performing many noble Exploits in this War. The Expedition was undertaken in the Second Year of *Claudius*'s Reign, in which Year St. *Peter*, according to the Vulgar Opinion, came to *Rome*, and ſettled himſelf there, after he had preach'd the Goſpel in divers Parts of the World.

**Britain *invaded a third time by the* Romans.** *A. D.* 44.

The Senate decreed *Claudius* Triumphal Ornaments, upon the Account of the Succeſſes in *Britain*; but he imagining that Honour beneath the Majeſty of an Emperor, reſolv'd in the fourth Year of his Reign to paſs over into *Britain* in Perſon, upon Pretence that the *Britains* were ſtill ſeditious, and had not deliver'd up ſome *Roman* Fugitives in their Poſſeſſion, He made great Preparations both by Sea and Land, and landing in *Britain*, he in a ſhort time ſubdu'd part of the Country with little Oppoſition, and among other Towns *Camalodunum*, commonly believ'd to be *Maldon* in *Eſſex*, the Royal Seat of *Cynobolinus*; but whether he fought any Battel, Authors are not agreed. Having been divers times ſaluted *Imperator*, a Thing not known in one Expedition, he diſarm'd the *Britains*, and committed the Government of theſe, as likewiſe the War, with the others not ſubdu'd to *Plantius*, he haſten'd to *Rome* in the ſixth

**Claudius's *Expedition.*** *A. D.* 46.

ſixth Month, ſending before him *Pompey* and *Salanus*, his Sons in Law, with the News of his Victories. Great Rejoicings were made at *Rome* for the Conqueſt of this ſmall Part of *Britain*, and every Perſon's Mouth was fill'd with the Praiſes of *Claudius*, the Senate in honour to him, decreeing not only a ſplended Triumph, but alſo Yearly Games, and Triumphal Arches, both at *Rome* and *Geſſoriacum* in *Gaul*, the Place where he took Shipping. *Claudius* made his Triumph in *Rome* with great Splendor and Magnificence; and that the Spectacle might be more glorious by the Confluence of People, he not only gave leave to the Governors of Provinces to be preſent at it, but permitted ſeveral baniſh'd Perſons to return home, on purpoſe to behold it. In the Solemnty, his Empreſs *Meſſalina* follow'd him in a diſtant Chariot, magnificently adorn'd; and he himſelf mounted the Steps of the *Capitol* on his Knees, being ſupported on each ſide by his two Sons in-Law. Among the Spoils of his Enemies, he plac'd a *Naval* Crown of Gold hard by the *Civick* Crown, over the Gate of the Imperial Palace, in token of his Victory over the *Britiſh* Sea, when he croſs'd it; and for the ſame Reaſon he order'd his Son *Germanicus*, whom he had by *Meſſalina*, ſhou'd be hereafter call'd *Britannicus*, the Name which was given to himſelf but juſt before. In the mean time *Plantius* carried on the War in *Britain* with that Succeſs, that *Claudius* decreed him an Ovation, and when he enter'd *Rome*, he himſelf met him, giving him the Right-hand all the way. *Veſpaſian*, partly under *Claudius*, and partly under *Plantius*, fought thirty Battels with the Enemy, according to *Suetonius*; alſo ſubdu'd two mighty Nations, and above twenty Towns, together with the Iſle of *Vectis* or *Wight*. For which Exploits he obtain'd Triumphal Ornaments, and within a ſhort ſpace two Sacerdotal Dignities, with the Conſulſhip, which he had the two laſt Months of the Year. Under him

ſerv'd

ſerv'd his Son *Titus* in Quality of a *Tribune*, whoſe extraordinary Valour and Modeſty gain'd him exceeding Reputation, as appears from the Number of his Images, and their Inſcriptions, throughout the Provinces of *Germany* and *Britain*.

*Claudius* began now to leſſen his Care and Concern for the Publick, and to give himſelf up to his Gluttonous Diſpoſition, and his paſſive Stupidity, but moſt of all to his Freed-Men and Favourites, together with his libidinous Wife *Meſſalina*. To theſe he made himſelf ſo ſubject, and was ſo much govern'd by 'em that by their Directions and Counſels he committed many Diſorders, Follies and Injuries, more like their Slave and Subject, than their Prince and Sovereign; pardoning ſuch heinous Offences, and committing ſuch Cruelties, as wou'd be tedious to mention all, thoſe againſt his own Blood will be ſufficient. The firſt was the Execution of *Appius Silanus*, a Perſon of the higheſt Merits, who had been Governor of *Spain*, and marry'd to his Mother-in-Law, whoſe Death was caus'd by the Malicious Inſinuations of his Wife *Meſſalina*, and his Favourite *Narciſſus*. After him he put both his Sons-in-Law, *Silanus* and *Pompey* to Death; and the two *Livia*'s, his own Nieces, one the Daughter of *Druſus*, and the other of *Germanicus*, and all without admitting of any Defence, and none knowing for what Cauſe. Great Numbers of others were likewiſe put to Death, by the abominable Practices of *Meſſalina*, and his Freed-Men, who bore ſo great a Sway in the State, that they ſold Offices, Governments and Dignities; and what was more dangerous, took Money for Pardons, Penalties, Puniſhments, and Baniſhments: A great part of which was practis'd without the Knowledge of the Emperor; ſo large was their Power and Authority, and ſo groſs his Ignorance and Stupidity. He begg'd ſuch Remarks from the Senate for his two Favourites *Narciſſus* and *Pallas*, and gave ſo great a Latitude

Latitude to their Rapines and Extortions, that complaining one Day that his Exchequer was exhausted, he was handsomely answer'd, *That he might be abundently rich, if his two Freed-Men wou'd but take him into their Society.* By means of these great Disorders and Grievances, *Claudius* made himself odious to many, and principally to the wiser sort; insomuch that several practis'd his Death, and conspir'd against him, tho' for his former good Acts he was still belov'd and esteem'd by great numbers. But as those who hated him were more numerous, or at least more bold, they fear'd not to make an Attempt upon his Life; of which were two *Equites*, who resolv'd to stab him, besides *Statius Corvinus*, and *Gallus Asinius*, two Persons of the highest Rank, who had form'd a Conspiracy against him. But the Designs and Practices of all being timely discover'd, *Claudius* prevented the Danger, by executing new Cruelties upon the several Parties, and upon such as had consented and participated with them; and finding himself freed from this Fear and Danger, he continu'd more vile in his impious Purposes, and cruel Courses.

**Camillus's *Rebellion.***

But this Conspiracy was not the Emperor's greatest Concern, for shortly after *Furius Camillus*, his Lieutenant in *Dalmatia*, incited by many principal Men of *Rome*, openly rebell'd against him, and the Legions of that Province joyning with him, he call'd himself by the Title of Emperor. This threw *Claudius* into the utmost Fear and Amazement; and as his Nature and his Crimes had made him more cowardly and timerous than the rest of Mankind, he was so dejected and mean-spirited, that upon *Camillus* his writing to him a hectoring Letter, *Commanding him to leave his Empire, and betake himself to a private and retir'd Life*, he assembl'd the principal Persons of his Council, to deliberate whether he shou'd resign to *Camillus*, or not: So that if the Rebellion had lasted, he wou'd have made but a freeble Defence of his Empire,

pire. But as *Camillus*'s Pretences had no Foundation, and his ambitious Designs manifestly appearing to the Legions, they soon repented of their Choice, and destroy'd him five Days after, by reason of some remarkable Prodigies which had terrify'd 'em, as some Author's write. And thus was *Claudius* deliver'd from this Danger, but not from Fear and Jealousie; for he liv'd ever after in Disquiets and Suspicions, insomuch that being one day in the Temple offering his Sacrifices, and by chance finding a Sword which had been left there by accident, he with great Trembling and Confusion, immediately caus'd the Senate to be assembled, and with Fear told the Fathers, *That he was a Man the most unfortunate and miserable of all others, and that he cou'd be assur'd at no Time or Place, but was continually in Danger*; and for many Days together he retir'd, and stir'd not abroad. After this, he never durst go to any Feast without his Guards about him, waiting with their Lances at the Table instead of other Servants; nor wou'd he visit any sick Person, till the Chamber was strictly search'd to the very Bolster of the Bed. He suffer'd no Man to come near him, upon the account of Salutation, or otherwise, before his Searchers had been with him, who spared none, and sometimes were very rude and severe in their Scrutiny, and that to Women as well as Men. *His Death.*

But *Messalina*, with her Favourites and Confederates, made a more profitable Use of the Emperor's Fears and Suspicions, taking an Occasion from them to put many Persons to Death, and to Confiscate their Goods, alledging, *That they were guilty of some of the late Conspiracies and Rebellions*; all which was effected in a most bloody and barbarous manner, many being condemn'd and executed without Proof or Trial, and other guilty Persons clear'd, by means of Bribes and Gifts: And tho' for the most part *Claudius* was grossly abus'd and impos'd upon by those he most trusted, yet still the World believ'd him most guilty and

cenſur'd and hated him for theſe Acts, For beſides his ſtrange Remiſneſs and Forgetfulneſs in all Things, and the great Truſt which he repos'd in ſuch impious Perſons; he appear'd very Bloody and Cruel himſelf, being frequently preſent when Torments were inflicted, and with great Pleaſure beholding the moſt exquiſite Cruelties; a thing highly unworthy of his Office and Dignity. He was ſo delighted with ſuch Spectacles, that being at the City *Tibur*, and deſirous to ſee an Execution, after the ancient Mode, upon the want of an Executioner, when the Delinquents were faſten'd to the Stake, he ſent to *Rome* for one, and ſtay'd upon the Place with great patience till Night, in Expectation of his coming. *Suetonius* writes that he put to death thirty five Senators, and above three hundred *Equites* in his Reign, and with ſo much Eaſe and Unconcernment, that one of his Captains bringing him an Account, *That according to his Command, ſuch a Conſulary Man was executed*; he deny'd he had given any ſuch Order, yet approv'd of what had been perform'd.

*Ludi Sæculares.* *A. D.* 48.

In the Seventh Year of this Emperor's Reign, the great Secular Games were exhibited, it being now the 800*th* Year of the City, and 64 Years after their Celebration by *Auguſtus*. In the ſame Year *Meſſalina* began to appear more publick in her Wickedneſs, and triumphant in her Adulterous Practices, in which ſhe now became ſuperlatively Impudent; and to enter into all the Particulars of her Monſtrous Lewdneſs, wou'd be a Scandal to my Story, and an Offence to my Reader. She caus'd ſome Women to commit Adultery in the very Preſence of their own Husbands, ruining and deſtroying ſuch as refus'd their Compliance; and oftentimes gain'd the Emperor ignorantly to conſent to her own Wickedneſs and his Shame. After ſhe had ſacrific'd many of her Gallants, who were too deficiently ſerviceable to her unbounded Deſires, ſhe fell paſſionately

onately in Love with *C. Cilius*, the moſt beautiful Youth in all *Rome*, whom ſhe oblig'd, tho' unwillingly, to divorce his Wife *Junia Syllana*, an Illuſtrious Lady, that ſhe might wholly enjoy the Adulterer to her ſelf. Which ſhe did not with Secreſy, but with a great Retinue frequented his Houſe, was always at his Side, and profuſedly beſtow'd Wealth and Honour upon him; and at laſt, as tho' Fortune had transferr'd the Empire to him, all Attendants and Imperial Ornaments were daily ſeen at the Adulterer's Houſe. After ſome ſpace *Silius*, being apprehenſive of the Dangers in which they had involv'd themſelves, told her directly, *That Harmleſs Counſels were proper for the Innocent; but audacious and deſperate Attempts were the only Security for open and manifeſt Villanies:* And after ſome little deliberation they agreed upon a notorious Expedient, impudent beyond all Example, and almoſt all Belief; which was to marry each other while the Emperor was alive, relying upon his ſtupid Blindneſs, and the tranſcendent Power ſhe had over him. They waited no longer than for *Claudius*'s Journey to *Oſtia* ſhortly after, at which time they celebrated their Nuptials, with all the uſual Ceremonies, and all the Shameleſneſs and Openneſs imaginable; which rais'd great Indignation and Jealouſies among many in the City, who reſolv'd to diſcover all the Empreſs's Practices to *Claudius* during his long Stay at *Oſtia*, but fear'd nothing ſo much as his admitting her to make her Defence, becauſe her dextrous Management of this blockiſh Prince might render their Accuſations ineffectual. *Narciſſus* and *Pallas* firſt made the Diſcovery to him of this infamous Act, with an infinite number of other Villanies committed by her, which after many Aggravations and provoking Incitements, ſomewhat rouz'd him out of his drowſy Slumber and Forgetfulneſs; but at the ſame time threw him into ſuch a dreadful Fright,

and Conſternation, that he oftentimes ask'd, *Whether he was ſtill Sovereign of the Empire or not?* and was as cautious in his Preparations for their Puniſhment, as if he were to engage ſome dangerous Enemy,

In the mean time *Meſſalina*, never more looſe and diſſolute in her laſcivious Frolicks and Debaucheries, celebrated with her Lover the Jovial Feaſts of *Bacchus*, in the time of Vintage; the ſwelling Grapes were preſs'd, the Veſſels flow'd with delicious Wines, Women girt with Skins, danc'd about like Buchanals at their Sacrifices; her ſelf with her Hair. looſely dancing in the Air, ſhaking a Javelin finely wrap'd about with Vine Leaves; and *Silius* hard by, his Body cover'd with Ivy, and his Legs with Buskins, with a ſhameleſs Company of Singers and Dancers; all expreſſing the utmoſt Mirth and Jollity which the Heat and Extravagance of Humour could produce. In the midſt of it one *Valens*, an Idiot, is ſaid to have climb'd a Tree, and being demanded *What he ſaw there*, anſwer'd, *A cruel Storm coming from* Oſtia, which caſt a ſudden Coldneſs and Damp upon the Minds of the Company. Shortly after which they receiv'd Intelligence, that the Emperor had made a full diſcovery of the whole Matter, and was coming to take his Revenge. All retir'd with great Confuſion to ſeveral Places, and *Meſſalina* to the Gardens belonging formerly to *Lucullus*, from whence ſhe ſent her Son and Daughter, *Britannicus* and *Octavia*, to meet the Emperor, and implore his Mercy, immediately after following them her ſelf; but in vain, ſince *Narciſſus* and her other Accuſers ſo diverted *Claudius*, that he could not attend to her Defence. *Silius* and many other of her adulterous Companions were immediately ſecur'd, and ſhortly after receiv'd the juſt Reward of their Villanies, among which ſome were Senators and ſome were Players. All which time *Meſſalina* in *Lucullus*'s Gardens endeavour'd by all poſſible Methods to prolong her wretched Life, ſome-

ſometimes uſing Prayers and Supplications, and other times ſhewing no leſs Rage and Anger; and had not *Narciſſus* haſten'd her Death, ſhe had probably turn'd the Miſchief upon her Accuſers Heads: For the Emperor having return'd from the Executions, and allay'd his Choler in a Banquet, began to relent, deferring her Puniſhment till after ſhe had made her Defence. Which being underſtood, *Narciſſus* ruſh'd out and order'd the Centurions and Tribunes juſt by to execute her immediately, according to the Emperor's Commands; who haſtening to the Gardens, found her extended on the Earth, with her Mother *Lepida* ſitting by her, who perſwaded her, *not to tarry for the Executioner, ſince ſhe could expect no other Honour but the killing her ſelf.* But ſhe had no ſpark of Generoſity left, and her Courage was too enfeebl'd with impure Senſuality to think on ſuch an Attempt; tho' at laſt with many cowardly Fears and Tremblings ſhe took a Sword from one of the Soldiers, and put it to her Throat, and then to her Breaſt; which at laſt was pierc'd with a Blow lent her by the Tribune; an End ſuitable to one who was the higheſt in Quality, but the moſt monſtrous in Impiety of all her Sex. *Claudius* was immediately inform'd of her Death in the midſt of his Banquet; but without the leaſt Queſtion ask'd, or Concern ſhew'd, he call'd for his Cup, and proceeded in his Banquet; and ſo ſtrange was his Inſenſibility, that neither the ardent Love he bore her, the Satisfaction of the Accuſers, nor the Sadneſs of his Children could make him give the leaſt Tokens of Hate, Joy, Anger, Sorrow, or of any other humane Paſſion or Affection. And what is ſtill further remarkable, the next Day ſitting at his Table, he ask'd *Why* Meſſalina *came not to the Supper.* The like monſtrous Forgetfulneſs appear'd in many other Inſtances, as when he had condemn'd ſeveral particular Perſons, he often ask'd and ſent for 'em the next Day.

Meſſalina *Her Death.*

*Claudius*, being now a Widower, declar'd publickly, *That since he had been unfortunate in his Marriages, he wou'd live a single Life for the future, and if he continu'd not in that Resolution, he gave his Subjects leave to kill him.* But forgetting himself shortly after, he became such a Captive to the artful Caresses and great Beauty of his Niece *Agrippina*, Daughter to his Brother *Germanicus*, that in the next meeting of the Senate he suborn'd Persons to move, *That he might be compell'd to marry, as a Matter of great Importance to the Common-wealth; and that according to his Example all Persons might be permitted in such Marriages as till now were look'd upon as Incestuous.* And when this was decreed, he had scarce Patience to contain himself a Day before the Solemnization of the Nuptials but none follow'd his Example besides one of his Freed-Men and one of the Captains of his Guards, at whose Nuptials both himself and *Agrippina* were present, for the greater Incouragement of those Marriages which were detested by the *Romans*. *Agrippina* was a Lady of very great Spirit and Understanding, of ambitious Designs, and well knowing the Weaknesses and Infirmities of *Claudius*'s Temper, she soon found means to advance her Son *Domitius Nero*, whom she had by her other Husband *Domitius Enobarbus*, procuring him to be marry'd to *Claudius*'s Daughter *Octavia*, which was done some few Days after her own Marriage. Not long after which the Emperor's Favourite *Pallas*, by her Instigation urg'd *Claudius to provide for the Safety of the Common-wealth, and strengthen the Interest of his Son* Britannicus, *by his Adoption of young* Domitius; *for* Augustus's *Wives Children were advanc'd, tho' he had Grandsons of his own, and* Tiberius *notwithstanding his own Son* Drusus, *Adopted* Germanicus. *That he also shou'd take in another, to share, in some measure, the Burden of the Empire with him.* This Emperor, who, as *Tacitus* says, had neither Judgment nor Malice, but what was put into him, immediately yielded to the Perswasion, prefer-

**Claudius** *marries his Niece.* **Agrippina.**

preferring *Domitius* before his own Son *Britannicus*; and made a Speech upon that account to the Senate, which he had receiv'd from *Pallas*. Great Thanks were return'd to *Claudius*, and exquisite Flatteries us'd to *Domitius*, and a Decree made by which he shou'd be accounted of the *Claudian* Family, and call'd *Claudius Nero*; and likewise that *Agrippina* shou'd be surnam'd *Augusta*. This was done in the ninth Year of *Claudius*'s Reign; in which Year he banish'd all the *Jews* from *Rome*, by reason of there being continually in an Uproar and Tumult upon the Account of the new Religion of the *Christians*, as *Suetonius* assures us; and many are of Opinion, that under the Name of *Jews* the *Christians* were likewise expell'd. In this Year also were some Conquests made in *Mauritania* and those Parts, which were made into two Tributary Provinces, one call'd *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, now the Kingdom of *Fez*. and *Mauritania Tingitana*, now the Kingdom of *Morocco*.

*A. D.* 51. *Further Conquests in Britain.*

In the tenth Year of *Claudius* Reign, the *Britains* revolted, and upon the Arrival of *P. Ostorius*, *Pro-Prætor* in those Parts, grew more confident than before, contemning Him as a Person of no Military Experience. But he well knowing, that the first Action wou'd either encourage or dishearten 'em, vigorously attack'd such as were up in Arms, and dispers'd 'em, proceeding to disarm all whom he had reason to suspect; but the *Iceni*, the Inhabitants of the present Counties of *Suffolk*, *Northfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon*, a powerful Nation, refusing to submit, gain'd others over to their Party, and encamping upon commodious Ground, engag'd with the *Romans*, were at last overthrown. but with the greater Bloodshed, by reason of their Despair of Pardon. By this Overthrow of the *Iceni*, many others, before undetermin'd, were reduc'd to Obedience, and *Ostorius* led his Army against the *Cangi*, a People about the *Irish* Sea; and wasting their Territories, had pass'd

almoſt to the *Ocean*, when he was recall'd by the Inſurrections of the *Brigantes*, a People on the North of *England*, and having deſtroy'd the principal Revolters, the Rebellion was extinguiſh'd. But the *Silure*, the Inhabitants of South *Wales*, wou'd by no Methods be allur'd or diſcourag'd from proſecuting the War againſt the *Romans*, relying upon their own Courages, and the Valour and Bravery of their great General *Caractacus*, who having waded through numerous Perils and Difficulties, had gain'd ſuch Reputation, that he was juſtly preferr'd before all the *Britiſh* Commanders; and by his Policy and Conduct remov'd the Seat of the War into the Territories of the *Ordovices*, the Inhabitants of North-*Wales*, as more convenient for his Deſigns, by reaſon of the Rocks and Mountains. Here at the approach of the *Romans*, *Caractacus* in a Speech to his Soldiers told 'em, *That this Battle ſhou'd either eſtabliſh their glorious Liberty, or confirm their perpetual Servitude; and that they ought to remember the Honour of their Anceſtors, who had driven* Julius Cæſar *from this Iſle; by whoſe Valour they were happily deliver'd from Axes and Tributes; and to whom they ow'd the Enjoyment of their unviolated Wives and Children.* But as nothing cou'd withſtand the Force of the *Roman* Legions, the *Britains*, tho they had conſiderable Advantages in the beginning of the Battle, by reaſon of their Intrenchments, were after an obſtinate Fight entirely routed, and the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus*, taken Priſoners, his Brothers ſurrendring themſelves ſhortly after: *Caractacus* himſelf flying to *Cartiſmandua* Queen of *Brigantes*, was treacherouſly bound and deliver'd up to the Conquerors, after nine Years brave Reſiſtance of the *Romans*, by which he had gain'd great Fame and Renown.

*Caractacus* was brought to *Rome*, where all were deſirous of ſeeing the Perſon who had ſo long contemn'd their Forces, and the People were aſſembled as at the Sight of ſome publick Games and Spectacles; the

the Emperor's Guards were plac'd in Order, and he himself seated on his Tribunal; the Captive Princes, Vassals, and Retinue going first, the Caparisons, and others Spoils of War follow'd after; then his Brothers, his Wife and Daughter; and last of all, he himself was brought before the People in a very remarkable Habit. The Prayers which the rest made to the Emperor were mean and servile; but *Caractacus* neither hanging down his Head, nor craving Mercy when he stood before the Tribunal, with a noble Bravery spoke thus: *If my Moderation in Prosperity had been equal to my Nobility and Fortune, I had come rather as a Friend into this City, than a Captive; nor wou'd you have disdain'd to have receiv'd me with Articles of Peace and Alliance, being a Prince nobly descended from Illustrious Progenitors, and an absolute Commander over many Nations. My present Fortune, as it is to me low and dishonourable, so to you it is glorious and magnificent. I have been Master of Horses, Men, Arms and Wealth; what wonder is it, if after many Strugglings I have lost 'em all? If* Rome *aspires at Universal Empire, does it follow that the World must needs truckle to her; If I had yielded immediately, and without Opposition, neither my Fortune wou'd have been remarkable, nor your Glory memorable; and Oblivion wou'd have follow'd my Punishment. But if you spare my Life, I shall be a perpetual Example of your Clemency.* Upon these Words *Claudius* generously pardon'd him, his Wife and Brothers; and being all unbound, they paid their Reverence to *Agrippina*, who set aloft on another Seat hard by; and gave her the like Praises and Thanks, as they had given to the Emperor. *Tacitus* says, that this was the first Time that ever a Woman sat among the *Roman* Standards; but she, in Justification call'd her self *Partner of that Empire her Ancestors had gain'd by their Valour.* After this the Senate was assembled, where the Fathers made many commendatory Speeches concerning the Captivity of *Caractacus*; declaring, *It was no less honourable than*

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*when the great* Scipio *expos'd* Syphax *and* Æmilius Perſius; and *Oſtorius* was decreed Triumphal Ornaments he being ſtill in *Britain*. But now his Fortune began to change, either from his own Remiſſneſs, or the Enemies Diligence, who ſuddenly got to Arms, and almoſt intirely cut off thoſe Troops deſign'd for the bridling of the *Silures*; which Advantage, and ſome others, caus'd a new Revolt of ſeveral other Nations, not long after which *Oſtorius*, ſpent with Care and Labour, dy'd. In whoſe Place *Claudius* ſent *A. Didius*, who found Affairs in an ill Poſture; but the *Britains* afterwards having Civil Conteſts, were ſeveral times overthrown, and than more eaſily kept under.

**Agrippina her Deſigns.** The Empreſs *Agrippina* in the mean time was induſtriouſly contriving to raiſe her ſelf to the higheſt Degree of Greatneſs, as well as to ſecure the Succeſſion of the Empire to her Son *Nero*; and her Ambition carry'd her the further, by reaſon of her being Daughter, Siſter, and Wife to an Emperor, and was now endeavouring to be Mother alſo. She had already procur'd the Deaths of ſome *Roman* Ladies, who had been her Rivals for her Marriage with *Claudius*, notwithſtanding they were favour'd by *Narciſſus* and *Calixtus*; and to make her Reputation and Authority more conſpicuous to the Provinces and Foreigners, ſhe commanded a Colony to be planted at *Ubium* on the *Rhine*, where ſhe was born, calling it *Colonia Agrippina*, now *Cologn*. To facilitate his Son's Advancement, ſhe had, beſides his Marriage and Adoption, procur'd *Annæus Seneca* to be recall'd from Baniſhment, and the *Prætorſhip* to be given him, together with the Care and Tuition of her Son: which Reſtoration and Advancement ſhe knew wou'd be grateful to the People, who highly eſteem'd him for his great Learning and eminent Morality. She was likewiſe ſenſible that her Son might receive great Advantages from ſuch a Maſter; and ſhe was ſo ambitious of his Succeeding in the Empire, that when it was told her by

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ſome Oracle or Augur, *That her Son ſhould be Emperor, but wou'd be the Cauſe of her Death*, ſhe anſwer'd, *Let him, ſo he but Reigns.* But ſhe durſt not level at that Mark while *Geta* and *Criſpinus*, both Favourers of *Britannicus*, continu'd Captains of the Guard; which caus'd her to inſinuate to the Emperor, *That the Guard was divided into Factions through the ambitious Contentions of the two Captains for ſuperiority; and that true Diſcipline wou'd be better preſerv'd if the Soldiers were commanded by one alone.* Upon which the whole Charge of the *Prætorian* Cohorts was transferr'd to *Afranius Burrhus*, A Perſon of great Fame in Military Affairs, yet well knowing by whoſe Favour and Practice he was advanc'd to this Poſt. From that Time the Empreſs ſhew'd more Command and Authority than ever, and frequently enter'd the Capitol in a Chariot; an Honour and Privilege only allow'd to thoſe of the Sacerdotal Order.

In the following Year, which was the Eleventh of this Reign, *Claudius* finiſh'd his vaſt Work formerly mention'd in the Lake *Fuſinus*; but before the Water was let out, he order'd a Naval Battel to be fought there chiefly by Slaves and Perſons condemned to Death or Baniſhment, promiſing Liberty and Rewards to the Conquerors. Fifty Galleys were us'd for this purpoſe, according to *Dion*, and Nineteen Thouſand Men, being equally divided, and beautifully adorn'd with Banners, Flags, and Streamers of various Colours; one Party being call'd *Sicilians*, and the other *Rhodians*. To ſee this remarkable Spectacle; there came infinite Multitudes of People from all parts of *Italy*, and from other Countries, which cover'd the Banks of the Lake, and all the Hills and Mountains within view, making it appear like a vaſt Amphitheatre; where the Emperor *Claudius*, with *Agrippina* and *Nero*, were conveniently ſeated, moſt glorioufly attir'd in Gold and precious Stones. The Perſons appointed for the Fight, crying

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ing out, *Farewell good Emperor, we dying Persons salute you*, *Claudius* ridiculously answered them in their own Language, *Farewel to you also*; by which words, imagining he had excus'd them from any further Danger, they stood still by consent, resolving not to engage. Which so enrag'd the Emperor, that he deliberated whether he should destroy 'em all by Fire or Sword. But leaping from his Seat, partly by Threats, and more especially by Promises, he prevail'd; so the Battel began with great Resolution and Obstinacy, these poor Men hacking and wounding each other most miserably, in hopes of Liberty and Honour, and this continu'd the greatest part of the Day, till one Party overcame the other, and so ended this cruel Pastime, and chargeable Vanity.

*Claudius*, in the Twelfth Year of his Reign restor'd the *Rhodians* to their former Liberty upon their humble Repentance, and freed the Inhabitants of *Ilium* from all Customs and Tributes as being the Originals of the *Roman* Progenitors. Young *Nero* pleaded the Causes of both Cities, whose Mother *Agrippina* now became more haughty and imperious than ever, so that she gain'd the Envy and Hatred of the Emperor's Favourites, and the Disesteem of *Claudius* himself, who, notwithstanding his strange Insensibility, began to repent of his Marriage with her, and the Adoption of her Son. Which *Agrippina* soon discover'd by his unusual Favours to *Britannicus*, and by what he accidentally declar'd when he was heated with Wine, *That he had ever been unfortunate in his Wives, but none of 'em had escap'd unpunish'd.* Whereupon *Agrippina* soon determin'd to procure her Husband's Death by Poyson, but was very doubtful what kind to use; a strong Poyson she judg'd would make her Villany too apparent; and a slow one might give the Emperor opportunity of discovering so much of her Practices, as to prevent her Son's Succession; till at last she resolv'd upon some singular Potion which

which might diſtract his Senſes, and not too ſuddenly end his Life. For this ſhe wanted not her Aſſiſtants, who infus'd the Poyſon into ſome Muſhrooms, a Diſh which *Claudius* lov'd beyond meaſure; but that only making him ſick, *Agrippina* ſuddenly ſent for *Xenephon* her Phyſician, who upon pretence of making him Vomit, according to his uſual Cuſtom. after his gluttonous Debauches, thruſt a poyſon'd Feather down his Throat, which ſhortly after ended his Life. *She poyſons Claudius.* This was the untimely End of *Claudius Cæſar*, the Fifth Emperor of *Rome*, after a Reign of Thirteen Years, Eight Months, and twenty Days, in the Sixty fourth Year of his Age; a Perſon moſt remarkable for his Studies, having beſides his writing ſeveral Pieces, added three Letters to the *Latin* Alphabet, which continu'd in uſe no longer than his Reign. The State and Greatneſs of the *Roman* Empire was not much impair'd in this Reign; but the City and the Nobility were ſeverely oppreſs'd, and barbarouſly treated; and the exorbitant Vices of the Emperor juſtly brought upon him his unnatural Death, and ſuch a Death as ſeem'd proper to his unſatiable Gluttony, which in a great meaſure had ſtupify'd him, and made him unfit for Government, His Death happen'd in the 807th Year of the City, 55 Years after the Birth of our Saviour; and 22 after his Crucifixion.

III. Thus all things had contributed to the Advancement of young *Nero*; and immediately after the Death of *Claudius*, *Agrippina*, as one overwhelm'd with the Violence and Extremity of Grief, held *Britannicus* faſt between her Arms, calling him *the dear Image of his Father's Face*, and by many Artifices detain'd him in the Chamber, doing the like to his Siſters *Antonia* and *Octavia*, placing a ſtrong Guard at every Door and Paſſage, and often publiſhing, that the Emperor was ſtill in a hopeful Condition, till ſhe found the moſt proper Time of the Day for the effecting *A. D.* 55.

fecting her Deſigns. Then the Palace Gates were ſuddenly ſet open, and *Nero* accompanied with *Burrhus*, Prefect of the *Prætorian* Guards, went out to the Cohort then attending, who at the Command of *Burrhus*, receiv'd him with loud Acclamations, tho' not without ſome Enquiries after *Britannicus*, and carried him in a Charriot to the reſt of the Cohorts. There *Nero* having made a Speech proper for the Time, and promiſed a Donative according to the Example of former Emperors, he was ſaluted Emperor; and ſhortly after, this Sentence was confirm'd by a Decree of Senate; nor was there any great Scruple made of it in the Provinces. Then to ſhew an extraordinary Reſpect to the late Emperor, his Obſequies were celebrated with as much Pomp and Solemnity as thoſe of the Great *Auguſtus*, *Agrippina* imitating the Magnificence of her great Grandmother *Livia*: Tho' *Claudius* was thus unreaſonably honour'd by *Agrippina* and her Son, and even Canoniz'd among the Gods, yet they refus'd to have his Will read publickly, according to the uſual Cuſtom; juſtly conceiving that his unnatural Carriage to his own Son *Britannicus*, wou'd provoke the Indignation of the People. *Nero* himſelf pronounc'd his Funeral Oration, and while he ſpake of *the Antiquity of his Family, and the Conſulſhips and Triumphs of his Anceſtors*, all were very attentive; as likewiſe when he ſpake of *his Love to the Liberal Sciences, and that during his Government the Commonwealth was not injur'd by Foreign Power*: But when he deſcended to *his Prudence and Wiſdom*, no Man cou'd withhold their Laughter; tho' the Oration compos'd by *Seneca* ſhew'd the exquiſite Skill of that Man's pleaſant Vein, finely accommodated to the Ears of that Time. But ſome Perſons made Reflections of a different kind, namely, *That* Nero *was the firſt Emperor of* Rome *that needed the Eloquence of another Man.*

**Nero made Emperor.**

*Nero*, tho' but Seventeen Years of Age, began his Reign with the general Joy and Satisfaction of the City,

City, which conceiv'd great Hopes from his outward Endeavours to ſerve the Publick. For firſt, he promis'd to govern according to the wiſe Rules and Inſtitutions of *Auguſtus*, and began both in Words and Actions to ſhew himſelf Juſt, Liberal, and Merciful; conferring Favours, dividing large Sums of Money, among the People and *Prætorian* Soldiers, and moderating the Impoſitions and Tributes of the Provinces; and to the Senators, who were poor, he aſſign'd Penſions, uſing all Men with ſuch Courteſie and Humanity, as there ſeem'd no Reaſon to fear thoſe Miſeries that afterwards follow'd. He likewiſe ſhew'd ſuch great Clemency and Pity in the execution of Juſtice and Puniſhments, that when a Warrant was brought to him to ſign for a Condemn'd Perſon, with great Concern he ſaid, *Wou'd to Heaven that I knew not how to write!* which Words are much extoll'd by his Maſter *Seneca*. The Senate giving him Thanks for the Juſtneſs and Regularity of his Adminiſtration, he reply'd with ſingular Modeſty, *Pray defer your Thanks till I deſerve 'em.* He entertain'd, in like manner, all Men, with exceeding Civility and Friendſhip, and in his Sports and Exerciſes he permitted any to be preſent; ſo that it ſeem'd as if Heaven had ſent the *Romans* ſuch a Prince as they deſir'd; and his firſt five Years Government was ſo excellent in general, that the Famous Emperor *Trajan* afterwards ſaid, *That for that Space all Governments came ſhort of his.* But a great part of this is rather to be attributed to the wiſe Conduct of *Burrhus* and *Seneca*; which two were this young Emperor's Guides and Governors, in equal Authority, and bearing equal Share in divers Faculties; *Burrhus* in Military Diſcipline and Gravity of Manners; *Seneca* in Precepts of Eloquence and Courteous Demeanor; aſſiſting each other in their Charge, the more effectually to reſtrain the Imperfections of Youth with honeſt and lawful Diverſions, whenever Vertue ſhou'd loſe its native *Power* and *Authority*. Their

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Care was equally employ'd alſo in curbing the fierce and violent Temper of *Agrippina*, who boiling with the Ambitious Deſires of Rule and Dominion, had deſtroy'd *Silanus*, Proconſul of *Aſia*, and *Narciſſus*; the former without the Emperor's Knowledge, and the latter without his Conſent. But her haughty and imperious Carriage began in no long time to alienate the Affection of her Son, at leaſt ſo far as to abate her Exorbitant Power and Authority; and to her he ſhew'd his firſt Reſentments; tho' ſhe had given him not only Birth, but Dominion alſo, for which ſhe had ſacrific'd both her Conſcience and Honour. The firſt Occaſion was his falling in Love with *Acte*, a mean enfranchis'd Woman, which rais'd great Jealouſie in *Agrippina*, who dreading the Extravagant Power of a Concubine, us'd all Methods to prevent the Effects of growing Paſſion; but *Nero*, by the aſſiſtance of *Otho* and *Claudius Phœnicius*, two Perſons lately advanc'd in his Favour, found means to obtain his beloved *Acte*; which open'd a Paſſage to many other remarkable Accidents that follow'd, wherein he manifeſted his Hatred and Diſobedience to his Mother, who till now had a tranſcendent Power over him, as well as others.

*Agrippina* finding the Diſpoſition of her Son, attempted by all poſſible Methods to recover his Favour, ſometimes by Authoritative Counſels and Inſtructions; and other times by Servile Entreaties and Flatteries; till *Nero* ſhortly after diſplacing her chief Favourite *Pallas*, ſhe fell into the extreameſt Rage imaginable; and the more to terrifie him, told him *That* Britannicus, *a true and worthy Prince, was now in a Condition to receive his Father's Empire, which at preſent was poſſeſs'd by an Impoſtor*; threatning to go to the Camp, and lay open all the Villanous Practices of her unfortunate Family, invoking likewiſe all the Infernal Furies to her Aſſiſtance. Theſe furious Menaces put *Nero* in great fear of a Competitor, if not the

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Loſs of his Empire; and to free himſelf from all Jealouſies, he appointed a Poyſon for *Britannicus*, which was given him with the greateſt ſecrecy, but had not its intended Effect. Whereupon *Nero* had recourſe to a ſecond Potion much ſtronger than the former; which was dexterouſly adminiſter'd to this young Prince in a Publick Banquet, and ſo ſuddenly ſpread through his Veins, that at once his Speech and Spirits forſook him. The Spectators were all amaz'd and *Agrippina* and *Octavia* in a great Fright and Confuſion; but *Nero* leaning unconcern'dly upon the Table, aſſuring the Company, *That it was uſual for him to be ſeiz'd with ſuch Epileptick Fits, ſo they need not doubt his Recovery*; the reſt, for different Ends and Purpoſes, diſſembl'd their Griefs, compos'd their Countenances, and after ſome Silence the Mirth of the Banquet began again. *Brittannicus* was privately bury'd that ſame Night, his mean Funeral being provided before; but *Agrippina*, tho' almoſt in a deſpairing Condition, ſtill contended with her Son, entertaining the Tribunes and Centurions with all Courteſy, and honouring the Names and Vertues of the Nobility in Town, as tho' ſhe had ſought for a Head to raiſe a Faction. Whereupon *Nero* laying aſide all Honour and Reſpect, commanded her Guard of *Germans* to be taken from her, and her ſelf to be lodg'd out of the Palace, forbidding particular Perſons to viſit her; and he himſelf went very rarely to ſee her, and then with great Coldneſs and ſmall Eſteem ſhewn to her, either in reſpect of Nature or Quality. And being thus in Diſgrace, as it uſual after ſuch Misfortunes, moſt of her Friends abandon'd her; and ſhortly after *Julia Silana*, Wife to the famous *Silius*, falſly accus'd her of conſpiring againſt her Son, and that ſhe was about marrying to *Rubellius Plautius*, a Perſon deſcended from *Auguſtus* by his Mother, and making him Emperor. This brought *Agrippina* into great Danger, till the Accuſation was diſ-

Britannicus *poyſon'd by* Nero.

discover'd to be all Forgery and Falshood, and *Julia* banish'd: Which slight Punishment gave encouragement to a mercenary Fellow, call'd *Petus*, to accuse *Pallas* and *Burrhus* of endeavouring to depose *Nero*, and to set up *Cornelius Sylla* for Emperor; but his Accusations appearing to have no Foundation, he and his Accomplices were banish'd. All this pass'd in the second Year of *Nero*'s Reign; in the latter end of which Year, or two Years after, St. *Paul* was brought Prisoner to *Rome*, by the Command of *Festus*, Governor of *Judæa*, who succeeded *Felix*, Brother to *Pallas*, who had been sent thither by *Claudius*.

As *Nero* increas'd in Years, so his Vices and Extravagancies became more conspicuous; and now divesting himself of his Majesty and Quality; he frequently ran about the City by Night, disguis'd in the Habit of a Slave, entring Taverns and infamous Houses, with some lewd Companions, hurting Persons, and committing many Insolencies in the Streets, sometimes to the danger of his own Life. And as the Vices and Follies of Princes, tho' condemn'd in their Absence, are generally excus'd, and often applauded in their Presence: so *Nero*'s Favourites endeavour'd not to withdraw him from these Extravagancies, but only advis'd him to take care of his Person, and not to go without a Guard; by which means they were the occasion of far greater Riots and Disorders than before: And from these Practices of the Emperor, great numbers of profligate young Persons took occasion to do the like; so that infinite Violences were committed by him and them, which rais'd no small Tumults and Disturbances in the City; tho' in other Matters good Order was still observ'd, and Justice regularly administer'd; and the People bore the Mischiefs and Levities of the young Emperor with greater Patience, by reason of his bountiful Distributions of Money, and his abolishing certain Taxes and Impositions. The Provinces were also kept in excellent Order,

Order, and at preſent there was no Action or Wars but in the *Eaſt* againſt the *Parthians*, who having expell'd *Rhadamiſtus* out of *Armenia*, whom *Claudius* had plac'd over that Kingdom, they invaded *Armenia* with great Vigour. *Domitius Corbulo*, a worthy Commander, was thereupon ſent for the Security of that Country, who for two or three Years perform'd nothing memorable, by reaſon of the *Parthians* protracting and deferring the War. But afterwards *Tiridates*, Brother to *Vologeſus* King of *Parthia*, reſolving to endeavour for that Crown, and the *Armenians* being inclinable to receive him, *Corbulo* immediately enter'd upon Action, took ſeveral Forts, and inveſted *Artaxata*, the Metropolis of the Country; and tho' the Inhabitants open'd the Gates to him, and by that means ſav'd their own Lives, yet they cou'd not ſave the City, which being not tenable, was burnt and demoliſh'd. Upon this Succeſs *Nero* was ſaluted *Imperator*, Statues and Triumphal Arches erected and Proceſſions made, with ſeveral other Honours deriv'd from the extravagant Flatteries of the Senate; ſo that *C. Caſſius*, one of the Fathers, ſpeaking of the Proceſſions, ſaid, *That if they would give the Gods Thanks for ſo many Favours of Fortune, the whole Year would not be ſufficient for the Proceſſions.*

*Nero* now in the fifth Year of his Reign, abandon'd himſelf to Senſuality without Diſtinction; falling in Love with *Poppæa Sabina*, Wife to his great Favourite *Otho*, afterwards Emperor, a Lady of great Beauty and Endowments, but of no Reputation nor Chaſtity; and that he might enjoy her without any Obſtacle, he ſent her Husband into *Spain*, to be Governor of *Luſitania*, and yielded himſelf wholly to *Poppæa*'s Charms, forgetting and abhorring his own Wife *Octavia*, and likewiſe his Miſtreſs, *Acte*. Whereupon *Poppæa* became ſo elevated with the infamous Favours ſhe receiv'd, that ſhe inſolently urg'd the Emperor to divorce *Octavia*,

and marry her, reproaching him as a *Pupil, who not only wanted Command and Authority, but also Liberty*, incenſing him likewiſe againſt his Mother, who vigorouſly ſupported *Octavia*'s Intereſt; and among other Methods to regain her Son's Favour, when he was heated with Wine, ſhe offered the deteſtable Uſe of her Body to him; from which he was diverted by *Seneca*, tho' ſome Authors do not clear him of the Fact. However, by means of *Poppæa*'s Practices, and his own Wickedneſs, he reſolved upon his Mother's Death, beginning with Poyſons, which three times proved ineffectual, by reaſon of her Antidotes and Preſervatives. After which, he invented a Ship ſo artificially contrived, as it ſhould ſuddenly ſplit in two. and let her periſh in the Water; then diſſembling a Reconciliation, he cauſed her to ſail to the Coaſts of *Calabria*, under colour of ſome publick Solemnities in which he himſelf was aſſiſtant. *Nero* finding this Plot ineffectual alſo, ſhe her ſelf eſcaping, when ſeveral of her Company periſhed, now reſolved to put her to Death openly; and for that Reaſon he cauſed a Report to be ſpread, *That ſhe had conſpired againſt his Life*, and a Poynard was dropt at his Feet by one who pretended a Command from *Agrippina* to diſpatch him. Under which falſe Pretext, he commanded certain Tribunes to murder her, who upon their unſheathing their Swords, Authors write, That *Agrippina* ſhewing 'em her Belly, cry'd, *Strike me here; for this Part has deſerved it, ſince it has conceived and brought forth ſuch a Monſter as* Nero, and immediately expir'd with the Wounds ſhe receiv'd: And that *Nero* came immediately after to view his Dead Mother, and ſtood gazing upon her naked Body, as if it had been that of a Beaſt; praiſing and diſpraiſing her ſeveral Parts and Members, according to his Judgment, adding withal, *That he did not think ſhe had been ſo beautiful.* This was the fatal End of *Agrippina*, a Woman who by her extravagant Pride and Ambition, and by a numerous Train

*Agrippina murder'd by Nero's Order.*

Train of deteſtable Vices and Villanies, had drawn this ſtrange Puniſhment upon her ſelf, which was the greater Judgment, as proceeding from the Impious Hands of her own Son; the Horror of which Fact, became a Scourge to his Mind, he often confeſſing, *That he was frequently diſturb'd by the Apprehenſions of his Mother's Ghoſt, and tormented by the Infernal Furies.*

*Nero* the next day vindicated this Act before the Senate, laying many heavy Crimes to his Mother's Charge; and the Fathers not only excus'd, but alſo applauded the Deed; nay, to ſuch a ſordidneſs of Spirit, were the Senate and People degenerated, that when he entered the City that day, they met him with as much Pomp and Solemnity, as if he had return'd from ſome great Victory, many Vows and Sacrifices being made for the Emperor's eſcaping ſo great a Treaſon. Hereupon he grew exceſſive Proud, as *Lord over ſo many Slaves*, and ſeeing himſelf at Liberty, and free from any Reſtraint, he gave the Reins to his brutal Appetite, abandoning himſelf to all kinds of Extravagances and Vices, ſuch as were never practis'd by a Prince, and ſcarce conceived by a Man. He now debaſed himſelf ſo much, as to become a Stage-Player, learning that Art, and frequently acting a Part before the whole City: And in this he had ſo high an Opinion of himſelf, that he generally procured great Numbers of Noblemen and young Ladies to be preſent when ever he played his Part. But Singing was his principal Delight and Excellency, and he was ſo careful of his Voice, that he many times refuſed to eat, leſt it ſhould receive any Damage; and he often purged himſelf, and made uſe of ſuch Potions as were uſual for the beſt Singers in thoſe times. While he ſung upon the Stage, no Man was permitted to depart the Theatre upon any Occaſion, tho' never ſo urgent; inſomuch that it is written, that Women were delivered there,

and ſeveral Perſons ſo weary'd with the Tediouſneſs and Flattery of the Applauſes, that they either leaped privately over the Wall, or elſe fell down, diſſembling themſelves dead, that they might be carried out as to their Burials. He uſually placed Soldiers in ſeveral Parts of the Theater, to obſerve the very Looks and Geſtures of the Spectators, and to make Report of them, which very often proved to the Ruin of many. It is ſcarce credible with what exceſſive Fear and Anxiety, with what eager Emulation of his Fellow-Players, and with what direful Apprehenſion of the Judges, he contended for the Prizes of the Stage: And he was ſo mean and poor-ſpirited, that he moſt nicely obſerv'd, and curiouſly pry'd into every ſmall Thing relating to his Competitors. Finally, this Emperor forgetting the great Dignity and Majeſty of his State, fell into all baſe and vile Exerciſes, and all imaginable Pollutions, ſo filthy and abominable, as ought not to be mention'd by *Chriſtians*; which afterwards brought him to the very Sink of all Impiety and Cruelty. And as Subjects generally imitate the Faſhions and Behaviour of their Prince, ſo the *Romans*, who had been too much corrupted before by a long Security, and bad Princes, now more openly follow'd the Vices and Extravagancies of the Emperor; ſo that the very Laws and Cuſtoms, and Arts and Sciences, began to be corrupted and forgotten; many of which Vices are ingeniouſly expos'd by *Perſius* the Famous, tho' obſcure *Satyriſt*, who flouriſhed in this Reign.

*A. D.* 62. *Further Advantages in Britain.*

In the ſeventh Year of *Nero*'s Reign, the Inſurrections of the *Britains* caus'd *Suetonius Paulinus* to be ſent into thoſe Parts, who firſt invaded the Iſle *Mona*, now *Angleſey*, peopled with ſtrong Inhabitants, and the Receptacle of all Fugitives, where he was receiv'd with numerous Multitudes on the Shore, and Women running with their Hair diſhevell'd, and Fire-brands in their Hands like Furies of Hell; the

*Druides*,

*Druides*, whoſe ancient Seats were in this Iſland, alſo pouring out moſt dreadful Execrations. Theſe at firſt diſcourag'd the *Romans*, but being animated by their General, they ſoon broke through, diſſipated this Furious Company, and deſtroy'd their Superſtitious Woods and Groves, a Garriſon being plac'd in that Iſland. During *Suetonius*'s ſtay in this Iſland, *Praſutagus* King of the *Iceni*, provok'd by the Cruelty of the *Roman* Centurions and Slaves, who ſcourg'd his Wife *Boadicia*, deflowr'd his Daughters, and ruin'd his Subjects, took up Arms, and caus'd a general Revolt of the *Britains*, who in a ſhort time drove out *Clapus* the Governor; and purſuing their Advantages, they us'd ſo much Diligence, that in a few Days they ſlew 70000 *Romans* in ſeveral Places. The News of this great Diſaſter haſtened the march of *Suetonius*, who having an Army of 10000 well diſciplin'd Men, reſolv'd to hazard a Battel with all Expedition, and chuſing an advantageous Poſt, waited the coming down of the Enemy, which was ſhortly after, under the Conduct of Queen *Boadicia* her ſelf. She with her two Daughters in her Chariot, rode about to the Companies, telling 'em, *That it had been uſual before for the* Britains *to fight under the Conduct of Woman, but ſhe was now in a different* Capacity *than her Anceſtors, being not to fight for a Kingdom, but as one of the inferior ſort to revenge her loſt Liberty, her own diſhonourable Stripes, and the violated Chaſtity of her Daughters. That the Luſts of the* Romans *were now become ſo exorbitant, that they left no Virgin undefil'd. Therefore ſhe her ſelf was reſolv'd to obtain Victory or Death, as ſhe was a Woman; but the Men, if they pleas'd, might chuſe Life and Slavery. Suetonius* on the other ſide, encourag'd his Men not to be diſheartned at the Enemies Numbers, and advancing with great Bravery, ſoon overthrew the diſorderly Troops of the *Britains*, who wanted not the Courage but Diſcipline of renown'd Soldiers. Some write that not leſs than 80000 of the *Britains* were ſlain, and the more by rea-

ſon of the Difficulty of their Flight, which was hinder'd by the great Numbers of Waggons plac'd about the Army, where their Wives were ſeated in expectation of Victory, *Boadicia* reſolving not to outlive this fatal Defeat, poyſon'd her ſelf: and this remarkable Victory, together with the New Supplies ſent ſhortly after into theſe parts, brought the *Britains* to a Peace in a little Time.

*Nero* the mean time proceeded in his Enormities and Cruelties, the Cares of *Burrhus* and *Seneca* nothing availing; and in the ninth Year of his Reign, theformer dy'd, not without Suſpicions of Poyſon by *Nero*'s Order, which ſo weaken'd the Intereſt and Authority of the other, that ſeeing himſelf deſpis'd, he deſir'd Permiſſion of the Emperor to withdraw himſelf, likewiſe offering to deliver up his large Eſtate, which had created him ſo much Envy; but *Nero* having learnt and practis'd the Art of Diſſimulation, under Colour of Reſpect, deny'd his Petition; and *Seneca* from that time alter'd his Courſe of Life, admitted of few Viſits, and always appear'd with a ſmall Retinue. He now unjuſtly put many eminent Perſons to Death, among the reſt *Rabellius Plautus*, and *Pallas*, the former for being of the *Julian* Family, and the latter for being rich, a Crime for which many ſuffer'd; then proceeding in his Cruelties, he divorc'd and baniſh'd his Wife *Octavia*, upon the Account of *Poppæa*, whom he now marry'd; and when the People murmur'd at this Injury, he afterwards caus'd her to be put to Death. All which time the Wars in *Armenia* were continu'd againſt the *Parthians*. *Corbulo* having after many Succeſſes diſpoſſeſs'd *Tiridates* and ſettled *Tigranes* in *Armenia*; which caus'd *Vologeſus*, King of *Parthia*, to invade *Armenia* with a powerful Army, endeavouring to re-eſtabliſh his Brother *Tiridates*, which he effected in a few Months. But upon the Reinforcements of *Corbulo*, and another Invaſion of *Armenia*, the *Parthians* were brought to a Treaty, wherein it was

**Nero *marries* Poppæa, *and kills* Octavia.**

was agreed, *That* Tiridates *laying down his Crown at the Feet of* Nero's *Statue, ſhou'd not receive it without his Leave.* But *Nero* being deſirous of vain Glory, and a glorious Spectacle, by Letters and great Promiſes, invited *Tiridates* to come to *Rome*; which he ſhortly after perform'd, being nobly accompany'd, and honourably entertain'd. *Nero* attended his coming with moſt Magnificent Preparations, accompany'd with the whole Senate and People, and ſeated in a ſtately Throne, with all the imaginable Pomp of Majeſty and Grandeur, and almoſt ſurrounded with Military Enſigns and Banners, the *Prætorian* Cohorts ſtanding all by in their rich and bright Armour. *Tiridates* aſcended the Scaffold where *Nero* ſat with great Formality, and approaching the Emperor, he fell at his Feet, who taking him by the Right Hand, rais'd him, and plac'd a Crown upon his Head, uſing many Words and Pompous Ceremonies. *Tiridates* being crown'd with this Solemnity, after many ſumptuous Feaſts made him in *Rome*, and many Honours ſhewn him, departed for his own Country, carrying with him an incredible Maſs of Money, which the Emperor gave him for his Journey. *Nero* was alſo ſaluted *Imperator*, and having caus'd a Crown of Laurel to be carry'd into the *Capitol*, he ſhut up the Temple of *Janus*, according to *Suetonius*, in token of an univerſal Peace, which had been open about 64 Years.

*Janus's Temple ſhut the ſixth time.*

*A. D.* 64.

Shortly after the departure of *Tiridates*, *Nero* took a Journey into *Greece*, reporting that he deſign'd to cut the Iſthmus of *Peloponneſus*; and tho' he began that Work yet his chief Intentions was acting of Plays (which he did in all the Theatres where he came) ſinging, and running of Chariot-Races, Running in the *Olympick* Games; tho' he fell from his Chariot, he was notwithſtanding rewarded with a Crown as Victory; after which he return'd to *Rome*, entring in Triumph in the Chariot of *Auguſtus*, ſurrounded with Muſicians and Players, brought from all Parts of the World.

World. In the following Year he fell into more prodigious Impieties than ever, and into unheard of Pollutions; and as nothing is so monstrous as Lust when it is unconfin'd, so it brought *Nero* into the most extravagant Follies, and unnatural Inconsistencies that every any Monster conceiv'd. Having attir'd himself in the Habit of a Woman, and cover'd with a yellow Veil like a Bride, he was wedded to one of his abominable Crew call'd *Pythagoras*, and again to his Freed-man *Doriphorus*; after which he became a Husband to a Boy call'd *Sporus*, from whom he took as much of the Male as was possible, adorning him with the Ornaments of an Empress, and accompanying him in all publick Places: Which occasion'd several to observe, *That the World had been happy, had the Emperor's Father been marry'd only to such a Spouse*, His unbounded Lust, and exorbitant Luxury daily increas'd the Rage of his fierce and cruel Mind, so that he destroy'd such numbers of People, that he rather appear'd a Devil incarnate, than a Man; likewise boasting of his Actions. and saying, *That none of his Predecessors knew their own Power.* He so little dissembling his Hatred to the Senate, that he frequently intimated, That he design'd to destroy that Order, and to put the Government of the Provinces and Armies into the Hands of the *Equites* and his Freed-Men. He likewise often said, *That he had rather be hated, than be lov'd, because the People lov'd him according to their own Humours, but hated him according to his*: And when one in his Presence said as a Proverb, *When I am dead let the World be burnt: Nay*, replyed he, *let it be while I am alive.* And not long after this he caus'd *Rome* to be set on fire in several Places, getting himself upon a high Tower, beholding the miserable Desolation with infinite Joy and Satisfaction, and in a Player's Habit singing, *The Destruction of Troy.* The Fire continu'd above six Days, consuming innumerable Rows of stately, and glorious Buildings, and Riches, Goods and Merchandise

Nero *set* Rome *on fire.*

chandiſe of an ineſtimable Value, there being but four Parts of the fourteen remaining. And *Nero* to make his Wickedneſs more compleat, out of Hatred to the *Chriſtians*, which were then very numerous in the City, accus'd them of this Fact, and rais'd the firſt general Perſecution, putting great numbers of 'em to Death, treating them with all imaginable Scorn and Cruelty, cauſing ſome to be cover'd with Skins of wild Beaſts, and to be devour'd by Dogs; others to be crucify'd, and others to be burnt alive, and in the Night to give Light to Paſſengers, as *Tacitus* aſſures us. He ſet apart his Gardens for this Spectacle, joining to them the Diverſions of the Cirque, and appear'd publickly in the Habit of a Charioteer ſitting in his Chariot. This Perſecution began in the eleventh Year of *Nero*'s Reign, and 32 after our Saviour's Crucifixion; in which Perſecution, beſides St. *Paul*, who was beheaded, St. *Peter* alſo was crown'd with Martyrdom, being crucify'd, as it is written, with his Head downwards, which Death he choſe as more diſhonourable than that of his Lord and Maſter.

*The firſt general Perſecution.* A. D. 65.

*Nero*, after his burning the City, as tho' he deſir'd to free himſelf from that Scandal, took great care to re-edifie it, eſpecially his own Palace, which was done with far greater Magnificence than formerly: It now reach'd from Mount *Palatine* to Mount *Eſquiline*, the Entrance ſpacious enough to receive a Coloſſus of this Emperor, a hundred and twenty Foot high; the Galleries conſiſted of three Rows of ſtately Pillars a full Mile in length; and within were large Ponds, curious Gardens and Orchards, and pleaſant Hills and Groves, furniſh'd with all ſorts of wild Beaſts. The Halls and Dining-Rooms, beſides their being built of Marble, Alabaſter, Jaſper, Topazes, and other excellent Stones, had the Timber-works and Ceilings richly inlaid with Gold and Ivory, and glorioufly adorn'd with Precious Stones, and Mother of Pearl. Some of which Rooms were beautifully

arch'd

arched like the Firmament, the Roofs being moveable, having Spouts and Jetd'eau's of Gold and Ivory, which frequently caſt out ſweet Waters, and moſt precious Oyls: And now he acknowledged, *That at laſt he began to dwell like a Man.* I need not deſcend to further Particulars, it being ſufficient to obſerve, that this Emperor's Structures were magnificent to a Miracle, and his Prodigalities boundleſs to Madneſs, and ſcarcely ſo much in his Buildings as in moſt other Things, wherein his Exceſs was incredible. He highly extolled the Management of his Uncle *Caligula*, for ſpending in ſo ſhort a time ſuch vaſt Sums as had been hoarded up by *Tiberius*; and whenever he went a fiſhing his Nets were of Gold-Thread, and the Cords of the fineſt Silk. In his Journeys and Progreſſes, which were very frequent, beſides an infinite Number of Followers and Attendants, he never had leſs than a Thouſand Waggons, for his Wardrobe, drawn with Mules richly adorn'd and ſhod with Silver, and the Leaders of them gloriouſly attir'd in Cloth of Gold, Silver, and Silk. *Suetonius* tells us, That he made a moſt Princely Funeral for his Monkey, on which he beſtowed the whole Eſtate of a very rich Uſurer called *Paneros*. His Donatives to the People were ſtill more extravagant; for whereas other Emperors were wont to throw ſet Quantities of Money and Things of ſmall Value among the People, called *Miſſilia*, being deſigned for them who could firſt catch 'em, this Emperor brought out vaſt Quantities of rich Apparel, Gold, Silver, and Precious Stones; and for Things which could not be thrown abroad in their kind, he cauſed certain Tickets to be caſt among the People, each containing what the Perſon ſhould have into whoſe Hands it came, as Wheat, Herds, Slaves, *&c.* extending ſo far as to give Heritages, Fields, Houſes, Iſlands, aud Things of extraordinary Value. All which immenſe Prodigalities cauſed him to uſe intolerable Extortions and Exacti-

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ons in all the Provinces; which were ſuch, as many Places were diſpeopled and became deſolate; tho' his profuſe Gifts in a great meaſure preſerved the Love of the Commons of *Rome*.

But as this Emperor's Actions were inſupportable to the generality of his Subjects, the following Year after the Burning of *Rome*, many of the Principal Noblemen of *Rome* formed a Conſpiracy againſt him, at the Head of which was *Caius Piſo*, a Perſon of whom *Tacitus* gives an excellent Character, and according to his Name the Plot was called *Piſoniana*. But being at the very Point of Execution, this was diſcovered before it took effect, and inſtead of the happy Conſequences that were expected by ſome, it open'd a Paſſage to new Miſchiefs and Cruelties: For upon this Occaſion *Nero* put great Numbers to Death of all Ranks, Noble and Ignoble, Guilty and Innocent; among which Numbersdy'd the great Poet *Lucan*, a Man of extraordinary Flame and Spirit, tho' not of ſo great Judgment, who hated *Nero* for his forbidding him to publiſh his Verſes, vainly comparing his own to them. *Seneca* was likewiſe condemn'd, not being convicted of any Treaſon, tho' accuſed by one *Natalis*, to compliment *Nero*, as was believed, the Emperor having an earneſt deſire to diſpatch him, as appear'd from his former Attempts by Poyſon, tho' he had ſworn to *Seneca*, *Rather to loſe his own Life, than to hurt him*. *Seneca* being commanded to die, chearfully undertook it, deſiring only to diſpoſe of ſome Legacies, which being refus'd, he told his Friends, *That ſince he had been hindred from giving them what they had merited, he left them the Example of his Life, the Memory and Imitation of which would gain them Immortal Honour among all good Men*. He was oblig'd to ſeek for Death ſeveral ways; for he had ſo macerated himſelf with Abſtinence, that he could not bleed, and Poyſon would have no Operation upon him; but at length entring a Bath, he was ſtifled with the Fumes, having according,

*A. D.* 66.

*The Death of* Lucan.

*The Death of* Seneca.

ding to his usual Elegancy, discours'd even to the last, of many excellent Things, which being taken from his Mouth, were afterwards publish'd. Such was the Death of this great Philosopher *Seneca*, according to *Tacitus*, who gives him a far better Character than *Dion Cassius*, and if the Account which the latter gives of him may be credited, we may truly say that his Death was a just Judgment upon him, for living so contrary to his Writings and Principles, and for educating his Pupil no better. Not long after *Seneca*, follow'd *C. Petronius*, the most polite, tho' not the chastest of the *Roman* Writers; a Person who had been a great Assistant to *Nero* in his unlawful Pleasures, and one famous for his exquisite Art of heightning and refining a voluptuous Life. His Death was the most remarkable in the World, and most resembling the whole Course of his Life, in which he proceeded with the least imaginable Concern, opening his Veins, and closing 'em as he thought fit, discoursing with his Friends, not of serious Matters, or of the immortality of the Soul, but of light and pleasant Things, all the time attending to soft Verses, and delicate Love-Songs. So that his Death, tho' constrain'd seem'd casual, no Circumstance marking the least Perplexity of a dying Person; and in him it might be truly said, *That to die is to cease living*. Besides there dy'd the Empress *Poppæa* her self, who being with Child and indispos'd, *Nero* kill'd her by a Kick with his Foot, for upbraiding him as he return'd late from driving his Chariot in publick.

*And of* Petronius.

In the Twelfth Year of *Nero*'s Reign, the *Jews* fell into a desperate Rebellion, having been severely oppress'd by the *Roman* Deputies and Governors; especially by *Florus*, who was arriv'd to that Degree of Tyranny, as by a publick Crier to give Permission to Rob and Steal through the whole Country, on Condition that he might have part of the Booty. It was manifest that the terrible Vengeance of

of Heaven was now fallen upon this miſerable Nation, having ſo obſtinately blinded themſelves againſt the undeniable Miracles of our Saviour, and ſhed his innocent Blood, which they ſolemnly imprecated upon themſelves and their whole Race, and brought upon 'em the moſt calamitous Misfortunes, and the extremeſt Miſeries that ever any People ſuffer'd ſince the Creation of the World. For ſuch intolerable Robberies and Devaſtations, and ſuch barbarous Murders and Maſſacres were committed in all Parts; ſuch implacable Diviſions and Factions, and ſuch amazing Deluſions by falſe Prophets prevail'd among 'em, as after a wonderful manner ſubverted the whole State, drew upon 'em the utmoſt Malice of their Enemies, and apparently demonſtrated the higheſt Diſpleaſure of Almighty God. Notwitſtanding theſe Miſeries among themſelves, and the Maſſacre of 200000 *Jews* in one Day, and 50000 in another, they prevail'd ſo much againſt *Ceſtius Gallus*, Governor of *Syria*, who was ſent againſt 'em, as to expell him *Judæa*. *Nero* now wanted his General *Corbulo*, whom he had lately put to Death, and deliberating whom to ſend thither, at length deſign'd *Veſpaſian*, as the only Perſon capable of ſuch a Charge, tho' he had not long before forbad him his Preſence, upon the Account of his Drowſineſs or Indifferency in the Theatre when he acted and ſung upon the Stage; but now wanting his Service, and not fearing him by reaſon of the Meanneſs of his Birth and Name, inveſted him with this Office. *Veſpaſian* uſing all poſſible Expedition, gather'd a mighty Army from *Ægypt* and *Syria*, and together with his Son *Titus* firſt invaded the Province of *Galilee*, and in a ſhort time ſtorm'd *Gadara*, deſtroying the Town, and putting the *Jews* to the Sword. Then advancing to *Jotapata*, he took that place by Storm, after a cloſe Siege of Forty Days; being bravely defended by *Joſephus* the famous

Veſpaſian's *Expedition againſt the* Jews.

mous Historian, who has given us a large Account of this remarkable Siege, and all these Wars, and tells us, that in the Siege alone 40000 *Jews* perish'd. *Josephus* was here taken Prisoner, and order'd to be sent to *Nero*; but desiring to speak with *Vespasian*, foretold him, *That he shou'd free him from his Captivity, but shou'd first be Emperor* himself. After some Refreshment of the Legions, *Vespasian* advanc'd to *Tiberius* and *Tarichæa*, of which the former yielded, and was spared at the Request of *Agrippa*, but the latter was taken by force, and destroy'd, where great Numbers perish'd, besides 30000 which were sold. After this he proceeded with extraordinary Valour and Conduct against *Gamala* and *Giscala*, with the Hill *Itaburium*, all which were taken with terrible Slaughters of the *Jews*; and all *Galilee* being now reduc'd, *Vespasian* and *Titus* return'd to *Cæsarea*.

*The first great Revolution in the* Roman *Empire.*

During the time of these great Actions, the inbred Distempers of the *Romun* Empire, which had been contracted by the notorious Mismanagement of four succeeding Princes, began to break out and discover themselves in their furious Effects. The *Romans* had, with great Patience and Courage, born the Calamities proceeding from the fatal Dissimulation of *Tiberius*, the monstruous Brutality of *Caligula*, and the dangerous Stupidity of *Claudius*; but the raging Fury of *Nero* having exhausted all human Patience, their was a general Revolution in Mens Minds, and as general a Resolution in all their Actions. This appear'd first in *Gaul*, by means of *Julius Vindex*, one of that Nation, but of the *Senatorian* Degree, who commanded the Legions there, and publickly protested against the Actions and Government of *Nero*; which he did with so little fear of his own Life, that when it was told him. *That* Nero had *priz'd his Head at ten Millions of Sesterces*, he made answer, *Whoever brings* Nero's *Head to me, shall have mine in exchange.* But, to shew that he had no ambitious De-

signs

ſigns of Sovereignty himſelf, he proclaim'd *Sergius Galba* Emperor, a Perſon eminent for his Illuſtrious Family, with the ſeveral Charges and Dignities he had worthily executed; who being now Governor of Part of *Spain*, to ſecure himſelf from *Nero*, had given himſelf to an unactive and obſcure kind of Life. *Vindex* wrote ſeveral Letters to him in *Spain*, earneſtly perſwading him *to declare himſelf in favour of Mankind, againſt ſuch a Monſter as* Nero; which was very acceptable to him, tho' he durſt not proceed but with great Caution, till he fully diſcover'd the Readineſs of his Soldiers, and the Inhabitants of his Province. Therefore on a Day appointed for Enfranchiſing of Slaves, having his Army, and all the Country about him, he ſpoke to 'em after this manner: *My Fellow-Soldiers and Friends, we are aſſembl'd to beſtow upon others the great Benefit of Liberty and Freedom; a Benefit of which we our ſelves have had but ſmall Enjoyment, tho' belonging to us by all the Rights of Nature and Fortune. It grieves me to ſay, but it hinders not every Man from ſeeing, that no Slave under the ſevereſt Maſter, ever endur'd a Year of harder Service than we have ſo many under* Nero. *What kind of Exaction has he not us'd, to ſupply with Extortion what he has ſpent with Shame? What kind of Cruelty has he not practis'd? Has he not wallow'd in the Blood of his Father, his Brother, his Mother, his Wife, his Maſter, and all who are valiant or virtuous in the Senate, City, or Provinces, without any Diſtinction of Age or Sex? All which cry for Vengeance upon ſuch a Prince: A Prince! No, an Incendiary, a Singer, a Fidler, a Player, a Carter, a Cryer, no Prince, nay, no Man, having a Man to his Husband, and a Man to his Wife, but a Monſter of Mankind; againſt whom what* Vindex *in* Gaul *has already acted, I well know, and I am moſt ſorry to hear. The whole Courſe of my former Life has been far remov'd from ambitious and aſpiring Deſigns; and I cou'd heartily wiſh, that the ſmall Remainder of my Days were ſpent in more Eaſe; but ſince, by what Misfortune I know not, ſome*

*have impos'd upon me a Part which I never design'd to act, and least of all at this Age, I will not refuse, with your Approbation, to sacrifice my infirm and decrepid Body for the good of my Country, not as* Emperor *or* Augustus, *which sacred Names I adore at a Distance, not daring to approach 'em, but as* ——The Speech was not finish'd, when the Soldiers and People with one common Voice interrupting him, saluted him *Emperor*. *Galba* commending their Zeal to the Good of the Empire, and accepting the Substance, refus'd the, Title terming himself *Lieutenant of the Senate and People of* Rome.

Galba *declar'd Emperor by the Soldiers in* Spain.

The first News of *Vindex*'s Revolt came to *Nero* at *Naples*, in the midst of his Pleasures; but he was so little affected with it, that he seem'd rather to rejoice, as having an Occasion of pillaging those opulent Provinces by the Right of War: At Supper also receiving Letters of fresher Advice, more pressing and importunate than the former, he shew'd no other Emotion than a bare threatning the Revolter *for disturbing his Pleasures and Recreations*; and so for eight Days continu'd without writing or giving any Orders about the Publick. At length the opprobrious Edicts of *Vindex*, so far awaken'd him, as he writ to the Senate; recommending to the Fathers the Interest of himself and the Republick, excusing his Absence with the Pretence of some Indisposition. But nothing mov'd nor inrag'd *Nero* so much as *Vindex*'s calling him *Unskilful Musician*, often demanding of the Persons about him, *Whether they really knew any in that Profession more skilful than himself?* The Senate receiving *Nero*'s Letters, out of Flattery and Fear, judg'd *Vindex* a Traytor to the State; but urg'd by new Alarms, he in a great Fright repair'd to *Rome*, where not calling the Senate or People together, but some principal Men to his Palace late at Night as to consult about urgent Affairs, he shew'd ,em certain Engines and Contrivances of Musick by Water-Instruments, sagely discoursing of the Nature and Workmanship

of

of each, *and that he ſhortly wou'd produce 'em on the Stage, if* Vindex *wou'd give him liberty.* But hearing ſhortly after of the Commotions in *Spain*, under *Galba*, he in a great Rage rent his Clothes, beat his Head, crying out, *He was undone, his Misfortunes above all Preſident, being alive to ſee his Emplre loſt!* and wou'd receive no Comfort till the Senate by Decree had declar'd *Galba* an Enemy to the State. And he was ſo ſordidly infatuated, that even in ſo great a Diſorder of Affairs, he continu'd his former Debauches; and ſoon after putting *Galba*'s Servants in Priſon ſeiz'd his Goods, and expos'd 'em to Sale. After that he enter'd upon the moſt barbarous and outragious Deſigns immaginable, reſolving to maſſacre all Governors of Provinces, and Commanders of Armies, under pretence of Conſpiracies; to deſtroy all Exil'd Perſons, leſt they ſhould join wtth the Revolters; to murder all the *Gauls* in *Rome*, as Favourers of their Countrymen; to give up *Gaul* to the Plunder of his Army; to poyſon the whole Senate at an Entertainment; to burn the City, and to turn out Wild-Beaſts among the People, that ſo obſtructing the extinguiſhing of the Fire, their Deſtruction might be the more inevitable. But ſetting aſide theſe Deſigns, not out out of Compunction or Remorſe, but out of Deſpair of effecting 'em, he reſolved upon an Expedition in Perſon; and among his Preparations his principal Care was to procure Waggons convenient for the Carriage of his Muſical Inſtruments for the Theater; to cut the Hair of his Concubines, after the Faſhion of Men, and to arm 'em like *Amazons*, with Battel-Axes and Shields.

As in a corrrupt Body, full of malignant Humours, the firſt Pain that appears draws on the reſt, diſcloſes old Aches and Strains, and agitates all that is unſound in the Body; ſo in a Government, when it is univerſally diſlik'd, the firſt Diſorder endangers a Diſſolution of the whole: For this one Attempt of

*Vindex* not only caus'd the Revolt of the Armies in *Spain*, but ſhortly after that of the Legions in *Germany*, and other Places, all unanimouſly declaring againſt the preſent Emperor. Upon which News, *Nero* being at Dinner, in a deſperate Fury tore the Letters, overturn'd the Table, daſh'd two Chryſtal Cups of great value on the Ground, and caſting off all Care of his own Preſervation, call'd for Poyſon, which he enclos'd in a Golden Box, that his Death might be anſwerable to his Condition, and then repair'd to the *Servelian* Gardens. From thence he diſpatch'd the Freed-men, in whom he had moſt confidence, to prepare his Fleet at *Oſtia*; then ſounding the Minds of the Tribunes and Centurions of his Guards, and finding them unwilling to accompany him, and one of 'em to ask him, *Whether it was ſo hard a thing to die*, he was quite diſtracted and confounded in his Thoughts and Intentions; and he cou'd not reſolve whether he ſhould addreſs himſelf to the *Parthians*, whom he had lately oblig'd, or to *Galba* in a ſupplicatory manner; or whether he ſhou'd put himſelf in deep Mourning, appear publickly before the *Roſtra*, and with all poſſible Humility and Dejection implore the Peoples Forgiveneſs for what was paſt, and if they were inflexible, to beg the Government of *Egypt*. He at laſt determin'd to do this, but fearing the People ſhould tear him in pieces, before he got to the Place, he deferr'd the Matter till the next Morning; but awaking at Midnight, and underſtanding that his Guards were retir'd; he leapt out of Bed, and ſent about for ſome of his Friends; from whom receiving no Anſwer, he went to their Lodgings himſelf, with two or three others. Thus the great Monarch of the World, lately ador'd as a God, and attended by Thouſands of Friends, Soldiers, and Servants, now as a common Page ſtood knocking at Doors, finding all ſhut againſt his unfortunate State. And now deſtitute of all Aſſiſtance

and

and Advice from Friends, he return'd back, where finding his Chamber rifled, his Servants fled, and his Poyſon remov'd, he ſought for *Spicillus* a Gladiator, or ſome other, to be ſlain by him; but finding none, he cry'd, *Then I have neither Friend nor Foe*, and ran deſperately out, as tho' he would have thrown himſelf into the River *Tiber:* But making a ſudden ſtop, and deſiring ſome ſecret Place a little to recollect his Reaſon, and reaſſume his Courage, *Phaon* his Freed-Man offer'd his Houſe four Miles diſtant in the Country, which *Nero* accepted; and ſo accompany'd with four Men, of whom *Sporus* was one, he fled away meanly Apparalled, and worſe Mounted, hiding his Face with an Handkerchief. In his Journey he was infinitely diſmay'd by a violent Trembling of the Earth, and prodigious Flaſhes of Lightning; and paſſing by the Camp, he heard a great Noiſe of Soldiers curſing him, and wiſhing all good Fortune and Proſperity to *Galba*. After which, to prevent all Diſcovery, they forſook the High-way, creeping through Briars and Buſhes into a Thicket of Reeds, on the back-ſide of *Phaon*'s Farm-Houſe; where a Hole was beaten in the Wall, thro' which *Nero* crept in like a Beaſt upon all four, caſting himſelf upon a mean Pallet in a back Room.

During *Nero*'s Abſence, the Senate aſſembl'd, and pronounc'd him a mortal Enemy to the State, and condemn'd him to Death *More Majorum*, ſending into all Parts to ſeek him, and bring him alive. The Account of this Determination was brought to *Nero*, by one of *Phaon*'s Servants, who found him making Preparations for his own Death, with a Thouſand ſervile Sighs and inglorious *Tears*, repeating ſeveral times, *What an Artiſt will the World loſe!* He hearing the ſorrowful News of his Doom from the Senate, demanded what *More Majorum* meant, and what kind of Puniſhmeut it was? and underſtanding that he was to be ſtript naked, his Head faſten'd in a Pillory,

and in that Poſture to be ſcourg'd to Death, he was ſo terrify'd, that he ſnatch'd up a couple of Daggers; but after feeling their Points, with great trembling he put them up again, pretending, *That his fatal Hour was not yet come.* Sometimes he begg'd and intreated, that one of them preſent would inſtruct him how to die, by killing themſelves firſt; greatly deceiving himſelf in deſiring ſo couragious an Example out of ſo debauched a School: Other times he condemned his own Puſillanimity and poorneſs of Spirit, till hearing the Noiſe of ſome Horſemen ſent by the Senate to ſeek him, he ſet a Dagger to his Throat, with which, by the Aſſiſtance of *Epaphroditus*, his Secretary, he wounded himſelf ſo, as he dyed ſhortly after. Before he was quite dead, an Officer came in, and pretending he came to his Relief, he ſtopp'd the Wound with his Cloak, and endeavour'd to ſtanch the Blood; to whom *Nero* gave no Anſwer, but, *'Tis too late*, and, *Is this your Fidelity and Allegiance?* with which Expreſſion he expir'd, his Eyes ſtrangely fix'd, and ſtaring out of his Head, to the wonderful Terror and Amazement of all that were preſent. This was the miſerable End of *Nero*, the Sixth Emperor of *Rome*, who, by his abominable Life, had brought upon himſelf all the cruel Misfortunes that could befal a Prince, and upon the State all the dreadful Calamities that could ariſe from unjuſt Tyranny in his Life-time, and from inteſtine Convulſions, after his Death. He reign'd thirteen Years, ſeven Months, and twenty eight Days; and was taken off in the prime of his Years, being in the 32*d* Year of his Age, in which Space his Cruelties gain'd him a Name odious not only to his Subjects, but to all Generations, and even to a Proverb; a Puniſhment the greateſt that can happen to a Prince in this World. He was the laſt of the Family of the *Cæſars* which reign'd in *Rome*, tho' the following Emperors had the Titles of *Cæſar*; and he dy'd *U. C.* 821. *A. D.* 69. being 112 Years

*The Death of* Nero.

Years after the Beginning of the Empire by *Julius Cæsar*, and 94 after the full Settlement of it by *Augustus*.

## CHAP. IV.

### *From the Death of* NERO, *to the Death of* VITELLIUS, *the Ninth Emperor; after which the Empire became Hereditary a second Time.*

### *Containing the Space of almost two* YEARS.

I. NEver was a more universal Joy and Satisfaction in *Rome*, than at the Death of *Nero*; all Persons came running into the Streets to congratulate one another, with peculiar Caps on their Heads, such as Slaves wore when their Masters first gave 'em their Freedom; and they unanimously decreed to create *Galba* Emperor, who was now in *Spain*, esteeming him a Person of great Wisdom and Valour. He was now seventy two years of Age, and had born Offices under four Emperors, wisely preserving himself from the Snares of those Tyrants, tho' not wholly from their Vices: And he was the first who receiv'd the Empire from the Hands of the Soldiers, the Senate consenting; having himself no Affinity or Alliance with the Family of the *Cæsars*, either by Blood or Adoption. Shortly after his being declar'd Emperor by his Army, he found himself involv'd in many Troubles and Afflictions, and all his Hopes and Designs were near being blasted by an unexpected Disorder among some of his Men; for, upon his Approach to the Camp, one of the Wings of his Horse repenting of the new Oath they had taken, endeavour'd as much as possible to desert him, and he found it no small

*A. D.* 69.

Galba *made Emperor.*

Difficulty to keep 'em to their Duty. He likewise with great Hazard escap'd the Conspiracy of several Slaves, who were purposely presented to him by one of *Nero*'s Enfranchis'd Men, and had undoubtedly slain him as he pass'd through a narrow Street to go to his Baths, had they not discover'd themselves by too loudly exhorting one another, *Not to omit so fair an Opportunity.* But that which gave *Galba* the greatest Fear and Disquiet at this time, was the unexpected Death of *Vindex* in *Gaul*, who kill'd himself after the entire Defeat of his Troops by *Rufus Virginius*, Commander of the *German* Legions; which Battle was fought through the Ignorance and Mistakes of the Soldiers, and against the Wills and Designs of the Generals. The News of this, added to *Galba*'s other Misfortunes, reduc'd him almost to despair both of his Life and Empire, and he had once a design of destroying himself; but timely Advice coming from *Rome*, assuring him that *Nero* was dead, and all People had swore Allegiance to him there he immediately laid aside the Name of *Lieutenant of the Empire*, and assum'd the Title of *Cæsar*. After which, he put himself upon his Way to *Rome*, in his Imperial Habit, with a Dagger about his Neck, and hanging down before his Breast; neither wou'd he appear in a Robe or Gown, till all such as were contriving new Disturbances were defeated and cut off; as namely, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, Captain of the Guards at *Rome*; *Fonteius Capito*, Lieutenant in *Germany*; and *Clodius Macer* in *Africk*. In his Journey towards *Rome*, *Rufus Virginius*, beforementioned, sent to yield him his Obedience; who till then had shewn himself wholly neutral, in respect of any particular Person, attending the Will and Determination of the Senate.

As this Emperor approach'd *Rome*, as it usually happens when Matters are concluded with Haste and Precipitation, the People began to shew less Satisfaction for his Arrival, than they did for his Election;

on; for ſeveral Rumours were ſpread abroad, both of his Cruelty and Avarice, by reaſon of the unuſual Rigor he had exercis'd towards ſuch Cities of *Spain* and *Gaul*, which had ſcrupl'd to join with him at firſt, by oppreſſing them with exceſſive Tributes, demoliſhing their Fortifications, and executing their Governors, not excuſing even their Wives and Children. Which Reports ſo highly diſadvantageous to an old Man, and a young Prince, were confirm'd and augmented at his Entrance into *Rome*, by his Severity to thoſe Sea-Men and Mariners, whom *Nero* had taken from the Oar, and liſted among his Legionary Soldiers; for endeavouring to reduce theſe numerous Troops to their former Condition, upon their refuſing with great Contumacy to ſubmit to an Order ſo injurious to themſelves, and their inſolent demanding an Eagle and Military Enſigns, he commanded his Horſe-men to ride in among 'em, who kill'd 7000; and not being ſatisfy'd with this Puniſhment, he caus'd 'em to be decimated afterwards. Beſides which, he diſcharg'd the *German* Cohorts, which had been eſtabliſh'd by the former Emperors, for a Guard to their Perſons, and had given manifeſt Teſtimonies of their Allegiance and Fidelity to their Princes; yet notwithſtanding he ſent 'em to their own Country without any Reward, pretending they were better affected to *Dolabella* than himſelf, becauſe they had encamp'd themſelves not far from his Gardens. Being in *Rome*, with this ſecret Diſcontentment, tho' with publick Joy and Solemnity, he began to take upon him the Adminiſtration and Government of the Empire, and did ſome Acts as a wiſe and worthy Prince; yet theſe were generally leſs acceptable than ſome others were odious. He took care to reſtore all Perſons unjuſtly exil'd by *Nero*, as well of the Nobility as meaner ſort, to their Country and Honours, tho' not to their Wealth and Eſtates. He was very ſevere to all Criminals; and being petition'd for a con-

condemn'd Knight, that he might not ſuffer the Death of ordinary Malefactors, he commanded the Gallows to be painted and finely colour'd, to make it anſwerable to his Quality. However, he repreſented a moſt grateful Spectacle to the People, which was *Elius*, *Polycletus*, *Bocuſta*, *Patrobius*, *Petinus*, and others in Fetters drawn through the City, and publickly Executed, as Inſtruments and Miniſters of *Nero*'s Cruelties; tho' he ſpar'd ſome of the moſt notorious Offenders for the ſake of Money. And he was ſo remarkable for his Avarice, that it is ſaid, that he wou'd ſigh and weep when his Table was better furniſh'd than ordinary; Vice tho' incident to his Age, yet dangerous to his Circumſtances eſpecially in reſpect of his Soldiers, and was the firſt Thing which made way for his Ruin. When a large Donative had been promis'd to the Soldiers, by ſuch as were appointed to tender 'em their Oath in his Abſence, he utterly refus'd to confirm it, declaring, *That he choſe, but never wou'd purchaſe his Soldiers*; which much exaſperated his Men, who in theſe corrupt Times cou'd not ſuffer any rigorous Diſcipline like the ancient *Romans*, eſpecially from a Prince who ſuffer'd himſelf to be bought and ſold every Hour. Moreover, he highly provok'd the *Prætorians*, by caſhiering ſeveral of 'em ſhortly after, upon a bare Suſpicion of Correſpondence and Confederacy with *Nymphidius*.

But that which made this Emperor moſt generally hated abhorr'd, was his ſuffering himſelf to be intirely manag'd by three Favourites, who having their Lodgings with him in his Palace, and being always in his Preſence, were commonly ſtil'd his *Pædagogues*: One was *T. Vinius*, his Lieutenant in *Spain*, a Man of inſatiable Covetouſneſs, another was *C. Laco*, now Captain of his Guards, one who had render'd himſelf inſupportable by his Pride and Arrogance; and the third *Icelus*, a Freed-Man, who now aſpir'd to the higheſt Command in the *Equeſtrian* Order,

der. These three, whose Humours and Vices were as different as possible, abus'd the Authority of the Emperor with so much Insolence, that they made him appear by the Inequality of his Conduct, both odious and despicable, so that sometimes he shew'd himself severe and rigorous, at other times remiss and negligent; condemning some illustrious Persons unheard, and pardoning others without Reason, as he was guided by these Persons. He still encreased the Peoples Hatred, by revoking the profuse Donatives of *Nero*, which were found to amount to above seventeen Millions of our Money, and reducing 'em to the tenth Part, giving Commission to fifty of the *Equites* to collect the Remainder for himself; with Authority, That if any Player or Champion had sold what *Nero* had given 'em, and embezled or spent the Consideration they receiv'd, in that Case they might require and recover it of the Persons who had purchased it. Publick Slaves were proclaim'd in all Parts, and the Streets thronged with the Consluence and Contentions of Officers, Buyers, and Sellers; while nevertheless there was some Pleasure in beholding those whom *Nero* had oblig'd, as miserable now as those whom he had oppress'd. On the contrary, there was nothing but by the Mediation of his Favourites and Freed-Men, he permitted either to be bought for Money, or granted for Favour; as Taxes, Exemptions, Punishments for Innocents, Impunity for Criminals, and other Pieces of Injustice. Among others he pardon'd *Halotus* and *Tigellinus*, two of the most pernicious Instruments which *Nero* imploy'd, tho' the People of *Rome* were importunately sollicitous for their Punishment. And as if this was not sufficient to disoblige them, he preferr'd *Halotus* to a most honourable Post; and appear'd so publickly in the Justification of *Tigellinus*, that he put forth an Edict in his favour, and upbraided the People with their Severity. Besides all which disadvantageous

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Circumſtances, his unwieldy old Age render'd him contemptible to many, ſo that almoſt every Man durſt preſume to murmur at his Proceedings, and act any thing againſt his Authority.

Affairs being in this unſetled Poſture at *Rome*, thoſe in the Provinces were in a worſe Condition: For ſince the Army and Province of *Spain* had preſum'd to chuſe an Emperor without any other Authority, many Mutinies were rais'd, and Factions ſprung up in moſt Parts of the Empire, through Envy, Diſcontent, or deſire of Alteration, but principally among the Legions in the upper *Germany*, whoſe Commander was *Rufus Virginius* before-mention'd. Theſe Legions growing proud and inſolent, by reaſon of the great Victory they had obtain'd over *Vindex* in *Gaul*, ſhew'd ſmall Value or Eſteem for *Ordeonius Flaccus*, their preſent Commander, and Lieutenant to *Virginius*; and holding themſelves ſuſpected, and out of Favour with the Emperor *Galba*, becauſe they were the laſt who came into his Service; they now reſolv'd to be the firſt who ſhould deſert it. And upon the firſt Day of *January*, wherein they uſually took the Oaths, and paid their Homage of Fidelity to their Emperor, they refus'd to ſwear to any but the Senate; and immediately diſpatch'd a Meſſage to the *Prætorian* Cohorts to remonſtrate, *That they could not acquieſce in the Election of an Emperor created in* Spain, *and that the Senate wou'd proceed to chuſe ſuch a Perſon as they thought moſt proper.* Yet *Suetonius* tells us, that they referr'd the Election to the *Prætorian* Cohorts. The Legions in *Lower-Germany* were alſo as mutinous and diſcontented, as thoſe in the *Upper*, being particularly excited and encourag'd by their Commander *Vitellius*, who notwithſtanding he had receiv'd all his preſent Authority from the Hands of the Emperor *Galba*, began to ſound the Minds and Affections of his Soldiers, and violating his Faith and Fidelity, endeavour'd by all poſſible Methods to procure

procure the Empire for himſelf. This *Vitellius*, who afterwards became Emperor, was a Perſon of great Reputation and Authority, by reaſon of the ſeveral Offices and Magiſtracies which he had held in *Rome* and abroad, under the three Emperors, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*, with whom he had been very intimate and private, more for his exceſſive Vices, and ſome particular Abilities of his Perſon, than for any Virtues or Excellencies. He was in favour with *Caligula*, for his Dexterity in managing a Chariot; with *Claudius* for his Gaming and Dice, and with *Nero* for the ſame Proficiency, and ſuch like Qualities. And beſides this, as he was very ſubtle and crafty in his Deſigns, ſo he obtain'd in thoſe Days great Offices and Dignities, as that of *Præfect*, of the Prieſthood, and alſo to be Proconſul in *Africk*, which Office he honourably executed; and laſt of all to be Commander of the Legions in Lower *Germany*, the Effects of which ſhall be afterwards related.

The Emperor *Galba* being adverti'ſed of all the Commotions in *Germany*, and knowing that beſides his Age, he was the leſs reſpected for want of an Heir, he reſolved now to put in execution what he had formerly deſign'd, which was to adopt ſome Perſon of ſuch Age and Authority, as might be deſervedly capable of the Empire, and who in his Life might protect and ſupport him, and after his Deceaſe ſucceed him. His Favourites and ſuch as were intimate with him, underſtanding his Determination, each of 'em ſeparately pretended to give him a Son of their own chuſing, ſo that there aroſe a great Contention among 'em upon this Occaſion. *Otho* made great Intereſt, and induſtriouſly endeavour'd to obtain this Adoption, alledging *the great Service he had done for* Galba, *as being the firſt Man of Note who came into his Aſſiſtance in* Spain, *after he had declar'd againſt* Nero; and as the *Urban* and *Prætorian* Cohorts favour'd him, and *Vinius* the Emperor's chief Favourite aſſiſted him, he almoſt aſſur'd himſelf of Succeſs.

Succeſs. But *Galba* having fully reſolved to conſider the Publick Good alone, and diſliking the Vicious Diſpoſition of *Otho*, which he thought too nearly reſembled that of *Nero*, had no regard to what was ſpoken in his Favour: but upon a prefixt day he ſent for *Piſo Lucinianus*, in whom was a happy Concurrence of thoſe good Properties neceſſary for a Prince and Emperor, and taking him by the Hand, in the Preſence of ſome Friends, among other things he ſaid thus: *If this ſtupendious Frame of the* Roman *Empire cou'd ſubſiſt without a ſingle Governor to balance it, the Liberty of the Commonwealth might worthily have dated its Beginning from me; but now it is arriv'd to thoſe Circumſtances, that my Age can benefit the People of* Rome *no way, but by finding them a good Succeſſor, nor your Youth, but by yielding them a good Prince. To ſucceed by Election, will be inſtead of Liberty; and now the* Julian *and* Claudian *Lines have fail'd, Adoption will ſupply all Defects: For to be deſcended from Princes, is the Work of mere Fortune, and is ſo eſteem'd; in Adoptions our Judgments are moſt incorrupt, and moſt rarely abus'd, and if we will chuſe the moſt worthy, the Voice of the Nation points us out the Man. I have paſs'd by all my own Friends and Companions in Arms, for your ſake, not doubting but you will retain your former Virtues; but as to thoſe of others towards you, you will find a Difference; and Flattery, the moſt peſtilent Poyſon of all true Meaning, will break in: For ſince moſt Men talk with our Eſtates, rather than our Perſons, it is much eaſier to flatter a Prince, than to inſtruct him. For your Adminiſtration, ſet* Nero *before your Eyes, whoſe Family and deſcent could not ſhield him, and his own Infamous Life and Cruelties alone, puſh'd him out of his Throne, and not* Vindex *with an unarm'd Province, nor I with a ſingle Legion; and tho' the Soldiers and Senate had not ſo univerſally agreed about a Succeſſor, they were all unanimous in his Ruin. The ſureſt and ſhorteſt Rule for your Security, is judiciouſly to weigh what you your ſelf wou'd allow or blame in another Prince: for you*

*have*

*have not here, as in some Kingdoms, a certain Race born to Sovereignty, and the rest to be Slaves; but you are to govern a People which can neither bear Bondage nor Liberty alone, but require a prudent Mixture of both to balance the Inconveniences of either.* *Piso*'s Answer was full of Reverence and Modesty; and in all his Deportment there appear'd a Firmness and Equality of Mind, bespeaking him rather able to discharge, than ambitious to obtain the Dignity. Immediately after *Galba* with a great Train went with *Piso* to the Camp, where he adopted him after the usual Manner, obliging the Soldiers to swear Obedience to him, and receive him for *Cæsar*; but gave no Rewards to the Soldiers, nor promis'd any, as they expected: He only made a grave and short Speech to 'em after the ancient Manners, and was coldly receiv'd by 'em, as he was likewise by the Senate immediately after; *Rome* being now so addicted to Briberies and Donatives, had lost its ancient Equity and Integrity.

Piso *adopted by* Galba.

*Galba* having made this Adoption, conceiv'd it wou'd have been the most effectual Means to secure his Life and Empire; but it shortly after prov'd the Occasion of his Confusion and utter Ruin. For *Otho* finding the Hopes of his Adoption wholly frustrated, and perceiving the Soldiers well affected towards him, for the extream Hatred they had conceiv'd against *Galba*, resolv'd to effect his Purposes by Force and Treason, to which he was excited, not only by his Hatred to *Galba*, and his Envy to *Piso*; but by the consideration of his Debts, which were now become insupportable from his riotous Life. Nor was he asham'd to declare, *That if he was not Emperor, he cou'd not subsist, and that it was equal to him whether he fell by his Enemy in the Field, or by his Creditors in the Courts of Law*: Notwithstanding he with some Difficulty found Ready Money sufficient to corrupt the *Prætorian* Cohorts; and where that was deficient, he supply'd all with large Promises, and plausible Speech-

Otho's *Designs.*

(S)

es. And in less than eight Days, finding the Affections of the Soldiers, he stole secretly from the Emperor while he was sacrificing, to an appointed Place, where calling the Soldiers together, in a set Speech he began to enumerate the several Cruelties and Executions made by *Galba* in so short Space, urging, *That these Things which others account heinous Crimes, are by him term'd gentle Remedies; Cruelty is cloak'd with the venerable Name of Justice; sordid Avarice is call'd provident Sparing; and your Stripes and Indignities, true Discipline. 'Tis scarce seven Months since the Death of* Nero, *yet* Icelus, *one of* Galba's *Favourites, has rak'd together more Treasure than any of* Nero's *wicked Instruments had done in as many Years. And certainly* Vinius *himself, if he had been Emperor, wou'd have shewn less Covetousness, and more Respect; even that* Vinius *who oppresses us as Vassals, and treats us as vile Strangers, whose Wealth alone wou'd be sufficient for the Donative, which is so often cast in your Teeth, but never paid to your Purses. In you alone lies the present Remedy for all these Distempers; and since you, my loving Companions, have already given me the Title of Prince, I will not be call'd a private Man; and a Prince I cannot be, while another possesses the Throne. I desire you not to a War, I lead you not to any dangerous Exploit; the Soldiers within are all of the same Mind, and one unarm'd Cohort now guarding the Emperor, endeavours not to defend him against us, but rather detains him from escaping your Hands; and when you shall come in view, the greatest Contention you can have with them, is, who shou'd be most forward in my assistance.* At the finishing of this Speech, the Soldiers with loud Shouts and Acclamations took him upon their Shoulders, call'd him *Emperor*; and drawing their Swords to give the greater Terror to the People, carry'd him to their Camp.

*Galba* in the mean time suspected nothing of this Revolt, and when the News of it was brought to him, he was extremely disheartned and confounded; and as his Counsels were sudden and unpremeditated,

tated, ſo they were unconſtant and variable, For ſome were of Opinion that he ought to put himſelf in Arms, and appear in Publick, that his Preſence might ſtem the Torrent of this dangerous Tumult: Others, that his greateſt Security wou'd be to fortify himſelf in the *Capitol*, and there to attend the Reſult of the whole Diſorder. The poor old Emperor continu'd wavering and doubtful what Reſolution to take, upon the account of the various Meſſages and Reports which were brought; for ſome repreſented the Matter as ſlight and inconſiderable, and others as fatal and ruinous. But at laſt being deluded by a falſe Report of *Otho*'s being ſlain, he rode arm'd out of his Palace with his Guard, and many Followers, into the Grand *Forum*; where infinite Numbers of People were gather'd together to ſee the Effects of ſo furious a Combuſtion. At the ſame Inſtant, on the other Side, there enter'd a conſiderable Body of Horſe, ſent from the Camp to deſtroy *Galba*; who tho' they came down with rapid Violence, and with a full Reſolution of diſpatching him, yet upon their nigh Approach to him, ſtood amaz'd, and in a dubious Poſture, for a conſiderable Time, apprehending the Conſequence of their fatal Commiſſion. At the ſame time *Galba* was in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable, not knowing upon what to reſolve, nor what Enterprize to undertake; the Crowds and Throngs of People driving him to and fro, with Amazement in their Countenances, and ſuch a Silence as argu'd great Fear and ſome portentous Paſſion. *Galba* thus ſtanding irreſolute whether he ſhou'd return to his Palace, or retire to the *Capitol*, having had ſufficient Time for either; but now miſſing his Opportunity, he found himſelf unable to do any thing for his Security; For being abandon'd by the greateſt Part of his Followers, the Soldiers ſent by *Otho* immediately ruſh'd in among the People and Senate, diſperſing and trampling them under Foot; and approaching *Galba*, he

Galba *ſlain in the* Forum. ſtretch'd out his Neck, as *Plutarch* relates it, bidding them *Strike it off, if it were for the Good of the Commonwealth and the* Roman *People*; which was immediately perform'd, and his Head ſet on the point of a Lance, and preſented to *Otho*, from whence it was contemptuouſly carried about the Camp, his Body remaining in the Streets till it was buried by one of his Bondmen. This was the fatal End of *Sergius Galba*, the Seventh Emperor of *Rome*, in the ſeventy third Year of his Age, after a ſhort Reign of Seven Months; a Perſon who had gain'd the Empire unjuſtly, govern'd it injuriouſly, and loſt it ſuddenly. His Death was accompanied with the Slaughter of many other Perſons, particularly of his three Favourites, *Vinius*, *Laco*, and *Icelus*, who had haſtned if not effected his Ruin; and likewiſe with that of his adopted Son *Piſo*, whoſe Death *Otho* moſt of all deſir'd, and whoſe Head he gaz'd on with a Joy and Satisfaction moſt unbecoming his aſſumed Character.

*And alſo.* Piſo.

*A. D.* 69. II. On the ſame Day that *Galba* was thus murder'd in the *Forum*, the Senate and People, now but the Dregs of their Anceſtors, ran all by Heaps and Multitudes to the Camp, contending and preſſing who ſhould be moſt forward, effacing the Memory of *Galba*, extolling the Judgment of the Soldiers, and with great Flattery kiſſing the Hand of *Otho*; and the leſs their Hearts and Affections were towards him, ſo much the more were their Geſtures and outward Proteſtations. *Otho* was now thirty eight Years of Age, a Perſon Valiant and Witty, of an ancient and honourable Family, and a great Favourite to *Nero*; but more for the Conformity of their Humours and Vices, and the Beauty of his Wife *Poppæa*, than for his worthy Executing of ſome conſiderable Offices with which he was intruſted. *Otho* now finding himſelf thus highly congratulated, and ſurrounded by Senators and the principal Nobility of *Rome*,

*Rome*, immediately went to the Senate, which was assembled by the *Prætorian Præfect* of the City, where besides the ordinary Salutations and Applauses, they gave him the Title of *Augustus*, and all the other Titles and Preheminences which the other Emperors ever obtain'd. And having there made a brief Oration, wherein he told the Fathers, *That he took upon him the Empire rather by Compulsion and the Constraint of others, than by his own choice and seeking, promising to govern the same by the Counsel and Advice of the Senate*, he went from thence through the *Forum*, which was all cover'd with Blood and dead Bodies, to the *Capitol*, and from thence to the Imperial Palace: And thus was *Otho* the first Emperor, who was advanc'd to this Honour by Means of the *Prætorian* Guards, which gave 'em Occasion frequently to assume the Authority of creating Emperors Afterwards; a pernicious Precedent for the *Roman* Empire, and for the Emperors themselves, as Time and Experience manifested. *Otho*, contrary to the Expectation of many, deferr'd his Pleasures, dissembl'd his Riot, and luxurious Life, and order'd all Things that was fitting for the Honour of the Empire. And first he commanded *Marius Celsus*, who had been highly advanc'd by *Galba*, to be brought into the *Capitol*; expecting by pardoning so great a Man, and so odious to his Party, to purchase the just Title of Clemency in the Beginning of his Reign. *Celsus* being call'd, fearlessly confess'd the whole Accusation of Fidelity to *Galba*, freely asserting, *That Princes ought rather to reward such Examples*; and *Otho* admirting the Defence as just and vertuous, immediately advanc'd him next to himself. This Act, with the just Punishment of *Tigellinus*, *Nero*'s chief Instrument of Impurity, and his generous Restoration of the Persons and Goods of all such as had been unjustly exil'd by *Nero*, gain'd him so much the Love and Affection of the People of *Rome*, that they continu'd true and faithful to him to the End of his short Reign.

*Otho made Emperor.*

Vitellius *made Emperor by the* German *Legions.*

While the Affairs of *Rome* were tranſacted in this Manner, the Legions in the Lower *Germany*, having been purchas'd by the large Gifts and ſpecious Promiſes of *Vitellius*, after ſome Treaties and Impunities for Outrages, concluded to create him Emperor, which they effected, without attending the Will and Pleaſure of the Senate, about thirteen Days before *Galba*'s Death. The ſudden News of which put *Otho* into a great Conſternation, and the City to no ſmall Concern, well knowing that nothing but the Sword, and the Blood of ſo many *Romans* could determine this famous Conteſt, the Pretenſions being plauſible on both Sides. The *German* Legions pretended, *That they had as great an Authority to create an Emperor as the Legions in* Spain, *and that* Vitellius *had a rightful Poſſeſſion before* Otho's *Creation*; the Senate and Cohorts at *Rome* pretended, *That they had the Supreme Power, and that in them reſted the abſolute Authority to chuſe and create Emperors; and having made choice of* Otho, *they would not recede.* And though *Otho* by this Means had the moſt powerful Intereſt, and the moſt ſpecious Title; yet whether his guilty Conſcience threw him into timerous Apprehenſions, or his diſcompos'd Temper caus'd him to dread the Miſeries of a Civil War, he ſought by large Promiſes to come to a Compoſition and Agreement with *Vitellius*; but nothing was concluded to the Satisfaction of either Party, and the Diſſentions daily increaſing both began their Preparations for War. It was ſuppos'd by many, that ſeveral Perſons from *Vitellius* were come to the City to ſpy out and learn how the Parties were affected; whereupon the whole City was fill'd with Jealouſies and Apprehenſions, the ſecret Cloſets being ſcarce free from Fears. All Perſons turn'd and ſhap'd their Countenances according as the News was favourable or formidable from abroad; and in the Senate nothing was ſo difficult as an even and prudent Carriage in theſe nice and perillous Times; Silence would be

be reckoned for Contumacy, Freedom of Speech for Inſolence, and Flattery was too well known to *Otho*, who having been a Courtier, was too skilful in the Practice of it himſelf. The Cares and Fears of the City were much augmented by the great Preparations of *Otho*, and the Diſabilities of the Nobility and Gentry in the Affairs of War: The chief of the Senate were grown old and impotent, wanting both the Power and Vigour of Soldiers; the Nobility were ſlothful, cover'd with the Ruſt of a long Peace, and forgetting the Fatigues of a Camp; the *Equites* were diſſolv'd in Eaſe and Luxury, and ignorant in military Service, which the more they endeavour'd to conceal, the more they betray'd their Fears. The wiſer ſort began to ſhew great Concern at the Miſeries and Perturbations of the Commonwealth; but the inconſiderate were ſwell'd with vain Hopes and extravagant Opinions; and many Perſons, Bankrupts in Peace, in theſe Troubles began to make the greateſt Appearance; they being ſafeſt, when the State was in the greateſt Danger and Diſorder.

During the Time of theſe Preparations, *Otho* receiv'd Advice that *Vitellius*'s Forces were upon their March towards *Italy*, under the Conduct of two Commanders call'd *Valens* and *Cæcinna*; whereupon *Otho* departed from *Rome* with a fair Army, conſiſting of the *Roman* Nobility, the *Prætorian* Cohorts, the Legions out of the Fleets upon the *Italian* Coaſts, and ſuch others as he could levy in that Time. In this manner he began his March from the City, very powerful as to Numbers of Men, tho' generally unaccuſtomed to War, leaving for the Government of *Rome*, *Flavius Sabinus*, Brother to *Veſpaſian*, who was then in *Judæa*, and had ſworn his Army to *Otho*, and ſo continu'd his March againſt *Vitellius*, whoſe Forces were already arrived at the *Alpes*, to the number of 70000 Men, whereof 40000 were commanded by *Valens*, and the reſt by *Cæcinna*, *Vitellius* himſelf remaining

maining in *Gaul*, in expectation of more Troops from *Germany*, and the Legions from *Britain*. Upon the nigh Approach of these numerous Armies this fatal Civil War was begun, or rather that begun by *Vindex* and *Galba* against *Nero* was continu'd; which occasion'd many to make melancholy Reflections upon the Wars between *Julius Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and between *Augustus* and *Antony*, wherein so much *Roman* Blood was shed; from which fatal Miseries the State had been free for almost an hundred Years, tho' not from those of Tyranny and unbounded Ambition, the general and almost certain Fore-runners of the other. *Otho* of late had been much troubled with unusual Dreams and dismal Apprehensions, and 'tis reported, that one Night fetching several profound Sighs in his Sleep, his Servants ran hastily to his Bed-side, and found him upon the Ground; after which he used many Expiations to appease the Ghost of *Galba*, which seem'd to beat and push him rudely out of the Bed. However, he proceeded with great shew of Courage, and arriving at the City of *Brixellum* on the River *Po*, he remain'd there, sending his Forces before him, under the Conduct of worthy Commanders, particularly *Suetonius* and *Celsus*; who were very little respected by the Soldiers, being grown proud and insolent with the Thoughts of creating an Emperor, imagining that no Man less than he ought to have Command over them. The like want of Obedience was in the Armies of *Vitellius*, and upon the same Account; and both Parties proceeded with such Haste and Precipitation, that besides Skirmishes and other Encounters, in a few Days Space, three considerable Battels were fought; one nigh *Placentia*, another nigh *Cremona*, and a third nigh a Place call'd *Castor*; in all which *Otho* and the *Romans* had the Advantage, tho' the Word on both sides was, *Rome and the Empire!*

Shortly after this, *Valens* and *Cæcinna*, who till now

now had acted ſeparately, joyned all their Forces together, ſtrongly re-enforcing their Army with new Supplies from ſeveral Parts; now reſolving to hazard all in one generrl Battel, if the other Parties refuſed them not. About which time, *Otho* very joyful for the Advantages gain'd by his Generals, came to his Army at *Bebriacum*, a Village between *Cremona* and *Verona*; and finding the Enemy, notwithſtanding their late Loſſes, very forward to give him Battel, call'd a Council of War to determine whether to protract the War, or hazard a Battel. *Suetonius*, *Celſus*, and the moſt experienc'd Commanders declar'd, *That it was their Opinion, That protracting the War was much the wiſeſt and ſafeſt Courſe, ſince the whole Force and Power of* Vitellius *were arrived, and were now in want of many Neceſſaries, which obliged them to offer Battel as their ſpeedieſt way of ſupplying themſelves: On the contrary,* Otho's *Army was well provided of all Things, and* Italy, *and the Senate and People of* Rome *at his Devotion, Names which were never quite darken'd, tho' ſometimes obſcured. Moreover ſeveral Provinces had revolted from* Vitellius, *whereas all his Provinces ſtood firm to him; and the Legions in* Pannonia, Mœſia *and* Dalmatia, *were now upon their March to his Aid: So that he had no Reaſon ſo often and ſo raſhly to tempt his Fortune, and therefore he ought to weary out his Enemy by Delays, or tarry for a greater Power, where there could be no doubt of Victory.* But ſome others, whoſe unexperienced Heat and miſguided Vigour made them too deſirous of a Battel, declared, *That nothing but that could end the Miſeries of the State, proteſting that Fortune and all the Gods, with the God-head of* Otho' *favoured the Deſign, and would undoubtedly proſper the Enterprize*; deſcending to this groſs and extravagant Flattery, to prevent others from croſſing their Opinion. *Otho* inclined wholly to the latter, approved of their Counſel, and commanded the ſame to be put in Execution; for he was ſo extreamly uneaſie under this War, that he thought

it a leſs Puniſhment to loſe a Victory, than to be continually rack'd with Fears and Suſpences. After which it was agreed, *That the Emperor ſhould not perſonally be in the Battle, ſo that being free from the doubtful Events of the Field, he might reſerve himſelf for the main Fortune of the State*; and he retiring to *Brixellum*, his Army advanc'd towards the Enemy, who lay encamp'd not far diſtant. *Otho*'s Soldiers were generally Men of noble Preſence, ſtrong and valiant, but had but ſmall Experience in the War; on the contrary, thoſe of *Vitellius* were not only more numerous, but were old diſciplin'd Men, and train'd up in Arms from their Youth. Yet the *Othonians* tho' they were at firſt deceiv'd and almoſt confounded with a falſe Shew of Accommodation from their Enemies, attack'd them with great Courage and Bravery, and at the firſt Onſet ſlew all the firſt Rank, and won the *Eagle*, the Battel continuing cruel and bloody on both ſides. The Armies were extreamly incumber'd with Trees and Hedges, ſo that they were oblig'd to fight with but ſmall Regularity, bearing down upon one another, Body to Body, Buckler to Buckler, hewing their Way with their Swords and Battle-Axes, after a confus'd dreadful manner, each Man furiouſly contending, as if the Event of the whole War depended upon his own ſingle Valour. At length the *Vitellianiſts*, both by their Numbers and Skill gain'd upon the Flank of their Enemies, and the *Prætorian* Cohorts immediately betook themſelves to flight; which ſhortly after cauſed the intire Defeat of the *Othonians*, who fled towards *Bebriacum* with great Confuſion, and a miſerable Slaughter made by the Enemy, who thought it no Advantage to take many Priſoners.

Otho's *Army overthrown.*

In the mean time *Otho* at *Brixellum* waited for the News of the Battle with great Impatience; and one of the firſt who brought him an Account of it was a Common Soldier, who being tax'd with Falſhood and

and Cowardice by ſome Perſons about the Emperor, he immediately fell upon his Sword at *Otho*'s Feet; at the ſight of which he cried out, *That he would cauſe the Ruin of no more of ſuch valiant and worthy Soldiers!* the Soldiers ardent Affection was ſuch, that they ſtay'd not for any Comfort or Encouragement from their Emperor, but gathering all about him, endeavour'd to animate and revive his Courage, telling him, *That there were ſtill Forces ſufficient both for his Revenge and Security, and they would ſuffer all imaginable Perils and Extremities for his ſake.* They who ſtood at a great diſtance, lift up their Hands, and beſought him; the neareſt embrac'd his Knees, eſpecially *Plotius Firmus*, the *Prætorian Præfect*, beſeeching him *Not to abandon ſo true and deſerving Soldiers, ſo loving and faithful an Army*; averring, *That it was a greater Inſtance of Magnanimity to ſuſtain, than to avoid the heavy Shock of Fortune; that brave and valiant Men ſupport themſelves by Hope againſt Fortune; while cowardly and impotent Spirits by Fear, are ſuddenly driven to Deſpair.* But not all their Perſwaſions and Intreaties, nor all the apparent Probability of Succeſs, if he would continue the War, could in the leaſt divert him from that Reſolution he had now taken; a Reſolution ſo generous in its Nature, that ſome Authors think it rather the Effect of ſomeſudden Inſpiration, than of any thing that could proceed from a Temper ſo ſoft, and a Life ſo effeminate as his. Having made ſilence, he couragiouſly ſpoke to them after this manner: *I eſteem this Day as far more happy and glorious than that wherein you made me Emperor, ſince it has manifeſted ſuch ſenſible Tokens of your Love and Affection, and ſuch inconteſtible Proofs of your Duty and Loyalty; therefore I beſeech you not to deny me this Favour, which is, to ſuffer me to die juſtly and honourably for the Safety of ſo many brave Soldiers and worthy Citizens as you are. There can be no Occaſion for thoſe Legions and Forces coming to my Aſſiſtance, ſince the Enemy is neither* Hannibal *nor* Pyrrhus; *therefore to hazard your*

*Virtue*

*Vertue and Valour in Dangers wholly needleſs, is too dear a Purchaſe of Life; and the greater Hopes you have of Succeſs, the more honourable will be my Death, as being voluntary, and not by any Conſtraint. Aſſure your ſelves, I had rather die than reign Emperor, ſince I can never ſo much advance the* Roman *State by Wars and Bloodſhed, as by ſacrificing my ſelf for the Peace of it; and whereas others have purchaſed Fame and Glory by their well-governing and ſupporting the Empire, I may reaſonably expect a Name for leaving it, rather than to permit my Ambition to weaken or deſtroy it. And therefore I deſire that you would take this as an undoubted Proof of my Courage and Reſolution, that I make no Complaints of hard Fortune or ill Succeſs; for to blame either Gods or Men, implies a mean and indirect Deſire of Living.*

After this Speech, in a courteous manner, he deſir'd the old Men, and requir'd the young to yield themſelves to *Vitellius* as ſoon as poſſible, leſt by Delays they provok'd his further Diſpleaſure. Then rebuking the unreaſonable Fears of thoſe about him, without any alteration in his Countenance, or ſigns of Fear in his Speech, he retir'd to his Chamber; where he writ two conſolatory Letters to his Siſter, and one to *Meſſalina*, who had formerly been marry'd to *Nero*, and whom he had deſign'd for his own, recommending his Memory and Aſhes to her. After this he burnt ſuch Letters and Papers as might be prejudicial to any Perſon afterwards, and diſtributed what Money and Jewels he had among his Friends and Domeſticks. Being prepar'd in this manner, and reſolv'd to die, a Tumult ariſing, he perceiv'd the Soldiers ſtopping and upbraiding thoſe who were going away, as Traytors and Deſerters of their Sovereign, *Nay then*, ſaid he, *Let us add this Night to our Life*, and forbad all Violence to be us'd, commanding his Chamber to be left open till it was very late, and ordering a free entrance to all who deſir'd to ſee him. After which, the Doors being ſecur'd, and having quench'd his Thirſt with a draught of cold Water, he took

two

two Daggers, and having try'd and choſen the ſharpeſt, he laid it under his Pillow, and fell into a profound Sleep; but awaking about break of Day, and ſeeing one of his Servants remaining, he commanded him to retire, and taking the Dagger, gave himſelf a mortal Stab on the left Side, and with a ſingle Groan ended his Life. This was the remarkable End of *Otho*, the Eighth Emperor of *Rome*, but three Months and five Days after he had traiterouſly murther'd his Prince, and uſurped the Empire; a Perſon, as *Tacitus* writes, who by two Acts, one the moſt deteſtable, and the other the moſt laudable, equally deſerved Infamy and Renown among Poſterity. Moſt of his Soldiers who were preſent about him, after they had kiſs'd his Hands and his Feet, and given him the Character of a moſt couragious and magnanimous Emperor, kill'd themſelves about his Funeral Pile; and many who were abſent, underſtanding the Manner of his Death, were ſo deeply and ſenſibly affected, that they ſlew one another. Finally, many who, while he was living, deteſted and abhorred him, now as much applauded and extolled him; and it grew to a common Opinion and Diſcourſe among the People, *That he depos'd* Galba *not ſo much out of Ambition, as to reſtore the Liberty of the Commonwealth.* However, his great Care for the good of the Publick, had gain'd him the Affection of the Senate and People of *Rome*, notwithſtanding all his Perſonal Vices; which may ſerve for one Inſtance to manifeſt the great Facility of any Prince's gaining the Hearts of his Subjects.

Otho *kills himſelf.*

III. Shortly after the Death of *Otho*, all the Soldiers, both *Legionary* and *Prætorian*, repair'd to the Lodgings of *Virginius*. Commander of the *German* Legions, earneſtly begging him, *To take upon him the Name of Emperor, offering him their utmoſt Service and Aſſiſtance; and if he thought fit not to accept of their Empire,* *A. D.* 70.

*pire, that he wou'd pleaſe to be their Ambaſſador to* Valens *and* Cæcinna, *in order to obtain their Pardons. Virginius* alledged, *That it wou'd be a high piece of Indiſcretion, as well as Preſumption, to accept of the Empire from the Hands of a vanquiſh'd Army, having refus'd the ſame of the* German *Legions before* Nero's *Death, at a time when his Succeſs would have been almoſt unqueſtionable*; but finding the Soldiers eager and tumultuous, he gave 'em ſome hopes of being their Ambaſſador and Mediator, 'till he had retir'd into his Lodging, from whence he ſuddenly withdrew to a private Palace, till their Fury had ſpent it ſelf, But *Rubrius Gallus*, a Perſon of conſiderable Note, immedialy undertook the Embaſſy to *Vitellius*'s Captains, where Peace and Pardon was obtain'd for all the Soldiers and Commanders overthrown at *Bebriacum*, as alſo for thoſe Senators who had accompany'd *Otho*, and were now at *Mutina*. And at *Rome*, as ſoon as the Death of *Otho* was publiſh'd there, *Flavius Sabinus*. Præfect of the City, aſſembl'd the Senators, who tho' they hated *Vitellius*, immediately pronounced him Emperor with the uſual Solemnities, giving him the Title of *Auguſtus*, and *Pater Patriæ*, with other honourable Epithets, reſolving to return great Thanks both to him and his Army for what they had done. Tho' at the ſame time *Italy* was ſeverly harraſs'd by the Soldiers, who committed ſuch Robberies and Outrages, as exceeded all the Oppreſſions of the moſt calamitous War; and in their Inſolencies they made no diſtinction between Perſons or Things ſacred or profane. *Vitellius* was then in *Gaul*, and that he might do ſome memorable Act of Juſtice before he went to *Rome*, he caus'd all the *Prætorian* Cohorts, who had been Inſtruments in *Galba*'s Death, and *Otho*'s Advancement, to be diſarm'd and depriv'd of the Name and Honour of Soldiers, commanding alſo 120 of the moſt Guilty to be put to Death, whom he diſcover'd by their demanding a Reward for killing

Vitellius *made Emperor.*

killing of *Galba*. By which honourable Act he gave great hopes of an excellent Prince; but he immediately let loose the Reigns of the former Vices and Extravagancies; insomuch that he deserv'd to be ranked amongst the worst of Princes, and the worst of Men. As soon as he began his Journey for *Rome*, he rode through the Cities and Towns with all imaginable Pomp and Pride. He stirred not upon the Rivers, but in his painted Galleys, curiously adorned with Garlands and Flowers, and profusely furnished with the most exquisite Delicacies and Provocatives to Gluttony; and in all his Journey there was no Order or Discipline either among his Soldiers or Servants, he himself being highly pleas'd with their continual Rapines and Insolencies, how insupportable soever. For they were not satisfy'd with devouring all Places with Free Quarter, but they Enfranchis'd Slaves, beat, wounded, and ravish'd at their pleasure. Upon his Arrival at *Bebriacum*, where the last Battel was fought, he was very desirous of seeing the Place, where were great Numbers of scattered Bodies torn in Pieces, Limbs dismally mangled, Figures of Horses and Men putrify'd, and the Air and Ground tainted with Stench and Blood, all which he view'd with infinite Pleasure and Satisfaction; and when several of his Train shew'd great Uneasiness for the noisome Smells, he impiously told 'em, *That a dead Enemy smells well, but a dead Citizen better:* Yet immediately to correct and qualify the nauseous Scents, he call'd for large Quantities of Wine, and drinking publickly, he with the like Vanity distributed the rest among his Soldiers.

*Vitellius* being arriv'd at *Rome*, as in his Journey infinite Ravages and Outrages were committed by the various Nations which accompany'd him, so his Entry with such a numerous Army became a formidable Spectacle to the City; for he entered it as into a conquer'd City, mounted upon a noble Courser,

Courſer, adorn'd with his Military Habiliments, the Senate and People of *Rome* going before him, as tho' he had triumph'd over 'm, himſelf ſurrounded with Standards and Colours, and his Army marching after him in a confus'd diſorderly manner. In this ill Order he march'd up to the Capitol to ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, from whence he repair'd to the Imperial Palace; and the next Day commanding the Senate to be aſſembled, he made a fulſome Speech, extravagantly magnifying and extolling his own Acts, promiſing extraordinary Advantages from his Adminiſtration, and was humbly anſwer'd by them, obey'd and honour'd as Emperor, and their Sovereign Lord. Departing from the Senate towards the Palace, he was met with the Body of the Commons, who having been accuſtom'd to flatter all in Authority, without conſidering Truth or Falſhood, highly applauded and bleſs'd their new Emperor; and when he deny'd the Name of *Auguſtus*, they conſtrain'd him to accept of it; and he now took it with as much Vanity, as he had before refus'd it. Theſe firſt Solemnities being finiſh'd, he immediately after caus'd himſelf to be choſen *Pontifex Maximus*, and to be made perpetual Conſul; and took upon him ſuch Honours and Dignities as he thought good, commanding Magiſtrates to be choſen ten Years before they enter'd upon their Offices; which Arbitrary Proceedings ſoon procur'd him the Hatred of the City. And thinking by his Induſtry to have prolong'd his Life, he baniſh'd from *Rome* and *Italy* all the Judicial Aſtrologers call'd Mathematicians, becauſe they had ſaid, *That his Reign ſhould not continue a Year compleat*; and he was ſo highly incens'd againſt 'm, that if Information were made againſt any one of that Profeſſion, he immediately order'd him to be Executed, without hearing of the Party. Shortly after the publiſhing of his Edict for their Baniſhment by the firſt of *October*, a Writing was ſet up in the *Forum* to this effect: *We, in the Name*

*Name of the ancient* Chaldæans, *given warning to* Vitellius Germanicus *to depart the World by the Calends of the ſaid* October. That it might appear to all, what Example he deſign'd to follow in his Government, he publickly ſacrific'd to the *Manes* of *Nero*, in a general Aſſembly of the Prieſts in the *Campus Martius*: And at a ſolemn Feaſt, being much pleas'd with a Perſon playing upon the Harp, he commanded him to ſing ſomething in the Praiſe of *Domitius*; whereupon the Harper beginning one of *Nero*'s Songs, he immediately leap'd up, and gave the firſt Tokens of Applauſe.

In this manner *Vitellius* began his Empire, his Soldsers having leave to take their Fill of the Debaucheries of the Town; ſo that in a ſhort time their Bodies were waſted, and enfeebled by Lazineſs, and their Spirits broken by Luſt and Luxury. The principal Affairs of State were manag'd by the Counſel or Capricio of Players, Charioteers, and ſuch contemptible Perſons, among which *Aſiaticus* his Freedman, and memorable for nothing but his infamous Life, had a principal Place. He now abandon'd himſelf to ſuch Luxury and Profuſeneſs, to which he had been accuſtom'd in the Reigns of *Caligula* and *Nero*; eſpecially to Gluttony, the abominable Exceſs whereof turn'd him to a very Monſter: For he uſually eat four or five Meals each Day; and the better to ſuſtain that courſe of Life, he brought his Body to a Habit of Vomiting whenever he pleas'd. All his Meals were prodigiouſly expenſive, tho' they were not always at his own Charge; for he frequently invited himſelf to his Friends, to Breakfaſt in one Place, to a Dinner in another, to a Supper in a third, all in the ſame Day; and they generally entertain'd him after ſuch a ſumptuous Manner, that each Treat ſeldom coſt leſs than Ten Thouſand Crowns. But the moſt memorable Supper made for him was by his Brother, at his firſt Arrival at *Rome*, in which were two Thouſand

ſand ſeveral Diſhes of Fiſh, and ſeven Thouſand of Fowl ſerv'd up, the moſt valuable that cou'd be procur'd: Yet his own Profuſeneſs exceeded all this at the Dedication of that Charger, which, by reaſon of its vaſt Capacity, he term'd *Minerva*'s Target; in which was a rich *Olio* made of the Sounds of the Fiſh call'd *Scarri*, the Brains of *Pheaſants* and *Peacocks*, the Tongues of Birds call'd *Phænicopterus*, and the Spawn of *Sea-Lampreys*, brought from the *Carpathian* Sea to the furthermoſt Coaſts of *Spain*. For the making of this prodigious Charge, he took care to have a Furnace built on purpoſe in the Fields. Nor was he more inſatiable than unſeaſonable in his Gluttony, not being able to contain himſelf, during the time he was at Sacrifice, from plucking the Entrails, Corn, and Meal, half-roaſt and parch'd, out of the Fire, to devour 'em. *Tacitus* reports, that no Perſon in this Emperor's Court, ſought to raiſe themſelves by Vertue or Abilities; the only way to Preferment, being by profuſe Banquets and ſumptuous Treats made to the Emperor; who conſidering nothing but the preſent Enjoyment of his Pleaſures, in four Months time waſted above ſeven Millions of our Money, and ruin'd many Cities and Families; ſo that *Joſephus* tells us, that if he had Reign'd long, the whole Empire would not have been ſufficient to have maintain'd his Gluttony.

During theſe Pleaſures, and afterwards, he executed barbarous Cruelties, ſuch as demonſtrated, that *Nero* was his Example; and he was ſo eagerly bent towards all ſanguinary Acts, that he puniſh'd all ſorts of People with Death, and upon the ſmalleſt Occaſions. There was no Fraud nor Hypocriſie which he left unpractis'd, to deſtroy ſuch Perſons of Quality as had formerly been his Aſſociates and School-Fellows; careſſing them at firſt, and giving them a Share in the Government, till he ſhortly found Pretences to ruin em. And going to viſit one of 'em in a violent Fever,

ver, upon his desiring to drink, he mingled Poyson with Cold Water, and deliver'd it to him with his own Hands. He seldom or never excus'd such Usurers, Scriveners, or Publicans as demanded Payment of his former Debts; of which Number one coming to salute him, he commanded him to be put to death immediately; but his Mind suddenly changing, he sent for him back: But as this Action was applauded by those about him as a signal piece of Clemency, he caus'd him to be executed before his Face, declaring, *That he design'd only to feed his Eyes with the Spectacle.* Having condemn'd another to Death, he executed his two Sons with him, only for their presuming to intercede for their Father. A *Roman* Knight likewise being hal'd away to his Punishment, and crying out to the Emperor, *That he had made him his Heir*; he caus'd him to produce his Will, and finding himself only Co-Hair with another Friend of the Testator's, to make the Inheritance fully secure, he commanded both to be executed. He likewise put several of the meaner sort to Death, only for deriding the Colours of some Charioteers whom he favour'd, supposing that they did it in contempt of him, and that they durst not have been so audacious, but upon the hopes of a Revolution. He was suspected also to have been accessary to his Mother's Death, having commanded that no Meat shou'd be given her, under Pretence it wou'd injure her, by reason of her Sickness; being induc'd to this by the Predictions of an old Woman, whom he believ'd as an Oracle, and who had told him, *That if he survivi'd his Mother, he shou'd reign many Years in Happiness and Security.* These horrid Vices only seem'd to put him in mind of his exalted State, for else so strange a Stupidity had seiz'd on him, that if others had not known him to be the Emperor, he himself would have soon forgot it. He accounted all bitter that was wholesome and beneficial, suffering nothing but what was pleasant and intoxicating;

toxicating; and fortifying himself with confus'd Mirth and Sottishness against all Dangers and Exigencies, he lost the very Remembrance of Things past, and the Thoughts of Things to come; not the least mention of War was made before him, and the Rumour and Discourse of it was strictly forbidden in the City.

*Vitellius* having by his abominable Life made himself odious to the City, and by the daily Insolencies and Cruelties of his Soldiers, insupportable to the Country; the Legions in the *East*, tho' in the beginning of his Reign they refus'd not his Authority, now began to revolt, and shortly after unanimously resolv'd to make *Vespasian* their Emperor. *Vespasian* had proceeded with great Bravery and Renown against the perfidious *Jews*, and had reduc'd most of their Country except *Jerusalem*, when he heard of the Death of *Nero*, and the Succession of *Galba*; which caus'd him to defer his design'd Enterprize against *Jerusalem*, sending his Son *Titus* to know *Galba*'s Pleasure. *Titus* was so long stopp'd by contrary Winds, that upon his Arrival on the Coasts of *Achaia* in *Greece*, he understood of *Galba*'s Death, and *Otho*'s Advancement; which News caus'd him to return to his Father in *Judæa*. And during the civil Contest between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Vespasian* continu'd Neuter, tho' he acknowledg'd *Otho* for Emperor, till *Vitellius* obtain'd the Victory and the Empire; a Matter no ways pleasing to him, nor to the Commanders in the *East*, all highly disliking so vicious a Man, and so corrupt a Governor as *Vitellius*: So that when the Day came wherein they were to swear Allegiance to the New Emperor in the Presence of *Vespasian*, they perform'd the Solemnity with great Silence and Heaviness. And now *Vespasian* renewing the War in *Judæa* with extraordinary Fame and Honour, and having resolv'd upon the Siege of *Jerusalem*; the Murmurings and Discontents increas'd against the new Emperor, not only

only in *Veſpaſian*'s Army, but likewiſe in thoſe of *Syria* and *Ægypt*, as alſo in the other Legions of the *Eaſt*; inſomuch that they all fixed their Eyes upon *Veſpaſian*, as a Perſon moſt worthy of the higheſt Authority, and moſt able to put an end to the Miſeries of his Country, reſolving to create him Emperor againſt *Vitellius*. This Deſign was favour'd and promoted by the News they receiv'd, that the Legions in *Meſia* and *Pannonia* had the ſame Reſolution; for they being upon their March to *Otho*'s Aſſiſtance; and underſtanding of his Defeat and Death, return'd back, refuſing Obedience to *Vitellius*, whom they hated, declaring themſelves ſhortly after for *Veſpaſian*. Upon theſe Motions there paſs'd ſeveral Meſſages and Letters between *Alexander* Governor of *Ægypt*, and *Mutianus* Governor of *Syria*, a Perſon of great Renown both in War and Peace, who concluded that *Veſpaſian* ſhould be Emperor, tho' he utterly refus'd it. And this Matter being thus promoted, *Alexander* made the firſt Overture; and *Veſpaſian* was proclaim'd Emperor in his Abſence at *Alexandria*, all the Army confirming it with extraordinary Applauſe, and paying their accuſtom'd Homage.

Veſpaſian *created Emperor by the* Eaſtern *Legions.*

About eight Days after this, *Veſpaſian*'s Army likewiſe proclaim'd him Emperor, and intreated him to accept of the Government, which he reſolutely refus'd upon many Accounts; which occaſion'd ſeveral ſecret Conferences between him and his Friends, to whom he urg'd the many Difficulties and Dangers that attended ſo great an Enterprize, particularly, *That in all Civil Diſſentions the Faith of Soldiers is perpetually wavering; therefore it would be indiſcreet, as well as diſhonourable, to hazard himſelf and his Reputation, to gain Empire at this Age. That Wars of this Nature require infinitely more Vigour and Reſolution than all others: For in private Enterprizes a Perſon may proceed and ſtop where he pleaſes; but in gaining a Crown, there is no Medium between the State of a Prince, and the Death of a*

*Traytor.* The more that *Vespasian* declin'd his own Promotion, and the Ambition of an Empire, the more his Lieutenants endeavour'd to confirm in him the *Facility of the Attempt, and the Duty incumbent upon him to free the State from an usurping Tyrant, and an Army of Robbers, not Soldiers.* Besides these private Counsels, *Mutianus* told him openly and in publick, *That the* Roman *State was now so miserably degenerated by means of its corrupt Governors, that after your atchieving so many glorious Exploits, you must expect no Safety; for how many renown'd Persons have of late been destroy'd, only because their Merits and Victories distinguished 'em from the Vulgar: So that formerly seeking the Empire might have been term'd Ambition and Treason; but now the Empire must be your only Refuge and Sanctuary. We rise not against* Augustus, *a Person of that profound Insight and Prudence, nor against the wary old Age of* Tiberius, *nor against the House of* Caligula, Claudius *and* Nero, *rooted by so many Descents into the Empire: You also gave place to the Antiquity of* Galba's *Family; but to sleep now, and to abandon the State, to be thus abominably polluted, and miserably ruin'd, is an unpardonable piece of Sloth and Cowardice; tho' your living in this Slavery, were always as safe as it is dishonourable. We are to meet an Enemy enervated with Licentiousness, Armies dissolv'd in Ease and Luxury, and the very March of our Forces will immediately disclose all the secret Distempers of the present Government: Nor do I rely more upon your Vigilance and Conduct, than upon the Stupidity and Cruelty of* Vitellius. *And more than all, this our Cause is far more justifiable in War than in Peace; for they who deliberate to rebel, have already rebell'd.* After this Speech, the rest came more boldly about him, exhorting and perswading him, and laying before him the Oracles and Prophecies, and the favourable Aspects of the Heavens; till finding all Ways ineffectual, his Soldiers forc'd and compell'd him with their drawn Swords, threatning him with immediate Death if he refus'd the Empire,

Empire, as *Joſephus* and ſome others teſtifie. Whereupon *Veſpaſian* took upon him the Imperial Authority, and ſhortly after all the Armies in the *Eaſt* came to his Obedience and Service; as likewiſe did thoſe of *Mœſia*, *Pannonia*, *Noricum* and *Dalmatia*. All things ſucceeding thus proſperouſly on *Veſpaſian*'s ſide, he call'd a Council of War, with *Mutianus*, *Alexander*, and his Son *Titus*; where it was decreed, that *Titus* ſhould continue the Wars againſt the *Jews*; that *Mutianus* with all poſſible Diligence, ſhould with the greateſt part of the Legions enter *Italy*; and that *Veſpaſian* ſhould go to *Alexandria* to make Proviſion from all Parts, and with a greater Power to paſs over into *Italy*, there to join *Mutianus*, as Occaſion ſhould require it: All which Deſigns were ſpeedily and diligently put in execution.

At the ſame time the *Mœſian* Legions hearing of *Mutianus*'s deſign'd Expedition, choſe *Antonius Primus* for their Commander, an excellent Soldier, who had been baniſh'd by *Nero*, and reſtor'd by *Galba*, and haſtned into *Italy* before *Mutianus* could arrive; either with Deſign of ſhewing their extraordinary Readineſs to ſerve *Veſpaſian*, or in hopes of getting the Plunder of that Country. Great Preparations on the Emperor's ſide were made againſt all theſe threatning Storms, and tho' he himſelf was ſo bury'd in Luxury, as to have but ſmall Concern for the Publick, yet his two chief Commanders, *Valens* and *Cæcinna*, at firſt us'd great Diligence and Expedition, both in oppoſing the coming down of *Antony* from *Mœſia*, and in preventing the landing of *Mutianus*, whom they expected ſhortly in *Italy*. But as *Antony* had already enter'd the *North-weſt* Parts of *Italy*, *Cæcinna* with the principal Forces of *Vitellius*, haſtened his March towards him, and arriv'd at *Cremona*, not far diſtant from the Enemy; but conſidering the Effeminacy of his Army, he hearkned to the friendly Advice ſent him by *Antony*, and perſuaded his Soldiers, *not to truſt*

*to the enfeebl'd Power of* Vitellius, *but to yield to the Merits of* Veſpaſian, *while they could do it with the greateſt Advantage and Security*. Whereupon with ſome Reluctancy, they ſwore Allegiance to *Veſpaſian*; but as this Action was inconſiderate, ſo was their Repentance ſudden, and their Indignation ſo violent, that they immediately impriſon'd their General as a Traytor, and exhorted *Antony* to embrace the Emperor's Quarrel. Notwithſtanding they were without a General in the Heat of their Fury they reſolv'd to engage the Enemy; and marching directly towards *Antony*, without a Leader, almoſt ſtarv'd with Hunger and Cold, they fell in with him about the third Hour of the Night, preſſing forwards with great Rage and Obſtinacy. *Antony* was ready to receive 'em, and the Fight continu'd all Night very doubtful and cruel, with great Slaughter ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on the other; and there could not be imagin'd a more dreadful Diſorder and Confuſion than at preſent, proceeding from the loud Outcries and Shreeks of the Souldiers, the uſeleſs Power of the Commanders, the ſmall hopes of Glory and the diſmal black Shades of the Night. This uncomfortable for both Parties, the Battel continu'd till the Morning, at which time they knew and talk'd with one another, intermitted the Fight, and gave Victuals to one another, and after their Repaſts ingag'd a ſecond time. But the Soldiers on *Antony*'s ſide ſaluting, according to their Cuſtom the Riſing Sun, the *Vitellians* immediately apprehended that *Mutianus* was arriv'd, and ſhortly after betook themſelves to flight to *Cremona*, loſing above 30000 Men. There freeing *Cæcinna* from his Impriſonment, they procur'd him to make their Peace; and the *Mæſian* Legions immediately after made ſeveral Attacks upon *Cremona*, and entring the Place, they laid it in Aſhes, uſing all imaginable Outrages and Barbarities, and having no regard to Age, Sex or Dignity.

*Vitellius*

*Vitellius* was wallowing in all manner of Luxury and Exceſs, when the News of this great Defeat was brought to him; at which he was ſo extreamly ſtartl'd and irreſolute, that he became deſpicable and ridiculous to all Men. But at laſt rouzing himſelf a little from his drowſie Life, and intoxicating Pleaſures, he order'd *Julius Priſcus*, and *Alphenus Varus*, with what Forces he cou'd procure, to guard the narrow Paſſage of the *Apennine* Mountains, and prevent *Antony*'s March to *Rome*, reſerving conſiderable Forces to ſecure the City under his Brother *Lucius*. At laſt through the Inſtant Importunities of his Army lying at *Mevania*, aſſuming a great Train of Senators, partly upon Suit, and principally upon Fear, he repair'd to his Camp irreſolute of himſelf, and obnoxious to all unfaithful Counſels. Nothing appear'd more ridiculous to the *Romans*, than to ſee their Prince and Commander without Skill in Arms, void of Direction and Counſel, demanding of others in what Order to march, what Diligence was requir'd for Diſcoveries, what Means was to be obſerv'd to carry on the War, and upon every flying Rumour fearful in Countenance, and trembling his Body, and beſides all, moſt commonly drunk. At length growing weary of his Camp, and underſtanding of the Revolt of his Fleet at *Miſenum*, he return'd to *Rome*, ever fearful of the laſt Blow, and always careleſs of the principal Concern. But his Fears daily increaſing, he thought of a Compoſition with *Veſpaſian*; and being offer'd by Letters from *Antony* and *Mutianus*, that if he wou'd peaceably reſign the Empire, his Life ſhou'd be granted him, and a Place and a Revenue ſufficient for his Maintenance; hereupon in *December*, he departed out of his Palace in deep Mourning, with his Servants all ſad and weeping about him, and his little Son carry'd in a ſmall Chair, as if it were to his Burial. All Perſons that had any Senſe of Human Inſtability, were mov'd at this Object, to ſee an Empe-

ror of *Rome*, just before Lord of the Universe, to abandon the Seat of his Command and Fortune, and to sink to nothing. *Tacitus* observes, that sudden Violence destroy'd *Julius Cæsar*, and secret Conspiracy *Caligula*; Night and the obscure Corner of a Country-House cover'd *Nero*'s Flight, *Piso* and *Galba* dy'd as it were in the Field, but *Vitellius* in the Assembly of his own People, and amidst his own Soldiers. Having utter'd some Words agreeable to his present Misfortune, *That he gave Place in regard of Peace, and the Good of the Republick, only desiring them to retain some Remembrance of him, and take pity of his Brother, his Wife, and young Children*; at length overcome with Tears, he offer'd his Sword to *Cæcilius* the Consul, surrendring thereby the Power of Life and Death over the Citizens. Which when the Consul refus'd to accept, he departed, protesting, *That he wou'd lay down all his Regalities in the Temple of* Concord, *and so as a private Man retire to his Brothers's House*; but being stopp'd by some who cry'd out, *That he himself was* Concord, he return'd, and not only protested that he retain'd his Sword, but that he also accepted of the Surname of *Concord*, and so repair'd to his Palace.

**Vitellius offers to resign the Empire.**

*Vitellius* the next Day taking Courage from the Promises and Protestations of the Soldiers and Citizens, chang'd his Determination; which extremely mov'd *Sabinus*, Governor of the City, as having been very forward in promoting the Resignation; and understanding that some of *Vitellius*'s Party came to murder him in his House, he by the Inducement of his Friends, with some Senators and *Equites*, seiz'd on the *Capitol*, and was immediately besieg'd by the *Vitellian* Soldiers; so that *Rome*, as well as *Italy*, now felt the fatal Miseries of Civil Contests. The next Morning the *Capitol* was assaulted with great Fury; but it being weakly provided, it was defended with no Courage nor Order: And as in such sudden Misfortunes it often happens, that all will direct and command,

command, and few will obey and execute; ſo by means of ill fighting, and worſe directing, after a bloody Conteſt, the *Capitol* was enter'd by Force, and by the Fury of the Soldiers, that glorious Edifice was laid in Aſhes; the moſt deplorable Misfortune, as *Tacitus* ſays, and the moſt deteſtable Accident that ever befel the *Roman* People ſince the City was founded. During this Combat and Conflagration *Vitellius* was feaſting in the Palace of *Tiberius*, and with great Pleaſure beheld all the Paſſages in that diſmal Spectacle. Young *Domitian*, Nephew to *Sabinus*, and Son to *Veſpaſian*, eſcap'd by Flight, in the Habit of a Prieſt, but all the reſt were put to the Sword, except *Sabinus*, whom the Soldiers took Priſoner, and ſhortly after executed him by the Command of *Vitellius*. Soon after the Death of *Sabinus*, *Vitellius*, underſtanding of *Antony*'s March towards *Rome*, and of *Mutianus*'s Arrival in *Italy*, he again began to ſeek for Peace, and ſent Letters and Meſſengers to *Antony* to beg for a Compoſure; and he grew ſo timerous and dejected, that he likewiſe ſent the Veſtal Virgins, as in a Caſe of the greateſt Extremity. But *Antony* being inrag'd at the Death of *Sabinus*, and the Deſtruction of the *Capitol*, wou'd hearken to no Treaty, nor come to any Compoſition, but continu'd his March even to the Walls of *Rome*, where the *Vitellian* Forces expected him, reſolutely determining to defend themſelves to the laſt. So there being both within and without, numerous Armies of the beſt Soldiers in the World, *Antony* attack'd the City on three ſides, and the *Vitellians* ſally'd out in as many; and there began at each of 'em the moſt cruel Battle that ever the *Romans* ſuſtain'd; the *Flavians* being elevated by their former Conqueſts, and the *Vitellians* ſupported by Fury and Deſpair. After the Battle had continu'd a whole Day, the latter were driven into the City, and a dreadful Slaughter of 'em made in the *Campus Martius*, and in all the Streets. The People ſtood by and look'd on

*The Capitol burnt the ſecond time.*

on as they fought; and as at ſome remarkable Game or Paſtime clapp'd their Hands, incouraging ſometimes one Party, and ſometimes the other, and when either Side turn'd their Backs, and hid themſelves in Houſes or Shops, they cry'd to have 'em pluck'd out and kill'd, and ſo gain'd themſelves the greateſt Part of the Prey: For while the Soldiers were buſily employ'd in Slaughter and Bloodſhed, the Spoil fell to the ſhare of the common People. They were now celebrating their *Saturnalia*; and rather than not enjoy the Pleaſures of the Feſtival, they converted the common Calamity into Mirth and Jollity, having a Reliſh in their greateſt Miſeries. Throughout the whole City there was both a barbarous and ſhameful Spectacle; and a ſcandalous mixture of Cruelty and Lewdneſs; in one place Slaying and Wounding, in another Tippling and Bathing; here ſtreams of Blood and heaps of mangled Bodies, and hard by lewd Debauchees, and ſhameleſs Strumpets; in ſum, all the abominable Licentiouſneſs of a moſt diſſolute and riotous Peace, and all the deplorable Miſeries of a moſt dreadful and cruel Captivity.

Rome *Sack'd*

Thus was this mighty City, the Head and Empreſs of the World, taken by her own natural Subjects; and as it was fatal to many Thouſands, ſo it was no leſs to *Vitellius* himſelf, who with great Fear and Confuſion, retir'd privately to his Wife's Houſe on Mount *Aventine*, deſigning to have fled that Night to *Tarracina* to his Brother, and the Cohorts there. But immediately changing his Mind, and as it happens to Men in extream Danger, fearing all Things, and moſt diſliking the preſent, he return'd again to his Palace, now void and deſolate, even his baſeſt and meaneſt Servants being either fled away, or elſe purpoſely avoiding his Preſence. This unuſual Silence and Solitarineſs extreamly aſtoniſh'd him; and after much ſorrowful Wandering and Wearineſs, he caſt himſelf into an obſcure cloſe Corner, from whence

whence he was ſoon after pluckt out, by a Party of the conquering Side. To whom he pretended he had Secrets of the higheſt Importance to diſcover to *Veſpaſian*, and very ſervilely begg'd 'em to keep him, tho' in Priſon, till his Arrival at *Rome*. But all was in vain, for without attending any further Determination or Counſel, they bound his Hands behind him, throwing a Halter about his Neck, and tearing his very Cloaths off his Back, they drag'd him half naked into the Publick *Forum*, through the main Street call'd *Via Sacra*, upbraiding him all the time with a thouſand opprobrious Words, and treating him with all imaginable Indignities, tying his Hair backward, as is uſual to the moſt execrable Malefactors, and holding the Point of a Sword under his Chin, leſt by bending down his Head he might prevent the ſhewing his Face: Some pelted him with Dung and Filth, others revil'd him with his Gluttony, and his vaſt Diſh, others call'd him Incendiary, and others reproach'd him with the Imperfections of his Body, as being of an enormous Tallneſs, having a fiery red Face, a prodigious Belly, and a diſtorted Thigh; till at length they brought him to the *Gemoniæ*, and kill'd him with many Strokes and Wounds; from whence they dragg'd him with a Hook, and with all poſſible Ignominy threw him into the *Tiber*. This was the diſgraceful End of *Vitellius*, the Ninth Emperor of *Rome*, in the 57*th* Year of his Age, after a ſhort Reign of eight Months and five Days, tho' *Suetonius* ſeems to aſcribe a longer Reign to him; a Reign which, together with that of his two Predeceſſors, *Galba* and *Otho*, makes not much above eighteen Months; which occaſion'd ſome Writers not to put 'em into the Catalogue of Emperors, and *Plutarch* to compare 'em to Kings in Tragedies, who laſt no longer than the time that they appear upon the Stage. The Death of this Emperor was accompany'd with that of his Brother *Lucius Vitellius*, and his only Son which

Vitellius *ſlain.*

which may be ſaid to be an Addition to the Puniſhment of this Uſurper and Tyrant; a Perſon whoſe Life was moſt impious, whoſe Advancement was moſt Villanous, whoſe Adminiſtration was moſt Odious, and whoſe Death was moſt Ignominious.

## CHAP. V.

*From the Death of* VITELLIUS, *to the Death of* VESPASIAN, *the Tenth Emperor; who reſtor'd the Empire in a great meaſure to its former Glory.*

*Containing the Space of about Ten* YEARS.

*A. D.* 70. I. THE Death of *Vitellius*, and the overthrow of his Party, rather finiſh'd the War than began a real Peace. For the Conquerors purſu'd their Enemies throughout the City with implacable Hatred and Fury; the Streets were inhumanly pav'd with dead Carcaſſes, the ſacred Temples and publick Places diſmally imbru'd with Blood; every Man lying ſlain where it was his Fortune to be overtaken, without diſtinction of Place or Perſon: And Licentiouſneſs increaſing, they began to ſearch Houſes, and drag out ſuch as were hid, maſſacring all Soldiers, and all others whom they ignorantly or maliciouſly accounted ſuch; ſatiating themſelves while their Choler continu'd freſh with nothing but Blood and Deſtruction. But as the Heat of their Rage and Fury was aſſwag'd, they converted their Cruelty into Covetouſneſs; ſuffering no Cloſet to eſcape unriſl'd, nor no ſecret Place unſearch'd, pretending that, the *Vitellians* were conceal'd there; which was a ſpecious Pretence of breaking open all Houſes; and if Reſiſtance were made, a fair Occaſion of new Maſſacres. Be-

Beſides the Soldiers, the Mob and beggarly Scum of the People, now with the foremoſt, grew triumphant in Plundering and Villanies; ſome of the lewdeſt Bond-men voluntarily diſcover'd their wealthy Maſters; ſome were detected by their neareſt Friends; dreadful Lamentations and Outcries were heard in every Street, and the City appeared as a Place expos'd and abandon'd to the furious Ravages of a mercileſs Enemy: Inſomuch that the Inſolencies occaſion'd by the riotous Soldiers of *Otho* and *Vitellius*, ſo much deteſted before, were now accounted inconſiderable Evils, comparatively with the preſent Calamities. Among many Perſons of the higheſt Rank, the late Emperor's Brother *Lucius* was put to Death; a Perſon in Vices equal to his Brother, yet far more vigilant in his Reign; and not ſo much Partaker with him in his Proſperity, as violently carry'd away with the Current of his Adverſity. But ſhortly after, at the Arrival of *Mutianus* to the City, and the Return of *Domitian*, who had abſconded ſince the Death of his Uncle *Sabinus*, and the burning of the *Capitol* the Murders and Ravages in the City ceas'd, and there began ſome Order to appear in the State.

Veſpaſian *made Emperor.*

The Senate was aſſembled, and *Veſpaſian* declar'd Emperor by the unanimous Conſent of all, the *Lex Regia* being renew'd to him in particular; and the ſame Power which *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius* and the reſt enjoy'd, was confirm'd to him as Hereditary. A Fragment of this Law is ſtill extant; which, by reaſon of its ſhewing the Extent of the Authority of *Veſpaſian*, and all other Emperors, I have here inſerted as follows: *Let it be lawful for him to make a League with whom he pleaſes, as it was lawful to* Divus Auguſtus, Tiberius Julius Cæſar Auguſtus, *and* Tib. Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus, *&c. As alſo to hold the Senate, make Report, diſmiſs, and make* Senatuſconſulta *by Reporting and Separation, as it was lawful*

*ſul to* Divus Auguſtus, Tiberius Ju. Cæſar Auguſtus, *and* Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus. *Moreover, when as by his Will, Authority, Command, or Mandate, or he being preſent, the Senate ſhall be aſſembled, it ſhall be as effectual, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if the Senate had been aſſembled or held by Law. Moreover, whomſoever he ſhall commend to the* Roman *Senate or People, that ſtand for any Magiſtracy, Power, Command, or Charge, or to whomſoever he ſhall give or promiſe his Suffrage, let him be conſider'd beyond the uſual Form in the* Comitia. *As alſo it may be lawful for him to inlarge the* Pomærium, *if he think it convenient for the Commonwealth, or agreeable to the Majeſty of all Things Divine or Humane, Publick or Private, let him have Right and Authority to act and do, ſo as it was lawful for* Divus Auguſtus, Tiberius Ju. Cæſar Auguſtus, *and* Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus. *Moreover, from ſuch Laws and* Plebiſcita, *as it was Ordain'd, that* Divus Auguſtus, Tiberius Ju. Cæſar Auguſtus, *and* Tib. Claudius Cæſar Aug. Germanicus *ſhou'd be freed from thoſe Laws and* Plebiſcita, *let the Emperor* Cæſar Veſpaſian *be freed. And what Things ſoever, by what Law or* Rogatio *ſoever,* Divus Auguſtus, Tiberius Ju. Cæſar Auguſtus, *and* Tib. Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus *ought to do, let it be lawful for the Emperor* Cæſar Veſpaſian Auguſtus *to do them all. Moreover, what Things ſoever that before the* Rogatio *of this Law were acted, done, decreed or commanded by the Emperor* Cæſar Veſpaſian Auguſtus, *or by any other, by virtue of his Command or Mandate, let them be held as Juſt and Valid, as if they had been done by Command of the People or Commons.* After which follows the *Sanction* in theſe Words. *If any Perſon by Virtue of this Law has done, or ſhall do any thing againſt the Laws,* Rogationes, Plebiſcita, *or* Senatuſconſulta, *or ſhall not do what he ought to have done according to any Law,* Rogatio, Plebiſcitum, *or* Senatuſconſultum, *and that by Virtue of this Law, let no Damage from thence happen to him; neither let him*

*owe*

*owe any thing to the People for this Matter, nor let any have an Action againſt him, nor let any Perſon judge him, nor permit the Matter to be debated before him.* Many Couriers were immediately diſpatch'd to *Veſpaſian*, now at *Alexandria*, in *Egypt*, to yeild Obedience to him in behalf of the Senate, and to deſire his return to *Rome*; but the Winter being dangerous for ſailing, he deferr'd his Voyage to a more convenient Seaſon.

The Civil Miſeries of *Rome* it ſelf were now at an End, but ſuch violent Commotions were rais'd in *Gaul* and *Germany*, as extreamly endanger'd the Peace and Safety of the Empire. Theſe were firſt occaſion'd before the Death of *Vitellius*, by the crafty Inſtigations of *Claudius Civilis*, a Perſon of great Deſigns, and of as great Reputation among his Countrymen the *Batavians* in the Lower *Germany*, who having been ſent in Chains to *Nero*, and freed by *Galba*, came into Danger under *Vitellius*, the Army inſtantly demanding his Death. Beſides his Countrymen, now the Inhabitants of *Holland*, he excited his Neighbours the *Caninefates* to this Rebellion; and by ſecret Meſſages, and large Promiſes drew over the Auxiliaries of *Britain*, and the *Batavian* Cohorts, then quarter'd at *Moguntiacum*, now *Mentz*. Theſe drew out and deſtroy'd the *Roman* Garriſons, overthrew *Aquilius*, Captain of the advanc'd Guards; and after him *Mummius Lupercus* the Lieutenant, *Herennius Gallus* endeavouring to prevent the March of theſe Cohorts, was likewiſe overpower'd by 'em; and as *Vitellius* had drein'd theſe Parts of Soldiers againſt *Otho* and *Veſpaſian*, *Civilis* for a time met with but a ſmall Reſiſtance. Having gather'd together a conſiderable Force, for a more colourable Pretence he caus'd his Army to ſwear to *Veſpaſian*, and beſieg'd ſuch as refus'd in the old Camp; after which the *Romans* mutinying againſt *Hordonius* their General, the Command was given to *Vocula*, an eminent Soldier, and *Herennius Gallus* was

was made his Lieutenant, *Vocula* in his first Engagement with *Civilis* was oblig'd to retreat, but in a second he overthrew him, tho' without any prospect of finishing the War; for the News of *Vitellius*'s Death through *Gaul* and *Germany* increas'd the Disorders and Commotions in all Parts. And now *Civilis*, without any pretence of Friendship to *Vespasian*, by his Deportment shew'd himself an Enemy to the *Romans* in general; and the Soldiers of *Vitellius*, by reason of their ill Actions, rather chose an external Servitude, than the Government of *Vespasian*: The *Gauls* likewise took new Courage and Resolution, interpreting the Burning of the *Capitol* to presage the Ruin and Destruction of the Empire. Whereupon the *Treviri*, and the *Lingones*, two considerable Nations revolted, and all *Gaul* was in a tottering and unsettl'd Condition; and what still prov'd more dangerous, the Legions themselves were corrupted, and became Traytors to their Country, a Thing unknown till now among the *Romans*. Having murder'd *Vocula* their General, they perfidiously took an Oath to the Empire of *Gaul*; and to these other Legions in several Places join'd themselves, some being besieg'd, reduc'd to Extremity, and afterwards cut in Pieces by *Civilis*, according to their Deserts. And these Disturbances increasing, *Julius Sabinus*, one of the Revolters, taking upon him the Name of *Cæsar*, led a numerous and disorderly Body of Men against the *Sequani*, who not refusing Battle, routed the confus'd Multitude, and put *Sabinus* to flight.

These dangerous Disturbances being reported at *Rome* with Enlargements, the Senate were in a great Consternation, and *Lutianus* had no less Concern upon him, who together with *Vespasian*'s Son *Domitian* set forward for the War, which great Celerity dispatching four Legions towards *Germany*, under the Command of *Petilius Cerealis*. By which time the *Gauls*, principally by the Mean of *Julius Vindex*, began

began to consider and reflect on the mighty Power of the *Romans*, and at length approv'd rather of a servile Peace, than a dangerous and fatal War; *Cerealis* also gave the *Treviri* a great Overthrow, and most of the Revolters return'd to Obedience. Shortly after which, he came to a general Battel with *Civilis*, and his Associate *Classicus*; in the Beginning of which he was much overpower'd, for the Legions began to be broken, the Cavalry were put to Flight, and his Bridge over the River *Mosella* possess'd by the Enemy; yet after all these great Disadvantages, *Cerealis* by his extraordinary Care and Diligence recover'd all; and not only routed the Enemy, but also took and destroy'd their Camp. *Mutianus* and *Domitian* receiv'd News of this Success before their Arrival at the *Alps*, and *Mutianus* disswaded the other against proceeding in their March, well knowing his ambitious and haughty Temper, which already had disclos'd it self to the disquieting of the City; but his Advice not succeeding, he went with him as far as *Lyons*, out of Compliance, from whence, as it is said, *Domitian* wrote privately to *Cerealis*, to deliver up his Army to him, that he might have an Opportunity of rebelling against his Father, or of rivalling his Brother *Titus*. But perceiving that he was contemn'd upon the account of his Youth, he carefully betook himself to such Courses as might best conceal his Designs. Shortly after *Civilis* recruited and augmented his Forces throughout *Germany*, and *Cerealis* also doubled his Strength; whereupon several engagements ensu'd, the effects of which was at last an Accommodation. For the *Batavians* were so severely chastis'd, that they gladly accepted of a Peace, as well as *Civilis* of a Pardon, both of which were freely offer'd by the *Roman* General.

*The first Eruption of the Northern Nations.*

During the time of these violent Commotions in *Germany* and *Gaul*, those *Scythians* call'd *Sarmatæ* suddenly pass'd the River *Ister* into *Mœsia*, and pursu'd

their March with ſo much Celerity and Fury, that they deſtroy'd ſeveral of the *Roman* Garriſons, together with *Fonteius Agrippa* the Lieutenant, after a valiant Reſiſtance, and waſted all the adjacent Countries with Fire and Sword. *Veſpaſian* hearing of this at *Alexandria*, and the Ravages made in *Mæſia*, ſent *Rubrius Gallus* to ſtem this furious Torrent, by whom great Numbers were ſlain in Battel, and the reſt driven with great Terror into their own Country. The War being thus ſpeedily finiſh'd, the General, to prevent any further Attempts, fortify'd the Places with ſtronger Garriſons and Forts, by which Means the Enemies Paſſage became more impracticable. Theſe firſt Erruptions of the barbarous Northern Nations ought the more to be noted and obſerv'd, becauſe after ſome Ages they over-ran and deſtroy'd the *Roman* Empire.

*Veſpaſian* continu'd ſeveral Months at *Alexandria*, where he receiv'd great Honours and Offers of Forces from many Foreign Potentates, and during his Stay in that Place, this remarkable Accident is related of him by the beſt Authors. A blind and a lame Man, of mean Condition, and of the vulgar Rank, preſenting themſelves to him as he ſat upon his Tribunal, beſeech'd him moſt humbly, *That he wou'd vouchſafe to cure 'em, for they had been admoniſh'd by their God* Serapis *in a Dream, that if he pleas'd but to Spit upon the Eyes of one, and but touch the other with his Heel, both of 'em ſhou'd recover and be cured. Veſpaſian* doubting much of the Succeſs, durſt not put it in Practice; till being over-rul'd by the Importunities and Perſwaſions of his Friend, he try'd both Means before the whole Aſſembly, and found the Perſons effectually cur'd. Before his Voyage to *Rome* he order'd his Son *Titus* to continue the Wars againſt the *Jews*, well knowing his extraordinary Skill and Valour; and ſetting Sail from *Alexandria*, he touch'd at *Rhodes*, and from thence paſſing to *Greece*, he ho-

honour'd ſeveral Cities there with his Preſence, ſailing from thence to *Italy*. Never any Prince in the World was more zealouſly expected, or more triumphantly receiv'd, than *Veſpaſian*; all rightly judging Him to be a Perſon of thoſe Virtues and Excellencies as might beſt recover the languiſhing State of the *Roman* Empire. He was met many Miles from *Rome* by the Senate and Nobility of the City, and by above half the Citizens, who were ſo deſirous of ſeeing him, that they could not contain themſelves in the City-Walls, ſuch tranſports of Joy appear'd in every Man's Face. The reſt receiv'd him at his Entrance with their Wives and all their Children; and he was all the way entertain'd with joyful Applauſes, and loud Acclamations, reſounding at once from many hundred thouſand Mouths, and calling him their *Benefactor and Conſerver*, and *the only Perſon worthy to be Emperor of the World!* The whole City, as a Temple was all hung with magnificent Garlands, and full of precious Odours and Perfumes; and the infinite Throngs and Multitudes of People were ſuch, that the Emperor with great Difficulty arriv'd at the Palace. The whole Body of the People were feaſted by their Tribes, Kindreds, and Neighbours, and ſacrificing to their Gods, they requeſted, *That* Veſpaſian *might continue their Emperor many Years, and his Son* Titus *after him, and that the Empire might never depart from his Family.* And *Veſpaſian*, now fifty nine Years of Age, began immediately to act conformably to the Hopes all Men had conceiv'd of him, in adminiſtring Juſtice, in reforming the Laws and Cuſtoms of *Rome*, honourably rewarding thoſe who had ſerv'd him, and pardoning his Adverſaries with ſingular Clemency.

*The Miſeries of the Jews.*

In the mean time *Titus* in *Judæa* carried on the Wars againſt the *Jews*, who eſteeming themſelves the Favourites of Heaven, notwithſtanding in a deplorable Manner languiſh'd under all the Miſeries and Calamities which poſſibly could befall Mankind;

and, as our Bleſſed Saviour told his Diſciples, *ſuch as never hapned from the Creation of the World to that time, nor never ſhould again.* Famines, Plagues, Earthquakes, Prodigies in Heaven and Earth, Voices, Armies fighting in the Air, and a Flaming Sword hanging over *Jeruſalem*, were ſo many fatal Preſages of the Deſtruction of that glorious City and Temple now threatned by the *Roman* Eagles: And certainly there never was a more ſignal Inſtance of a ſevere Viſitation from Heaven upon a People, who by their obſtinate Blindneſs and Impieties, had made themſelves moſt miſerable Objects of Divine Wrath, and fully ripen'd themſelves for Vengeance. Before *Titus*'s Expedition againſt *Jeruſalem*, the *Jews* were grievouſly embroil'd in Factions and Diſſentions, deſtroying and robbing one another in all Parts; at length great Numbers turning open Robbers, they gather'd together in whole Troops, committing ſuch Ravages and Cruelties, as equall'd all the Misfortunes they receiv'd from the *Romans*. Afterwards the Robbers, loaden with Pillage and Plunder, broke into *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, where they not only conſum'd the Proviſions of the People, but fill'd the City with miſerable Slaughters, Rapines, and Diſſentions. They caſt the Principal of the Citizens into Priſon, and then put 'em to Death unheard; pretending that they deſign'd to have betray'd the City to the *Romans*; yet after all theſe horrid Impieties, they boaſted of Zeal for the Law of God, and the Cuſtoms of their Country, and thereupon were term'd *Zealots*. Finding the People were ready to oppoſe 'em with Arms, they retir'd to the Temple, where they made an ignorant Fellow call'd *Phanias* High-Prieſt, tho' he was not of the Sacerdotal Order; but they were ſharply reſiſted by *Ananus* the High Prieſt, who procur'd the People to riſe againſt 'em, and forc'd 'em into the inward Part of the Temple. Upon which Exigency they ſent to the *Idumæans*, accuſing *Ananus* of *wickedly deſigning*

*ſigning the betraying of his Country*, and imploring their Aſſiſtance, *ſince they themſelves, who fought for the Liberty of it, were now cloſely beſieg'd.* The *Idumæans* immediately came to the Number of Twenty thouſand Men, who being let into the City by Means of the *Zealots*, together with them committed moſt inſupportable Outrages againſt the miſerable Inhabitants. They maſſacred eight thouſand the firſt Night, and afterwards twelve thouſand of the Nobility, among whom was *Ananus*, beſides an infinite Number of the common Sort; but at length the *Idumæans* perceiving the Impieties of the *Zealots*, and that they had falſly accus'd the Nobility, ſet at liberty two thouſand whom they had impriſon'd, and return'd home. After whoſe Departure, the Zealots renew'd their Rapines and Slaughters, and rag'd more cruelly than ever, eſpecially againſt ſuch as endeavour'd to fly to the *Romans*.

But ſhortly after the *Zealots* were divided among themſelves, by reaſon of one *John*, who with a Seditious Party holding *Giſcala*, pretended to accept of thoſe Articles granted by *Titus*, and privately retir'd to *Jeruſalem*. There joining with the *Zealots*, and becoming the principal Incendiary, he now affected Sovereign Power over the reſt, but was violently oppos'd by ſuch as before had been his Equals. Yet tho' they diſagreed in this Matter, they all accorded in plundering the People; and *Jeruſalem* being thus fill'd with Tumults and Diſturbances, thoſe who were without the City had liberty to rob and pillage, and thoſe whoſe Towns were deſtroy'd by theſe Means, aſſembled together in the Deſarts, and uniting, broke into other Temples and Towns; ſo that there was no Place in *Judæa* which did not ſuffer in a moſt unheard of manner. In a ſhort time a new Faction was rais'd againſt the *Zealots* by one *Simon* the Son of *Giora*, who gathering together great Multitudes of Robbers and Murderers who were got

into the Mountainous Parts. attack'd many Cities and Towns, reduc'd all *Idumæa* into his Power, wasted *Judæa*, encamp'd himself before *Jerusalem* it self, and became a mighty Terror to the Inhabitants, who were most miserably oppress'd by the *Zealots* within. In the mean time such *Idumæans* as had lately fled into the City, and join'd themselves with the *Zealots*, detesting the Cruelties of *John*, whom the *Zealots* had chosen for their Commander, oppos'd his Proceedings, kill'd many of his Men, and forc'd the Tyrant out of his Palace into the Temple; but the Citizens fearing that he might destroy the City in the Night, agreed to let in *Simon* with his Army, who entring the City, vigorously attack'd the Temple, but in vain. Immediately after *Eleazer*, who once had been chief among the *Zealots*, envying the new Authority of *John*, found Means to draw over many of his Soldiers to him, and seiz'd on the inward Part of the Temple; so that now a third Faction was rais'd, and *John* was oblig'd to fight both against *Simon* and *Eleazer*. By which Means the Temple and Altar were abominably polluted with Blood, all Things about it were burnt up, and Provisions destroy'd, which might have serv'd the City for many Years, and for want of which it suffer'd so extreamly in a short time after. So that, that renown'd City which was formerly celebrated for Peace and Unity within it self, now became the Place of all imaginable Divisions, Distractions and Confusion.

Titus's *Acts against the* Jews.

*Jerusalem* was involv'd in all these miserable Calamities, when *Titus* with a powerful Army approach'd the Place to Invest it, being accompany'd with *Alexander* Governor of *Ægypt*, and *Josephus* the *Jew*, who for the Truth of his Prediction was now freed from his Imprisonment. *Titus* sat down within six or seven Furlongs of the City, a short time before the *Feast of the Passover*, and shut up an infinite Multitude of People, who according to the Custom came

came from all Parts to that great Solemnity; by which Means all Proviſions were conſum'd in a ſhort Space. The Three Factions, upon the ſight of this numerous Army, unanimouſly agreed to oppoſe it, and ſallying out with great Reſolution and Fury, put the *Romans* to diſorder, oblig'd 'em to abandon their Camp, and fly to the Mountains; but the *Jews* were at laſt repell'd, and forc'd into the City by the extraordinary Skill and Valour of *Titus*, who highly ſignaliz'd himſelf in this and all others Actions in the Siege. During all Intermiſſions of the Beſiegers Attacks, the Civil Conteſts were reviv'd within the City with great Slaughters and Confuſions; and upon the *Feaſt of Unleavened Bread*, on the Fourteenth of *April*, *Eleazer* and his Companions open'd the Gates, that all Perſons might have Liberty to pay their Devotions in the Temple. But *John* us'd this Feſtival as a Means to effect his treacherous Deſigns, cauſing great Numbers of his Aſſociates to enter in among the People with Weapons under their Garments, to get Poſſeſſion of the Temple; who as ſoon as they were enter'd caſt off their Garments, and ſhew'd themſelves in Armour. Immediately a dreadful Tumult aroſe in the Temple; for all the People who were not of the Sedition thought themſelves Betray'd, and the *Zealots* imagining this Treaſon only practis'd to prejudice them, abandon'd their Poſt, leap'd from the Towers, and fled into the Vaults about the Temple: And the People flocking about the Altar, and others who were driven into the Temple, were kill'd with Clubs and Swords, and trodden under Foot after a barbarous Manner. Great Numbers were ſlain upon private Reſentments, and all ſuch as had formerly offended theſe Traitors were deſtroy'd without Mercy; but they who cruelly rag'd againſt the Innocent, gave the Offenders leiſure to eſcape out of their Vaults, by which Means they gain'd the inward Part of the Temple, and with great Slaughter

assaulted the other Parties; so that at length the Factions were reduc'd to Two, that under *John* consisting of 8400, and the other under *Simon* of 10000 fighting Men, besides 5000 *Idumæans*. Notwithstanding the Enemy was at the Walls, and to oppose them they generally join'd their Forces; yet upon all Intermissions they violenrly rag'd against each other, and both against the Citizens; so that never any City in the World was more severely haras's'd without, and more miserably torn within.

The City being strongly fortify'd with three Walls on every side, except where it was fenc'd with deep Vallies, *Titus* found great Difficulties in the Siege, but having with much Opposition plac'd his Engines, he batter'd the outward Wall, and breaking in on the third Day of *May* possess'd all the *North* Part, as far as the Tower of *Antonius*, and the Valley of *Cedron*. All this time he shew'd great Clemency to the *Jews*, and gave 'em all imaginable Assurances of Pardon and civil Treatment if they wou'd submit; but so obstinate were the *Jews*, that they refus'd all Conditions, and judg'd his generous Humanity to be nothing but Cowardice. This exasperated the *Romans* to proceed with the greater Fierceness and Severity; so that God and Man, Heaven and Earth seem'd to fight against this wretched Nation. Five Days after *Titus* broke through the second Wall, tho' the Besieged made divers Sallies, and drove him out again; yet on the fourth Day he recover'd the Place, and prepar'd for the Battery of the third Wall. After which he sent *Josephus* to his Country-men to exhort 'em to yield, who using all the powerful and pathetical Perswasions imaginable, was entertain'd only with Scoffs and Reproaches, so that now *Titus* resolv'd to shew new Mercy to a People who had been perfidious and Rebellious to the highest Degree, and now stubborn and remorseless beyond all Example and Belief, The Citizens designing

ſigning to eſcape out of the City, *John* and *Simon* ſtopp'd up all Paſſages; yet the Famine increaſing, great Numbers ſtole out, who being taken by *Titus*, he caus'd them to be all crucify'd, inſomuch that Room was wanting for Croſſes, and Croſſes for Perſons. On the 12*th* of *May*, *Titus* began four Mounts for his Battering-Rams; two nigh the Caſtle *Antonia*, where he was in hopes of taking the Temple, and two nigh the Monument of *John* the High-Prieſt, where he ſuppos'd he might break into the upper Part of the City with greateſt Facility. But *John*, whoſe Office was to oppoſe the *Romans* about the Caſtle *Antonia*, with great Bravery ſally'd out, caſt down the Ramparts, and deſtroy'd 'em; and two Days after *Simon* with as much Courage burnt up the other, tho' ſeventeen Days had been ſpent in finiſhing 'em all. He likewiſe deſtroy'd many Rams and Engines, and courageouſly preſſing forward broke into the very Camp of the *Romans*; but was valiantly repuls'd by *Titus*, from *Antonia*, who in a Council of War now reſolv'd to compaſs the whole City with a Trench, which with incredible Diligence and Celerity, was finiſh'd in three Days, with thirteen Forts both to hinder the Flight of the Beſieged, and to prevent all Relief coming into the City from abroad.

The Seditious ſeem'd nothing mov'd at this, tho' the Famine not only rag'd among the common Sort, but likewiſe began to afflict them; and ſuch a Mortality enſu'd, that from the 14*th* of *April*, to the firſt of *July* 115080 Carcaſſes of the poorer Sort, were carry'd out to be bury'd at the publick Charge, as *Titus* was inform'd by one *Mannæus*, who was appointed to pay the Money. Divers Noble Men alſo that fled to him, certify'd him that 600000 of the ordinary Rank were caſt dead out of the Gates, and others who dy'd beſides were innumerable; and that when ſo many dy'd as they were not able to bury 'em, they gather'd their Bodies together into the greateſt

greateſt Houſes adjoining, and there ſhut 'em up. A Buſhel of Corn was ſold for 600 Crowns, Sinks and Holes were continually rak'd to find the old Dung of Oxen to ſatisfy Peoples Hunger, which extreamly mov'd the Compaſſion of *Titus* and the *Romans*, but the Minds of the Seditious were not at all chang'd For *Simon*, notwithſtanding theſe deplorable Calamities, continuing his Rapines and Murders, kill'd *Matthias* the High-Prieſt, by whom he had Entrance into the City, with his three Sons, and ſixteen others, pretending that they deſign'd to fly to the Enemy. Whereupon *Judas* one of his Officers being tired out with his inſupportable Cruelties, attempted to betray a certain Tower to the *Romans* where he commanded; but being diſcover'd by an Accident, he was put to Death with ten others of his Accomplices. *John* alſo being driven by extream Neceſſity, converted the Golden Veſſels of the Temple with the ſacred Money to prophane Uſes; and was conſtrain'd to divide the Wine and Oyl, ordain'd for Sacrifices, among his Soldiers. The Famine rag'd ſo extreamly, that a Noble Woman boyl'd her own Child to eat it; which was look'd upon ſo deteſtable an Act among the *Romans*, as well as the *Jews*, that *Titus*, after he inſiſted upon his frequent Offers of Peace and Pardon to the *Jews*, declar'd, *That he would bury that abominable Crime in the Ruins of their Country*, He cut down all the Groves within a conſiderable diſtance of the City, and cauſing more Mounts to be rais'd within 21 Days, on the firſt of *July* he began to batter the laſt Wall, and repelling *John* and his Party, on the fifth Day enter'd the Caſtle by force. At which time many falſe Prophets deluded the Multitude, by telling 'em, *They ſhou'd have Aſſiſtance from God*; and therefore tho' *Titus* ſtill exhorted 'em to yield, they obſtinately refus'd all Accommodation, boaſting, that they *had rather endure all kinds of Miſeries*. Whereupon the Conteſt grew very bloody about the Temple-

but

but the Wall of the inward Part was too ſtrong for the battering Rams, and the Defendants valiantly reſiſted the *Romans* from the Top; neither could the Foundation of the Gates be undermin'd; therefore *Titus* was oblig'd to ſet 'em on fire. Yet it was his Reſolution to ſave the Temple; but on the tenth of *Auguſt*, a certain Soldier, againſt the Command of his General, excited by ſome divine Fury, caſt Fire into the Buildings on the *North* ſide, which catching hold of the Temple, notwithſtanding the utmoſt Endeavours of *Titus* to the contrary, the triumphant Flames conſum'd that Edifice, which was the moſt glorious and moſt beautiful that the World ever ſaw.

The ſight of this extream Misfortune, put a ſudden Damp to all the Courage and Fury of the *Jews*, now neither eſteeming their Lives nor Forces, having loſt that for which they fought: The loud Outcries, and miſerable Lamentation of the People eccho'd from all the adjacent Mountains; and many famiſh'd and expiring Perſons, whoſe Eyes Death had already clos'd, reaſſum'd new Strength, and open'd their Eyes to bewail the glorious Temple, which they now beheld all in Flames. *Titus* was immediately ſaluted *Imperator* by his Soldiers, and the Seditious fled into the City; where they deſir'd a Parly with the General himſelf, who highly blam'd 'em for their Obſtinacy, but promis'd them their Lives upon immediate Submiſſion. But refuſing to rely upon his Promiſes, they demanded Liberty to depart the City with their Wives and Children; which ſo extreamly enrag'd *Titus*, that he commanded it to be proclaim'd by a Cryer, *That they were not any longer to expect any Mercy*. Whereupon he permitted his Soldiers to plunder and burn the City; but the Seditious Tyrants retir'd to the King's Palace, where many had depoſited their Wealth, and from thence repell'd the *Romans*. They likewiſe kill'd 6400 of their own Countrymen, and rifling the Money, betook themſelves to the

upper

upper and ſtronger Part of the City, call'd *Sion*, where notwithſtanding theſe imminent Calamities, they ſtill more cruelly tyranniz'd. *Titus* having conſider'd the Strength of the Place, provided Engines to batter the Walls, part of which being broken down, the Tyrants were ſeiz'd with great Fear and Conſternation, not knowing how to proceed: And the Power of Heaven appear'd in the overthrow of theſe Wretches; for they abandon'd their Towers, which were their only Strength, and in vain ſought to eſcape by hiding themſelves in Vaults and Privies; from whence *John* and *Simon* were drag'd, the former being condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment, and the other reſerv'd for a Triumph. The reſt were all put to the Sword, and *Titus* commanded both the Temple and City to be intirely raz'd, by a Plow being brought over it, according to the ancient Cuſtom, which remarkably accompliſh'd our Saviour's Prophecies, *That not one Stone ſhou'd remain upon another*; only he preſerv'd the *Weſt*-Part of the Wall with three Towers, which for their Strength and Beauty, might bear Teſtimony of the Statelineſs of the City to Poſterity. The Soldiers wou'd have crown'd him as a Conqueror for this Act, and upon the Account of his extraordinary Valour in the Siege; but he refus'd the Honour, denying he was the Author of it, *for he only executed the Deſigns of Heaven, which had manifeſtly declared its Wrath againſt the* Jews. To this fatal End came the famous City of *Jeruſalem*, after it had flouriſh'd under God's own Hand above 2100 Years, in the Second Year of *Veſpaſian*'s Reign, 38 Years after our Saviour's Crucifixion; and never any Siege in the World was more memorable, the Captives amounting to 97000, and thoſe who periſh'd in the Siege 1100000, according to *Joſephus*. So heavy was the Guilt of our Saviour's Blood upon the *Jews*, and ſo abominable were their Vices, that we have reaſon to agree with that Author, who believ'd, That if the

*The Total Deſtruction of Jeruſalem.*

*A. D.* 71.

the *Romans* had not come againſt them, the City wou'd have been ſwallow'd up by the Earth, or have periſh'd by ſome Deluge, or elſe by Thunder-Bolts and Lightnings, have born the Puniſhments of *Sodom*, whoſe Inhabitants they exceeded in Wickedneſs. Here ended the temporal State and Government of the *Jews*; and that Province, which had been govern'd by the *Romans* as their Friends, and in a great meaſure free, was now made Captives; and the *Jews* themſelves were made Slaves, baniſh'd, ſold, and diſpers'd throughout all the Parts of the World.

The War being thus finiſh'd, great Rejoycings were made at *Rome*, and all Mens Mouths were fill'd with the Praiſes of *Titus*, who not only had ſhewn himſelf a moſt expert Commander, but likewiſe had ſlain twelve Men with his own Hands; and a Triumph was decreed by the Senate, both to him and his Father, becauſe the beginning of the *Jewiſh* War had been ſo worthily manag'd by him. Therefore *Titus* leaving all things in good Order in the *Eaſt*, he return'd to *Rome*, being receiv'd with the univerſal Applauſes of the whole City, and within a few Days after, both the Father and Son enter'd upon their Triumph, which was as ſolemn and magnificent as *Rome* ever ſaw. For the Spectacles there exhibited, both for Number, Variety, and Richneſs, were admirable in all things which Human Invention could poſſibly ſupply; and almoſt all things that ever were eſteem'd valuable or beautiful among Men, abounding in Riches and Proſperity, were that Day expos'd in the Triumph; largely manifeſting the mighty Wealth and Dominions of the *Romans*. Among the rich Spoils, were expos'd vaſt quantities of Gold taken out of the Temple; after which was carry'd the *Jews* Law, the laſt, and not the leaſt remarkable of all the Spoils. This was the firſt time that *Rome* ever ſaw the Father and Son Triumph together. *Titus* had alſo the Title of *Cæſar* given him, and a Trium-

Triumphal Arch erected to his Honour, of great Beauty and Magnificence, deſcribing all his Noble Exploits againſt the *Jews*, which to this Day continues almoſt intire, as a laſting Monument againſt that perverſe Nation. *Veſpaſian* likewiſe built a Temple to *Peace*, wherein he put moſt of the *Jewiſh* Spoils; and now having quieted all Nations, he ſhut up the Temple of *Janus*, which had been open about five or ſix Years. This was an extraordinary Satisfaction to the whole City, who now were almoſt aſſured of future Happineſs and Tranquility: For ſeeing the contagion of Civil Diſſention, beginning in *Gaul* and *Spain*, had paſs'd on to *Germany*, then taken a Courſe to *Dalmatia*, and laſtly infected *Ægypt*, *Syria*, and *Judæa*, in ſum, all Provinces and Armies, they reaſonably preſum'd, the whole World being thus purg'd and cleans'd, that the malignant Humour was ſpent, and civil Wars and Calamities were now at a Period.

*Janus's Temple ſhut the ſeventh time.*

*A. D.* 71.

II. After *Veſpaſian* had thus gloriouſly finiſh'd all Troubles and Miſeries, both Foreign and Domeſtick, he made it the great Buſineſs of the reſt of his Reign, which continued not above eight Years longer, to eſtabliſh all Things to the laſting Happineſs and Grandeur of the *Roman* Empire, which now needed the powerful Aſſiſtance of ſo great and wiſe a Man to reſtore it to its former Strength and Vigour. Many notorious Abuſes and Corruptions were now crept in, and mix'd with the *Roman* Nation; being begun by a long Peace and Security, then heightned by the Extravagancies of Tyrants and Monſters, and afterwards compleated by the Confuſions and Diſorders of Civil Diſſentions. For the correcting and reforming of theſe dangerous Irregularities, *Veſpaſian* uſed great Prudence and Vigour, and the better to effect his Deſigns, he join'd his Son *Titus* with him in the Conſulſhip, with whom he was ſeven Times in that Dignity; and likewiſe made

*A. D.* 71.

made him his Collegue afterwards both in the Cenſorſhip and Tribuneſhip. And ſo great was the Authority of *Titus* that he was in a great meaſure Partner to his Father in the Empire, which appear'd by his frequent dictating of Letters in his Father's Name, his publiſhing of Edicts, his ſpeaking to the Senate in the room of the Queſtor, and his taking upon him the Government of the Imperial Palace; in all which things he acted much to the Honour and Welfare of the Publick, tho' ſometimes not ſo much to the Advantage of his own private Eſteem and Reputation among the People.

*Veſpaſian* towards the Re-eſtabliſhing of the State, began firſt with the Regulation of the Armies and Soldiers, many of which, through confidence of their Victories, and others through a ſenſe of their Ignominy, ran into all kinds of Licentiouſneſs; which occaſion'd many Provinces and free Cities, to become inſolent and mutinous. To reform which Diſorders, he caſhier'd great Numbers of the *Vitellians*, and corrected others, not ſparing thoſe who were the greateſt Inſtruments and Partners in his Victories. He omitted no Means or Care of regulating the Diſcipline of the Armies, in which he was never deficient, either in Juſtice or Rigour. Of which we have a memorable Inſtances of a young Officer, to whom he hath given a conſiderable Command, who waiting upon him to return him thanks for this Favour, and ſmelling fragrantly of very rich Oyls and Perfumes, the Emperor look'd very ſeverely upon him, and with a Voice expreſſing great Indignation, told him, *He had rather he had ſmelt of Garlick*; and immediately took away his Commiſſion. He was no leſs ſevere with the Seamen, who were appointed by the Publick, to run on Foot from *Oſtia* and *Puteoli* to *Rome*: Upon their petitioning him to have ſome certain Allowance above their Wages for Shoes, inſtead of complying with their Petition, he ordain'd for the future,

ture, that they ſhould diſcharge their Duties without any Shoes at all; after which they were oblig'd to perform thoſe Journeys, bare-foot. He took a more than ordinary care in purging and reforming thoſe two moſt honourable Orders of Men, the *Senators* and *Equites*, of both which he took a general and ſtrict View, they having been much exhauſted by infinite Maſſacres, and abominably corrupted by the Methods of the preceding Emperors. Of theſe he fearleſly turn'd out all ſuch as he found unworthy of their Places and Dignities, and ſupply'd their Places with the moſt honourable and deſerving Perſons he cou'd procure, either in *Italy* or the diſtant Provinces. He likewiſe ſtrictly examin'd into all the Courts of Judicature, where he found the Number of Proceſſes and Suits of Law ſwell'd to ſuch an unreaſonable Bulk, that old Actions were left undetermin'd by a long Vacation and Intermiſſion of Juſtice, and by an Acceſſion of new Conteſts ariſing from the Tumults and Diſorders of the late unhappy Times. To remedy which Grievance, he elected certain Perſons by Lot, and qualify'd them as Judges, to reſtore ſuch to the Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, as had been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſs'd during the Wars. Theſe were likewiſe to determine extraordinarily in Cauſes before the *Centumviri*, which Cauſes were become ſo exceſſively numerous and tedious, that a Client cou'd ſeldom hope to ſee his Suit finiſh'd; and alſo to reduce and digeſt them into a far leſs Compaſs; for which Purpoſe many new and excellent Laws were made.

While the Emperor took ſuch great Care in the main Affairs of the State, he was no leſs buſily employ'd about the Buildings of the City and other Places: And whereas *Rome* had loſt much of its Splendor and Magnificence by the late Ruins and Conflagration, he much haſten'd the re-edifying of all former Structures; and if the Proprietors neglected to build in any competent Time, he permitted

ted any other Perſon that pleas'd, to enter and take Poſſeſſion of the Ground where they ſtood. But the *Capitol* was his principal Concern, in the rebuilding of which, for the great Encouragement to others, he himſelf was the firſt that began the Work, and carry'd out the firſt Rubbiſh upon his own Shoulders, cauſing his Nobility to follow his Example; by which means he caus'd it to be finiſh'd in a ſhort Time, and that more beautiful and ſtately than ever it had been. He moreover rais'd ſeveral new Edifices of great Charge and Magnificence, particularly the Temple of *Peace* beforemention'd, not far from the main *Forum*; and the Temple of *Claudius* upon Mount *Cælius*, which had been begun by the Empreſs *Agrippina*, but was almoſt entirely demoliſh'd by *Nero*. He built beſides a moſt ſtately Temple to the Goddeſs *Pallas*, the Workmanſhip of which was ſo rich and exquiſite, that it ſurpaſs'd all that *Rome* ever ſaw: In the Paintings, Carvings, and Inlayings, the moſt excellent Workmen in the World, whoſe Arts were then at the higheſt, ſhew'd their great Skill, and left Memorials of their Fame: And *Joſephus* aſſures us, that Men came from all Parts of the World, to view the Riches and Rarities of this Temple. He alſo built a famous Amphitheater in the midſt of the City, of ſingular and admirable Workmanſhip, the Ruins and Relicks of which remain to this Day. It was a noble Building of wonderful Largeneſs and Magnificence, round in Form, as if two Theaters were join'd together like two half Circles, in the middle of which were repreſented famous Shows, Spectacles, Wreſtlings, Fightings with wild Beaſts, and Combats of Gladiators; and all Things were form'd and contriv'd with ſo much Art, that the Seats were capable of an infinite Number of People, without any Hindrance or Inconvenience to each other. As the late Fires had deſtroy'd many Records relating to the Publick, he

undertook to reſtore three thouſand Tables of Braſs which had been burnt, having with great Pains and Induſtry found out their true Copies. Theſe were in ſome ſort the Regiſters of the Empire, in which were recorded all Decrees of the Senate, all Ordinances of the People, all Treaties, Alliances, and Privileges granted to any Perſon or Corporation whatſoever, and all remarkable Occurrences from the very firſt Foundation of the City. In theſe and the like Works he expended vaſt Sums of Money.

The good Emperor was not only mindful of the Eſtabliſhment and Reſtoration of the City, but he likewiſe extended his great Care to the ſpeedy re-edifying of all others ruinous Cities and publick Buildings in the Empire, many of which were finiſh'd with great Coſt and Beauty, the Walls fortify'd and Avenues ſecur'd with no leſs Skill and Induſtry. He built alſo many Cities and Towns in ſeveral Parts of the *Roman* Dominions; and with a mighty Charge caus'd the *Flaminian* Mountains to be made hollow, and cut down on both ſides, and a commodious Way made to paſs through them. For the ſeveral Provinces of the Empire, *Veſpaſian* took care of their Eſtabliſhment with great Prudence and Vigour; and like a Prince, and excellent Governor, ſettled all Affairs to the Honour of the *Roman* State, and the Tranquility of the Inhabitants. He made great Alterations in many Parts of his Dominions, in which he often met with many Troubles and Difficulties, but moſt of all from *Antiochus*, King of *Comagena*, in the fourth Year of his Reign; who, together with his Son *Epiphanes*, was accus'd by *Cæſennius Pætus*, Governor of *Syria*, of holding private Correſpondence with *Vologeſus*, King of *Parthia*, *Pætus* repreſented to the Emperor, *That if this Matter was not timely prevented, it might ſhortly come to an open Revolt, which might give Diſturbance to the whole* Roman *Empire.* Whereupon *Veſpaſian* gave Orders to *Pætus* to proceed

ceed as he thought expedient; and ſhortly after, this Governor invaded the Province of *Comagena* with a conſiderable Force, where he met with no great Reſiſtance: For *Antiochus* fearing too much to exaſperate a powerful Nation, after ſome few Marches, quitted his Country, and fled with his Wife and Daughters into *Cilicia*; which ſo diſcourag'd his Army, that diſpairing to preſerve his Kingdom, they join'd with the *Romans*. His two Sons, after ſome vigorous Struggles and Efforts, finding no Security in their Father's Country. fled into *Parthia* to *Vologeſus*. But *Antiochus* was ſuppriz'd in *Cilicia* by *Pætus*, who ſhortly after caus'd him to be arreſted, and ſent him bound towards *Rome*; but *Veſpaſian* generouſly prevented all ill Treatment towards the King, conſidering more the ancient Friendſhip between them, than any Offences which gave Occaſion to this War, and therefore he caus'd him to be loos'd, and to continue at *Lacedæmon*, where he allowed him a Revenue ſuitable to his Royal Dignity. This unexpected Uſage caus'd his Sons to uſe the Mediation of *Vologeſus* to procure a Reconciliation with the Emperor; which prov'd ſo effectual, that both Father and Sons were ſhortly after ſent for to *Rome*, where they were courteouſly receiv'd, and remain'd there in great Splendour and Honour, But they loſt their Dominions; for the Kingdom of *Comagena* from henceforward became a Province of the *Roman* Empire.

*The ſecond Irruption of the Northern Nations.*

About the ſame time the Eaſtern Parts of the Empire were in ſome Conſternation, by reaſon of a dangerous Irruption of the *Alani*, a barbarous People of the *Scythians*, inhabiting about the River *Tanais*, and the Lake *Mæotis*, who in vaſt Numbers abandoned their own barren Country, and by the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Hyrcania*, invaded the Kingdom of *Media*. There having made great Devaſtations in this populous and opulent Country, they forc'd *Pacorus*, the King, to betake himſelf to his ſtrongeſt

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Town, where, with great difficulty, he redeem'd his Wife and Concubines with a hundred Talents. From thence theſe formidable People paſs'd into the Kingdom of *Armenia*, where, after great Ravages, *Tiridates* the King met them with a conſiderable Army. But in the firſt Encounter *Tiridates* was overthrown, and with extraordinary Hazards, eſcaped, being taken alive in Battel; for having caſt a Rope about his Neck, they were dragging him amongſt his Enemies, but he happily cut the Rope in pieces with his Sword, and fled. The dangerous Succeſs and Progreſs of this barbarous Nation ſo alarmed the *Roman* State, that *Veſpaſian* thought fit to ſend his Son *Titus* to chaſtiſe their Inſolence, and relieve a King that was his Vaſſal and Ally. *Titus* with a powerful Force march'd as far as the City of *Antioch*, when the Report of ſo potent an Enemy, and ſo expert a Commander, ſo terrify'd their confuſed and undiſciplin'd Armies, that they ſoon retired into their own Country, carrying away vaſt Numbers of Men and Cattle. This is the ſecond memorable Irruption of the Northern barbarous Nations, ſome of which, in after Ages, over-ran and ruin'd the *Roman* Empire. In the following Year *Veſpaſian* joyn'd his Son *Titus* with him in Quality of *Cenſor*, and they made the laſt publick *Cenſus* in the Empire, in which *Pliny* obſerves, that ſeveral Perſons were found of an extraordinary Age, particularly two of 150 Years. *Veſpaſian* ſtill proceeded in the great Affairs of the State with all the Wiſdom and Vigour of a mighty Emperor, and all the Kindneſs and Clemency of a merciful good natur'd-Man. His Courteſy and Clemency appear'd conſtantly, both in his publick Adminiſtration, and in his private Affairs; ſo that ſcarce one innocent Perſon was puniſhed throughout his whole Reign: If any ſuffered, it was wholly without his Deſign and Knowledge. He always ſhew'd himſelf very different from ſeveral of his

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Predeceſſors; for he was ſo far from indulging himſelf in the Deſtruction of any Man, that he could not ſo much as look upon the Sufferings of a Criminal, without ſignifying his Compaſſion by his Sighs and his Tears. *Helvidius Priſcus*, the Prætor, the only Perſon that ſaluted him by the bare Name of *Veſpaſian*, after his return from *Syria*, and one who made no mention of the Emperor in his Edicts publiſhed during his Office, could not provoke him by theſe open Affronts; till at length in his moſt inſolent Altercations, he endeavour'd to make him no better than an ordinary Man: Yet after all, though he was baniſhed before, and Orders iſſued out afterwards for his Execution, the Emperor ſent to countermand all Proceedings againſt him, and would have undoubtedly preſerv'd him, had he not been deceiv'd with a falſe Intelligence of his Execution before the Arrival of his Meſſengers. But the moſt remarkable Criminal in this Reign was *Julius Sabinus*, who audaciouſly proclaimed himſelf to be *Cæſar*, and accordingly took up Arms to vindicate his Title; but was at length ſuppreſs'd, and brought Priſoner to *Rome*. Several Interceſſions were made to the Emperor for his Pardon, and his Wife appearing in Mourning at Court, with her two young Sons, pleaded for her Family after this manner; O Cæſar, *I have brought forth theſe Infants, and gave 'em Nouriſhment to encreaſe the Number of your Supplicants, and to enlarge the Bounds of your Clemency.* This Speech ſo affected the good Emperor, as to draw Tears from his Eyes, and to ſave her and her Children; but it could not procure the Pardon of her Husband, who had been too dangerous a Rival and Oppoſer.

In his more private Affairs he always made himſelf very eaſy to his Subjects, and became very courteous and affable to all ſorts of People, permitting them to uſe any kind of Freedom with him.

He was ſo far from concealing the Meanneſs of his former Condition, that he frequently diſcours'd of it himſelf; and when ſome particular Perſons, in a pompous and plauſible Manner pretended to derive his Pedigree from the very Founders of *Reate*, and the Companion of *Hercules*; he deſpis'd and derided them, as a juſt Reward for their Flatteries. He had ſo ſmall a Reſpect for Titles, that he would not accept of that of *Pater Patriæ* but with great Difficulty; and when the King of *Parthia* had writ thus to him, Arſaces *King of Kings*, *to* Flavius Veſpaſian; he, without reprehending his Pride, or reſenting the Affront, directed his Anſwer thus; Flavius Veſpaſian, *to* Arcaſes, *King of Kings*; to ſhew, that ſuch Trifles were beneath the Regard of an Emperor. He ſhewed a remarkable Civility and Familiarity towards all Men, and was rarely angry or mov'd at the Liberties of his Friends, the Gibes and Reflections of the Lawyers, or the downright Rudeneſs of Philoſophers; of which *Suetonius* mentions ſome particular Inſtances. *Licianus Mucianus*, a Perſon ſcandalous for his unnatural Impurity, preſuming upon his Merits, and carrying himſelf inſolently and irreverently, the Emperor never rebuked him but in private; and having once complained of his Crimes to a common Friend to both of them, he came in with this Concluſion, *Still I am a Man.* When an Advocate called *Salvius Liberalis*, in the Defence of a Wealthy Perſon, had the Impudence to ſay before him, *If my Client be worth an hundred Millions of Seſterces, what is that to* Cæſar; *Veſpaſian* was ſo far from being diſguſted at it, that he gave him particular Thanks for uſing that Freedom. After the Philoſophers had been baniſhed the City, *Demetrius* the *Cynick* meeting him upon the Road, would not vouchſafe to ſhew him any kind of Reſpect, but proceeded ſo far in his Irreverence, as to revile him openly;

openly; but the Emperor inflicted no other Puniſhment, than barely to ſtile him by the Title of *Dog*, alluding to the Name of his Sect.

Such was the courſe of *Veſpaſian*'s Adminiſtration, ſo as to preſerve himſelf from all kinds of Sowreneſs and Uneaſineſs, and likewiſe from all kinds of Jealouſies and Suſpicions. And for that Reaſon his Reſentment either of ſudden Offences, or of old Animoſities, was ſo ſmall, that he marry'd the Daughter of his Predeceſſor *Vitellius*, his inveterate Enemy, into a noble Family, and generouſly gave her a rich Dower, and all Accoutrements ſuitable to her Birth and Quality. Notwithſtanding his great Generoſity and Clemency, many Plots and Conſpiracies were form'd againſt him, in which he generally ſhew'd very little Concern; for he often paſs'd by the Treaſon of ſuch as conſpir'd his Deſtruction, ſaying, *That they were all blind and inconſiderate, not knowing what a Weight and Burden the Empire was:* And for the former Cuſtom of ſearching ſuch as came to ſalute or ſpeak with the Emperor, he left that off before the Civil Wars were ended. He regarded theſe Matters the leſs, by reaſon of the great Confidence he had in his own Fate and his Children; inſomuch, that he declar'd in open Senate, *That either his Sons ſhou'd ſucceed him in the Empire, or no Body.* He was ſo far from being carry'd away by Suſpicion or Dread, to the Deſtruction of any Perſon, that when he was ſeriouſly adviſ'd by his Friends to beware of *Metius Pompoſianus*, whom they had ſtrong reaſon to ſuſpect; he, contrary to all their Opinions, rais'd him to the Dignity of Conſul ſhortly after, aſſuring them, *That the Time wou'd come, when he muſt be ſenſible of ſo great a Benefit.* He ſought no Revenge for thoſe many Affronts which had been put upon him in *Nero*'s Reign; and particularly, an Uſher coming to beg his Pardon after he was Emperor, for rudely thruſting him

out of his Room, and bidding him go hang himſelf in the Time of his Misfortune; *Veſpaſian* was provok'd no further, than to bid him be gone almoſt in the ſame Terms he had us'd towards him.

Notwithſtanding this Emperor's Clemency and Forgiveneſs appear'd in almoſt all Caſes, he never was mild in paſſing by ſcandalous Enormities, but was ſtrict and ſevere in reſtraining and reprehending of Vice; which may be ſaid to be his laſt great Stroke in his re-eſtabliſhing the *Roman* Empire. He found that the Manners of the Citizens were deplorably vitiated and corrupted by all kinds of Luxury: Therefore to put a check to their Debaucheries, he prevail'd with the Senate to make a Decree, That what Woman ſoever, who join'd her ſelf to another Perſon's Servant, ſhou'd finally loſe her own Liberty, and become a Vaſſal her ſelf. To reform the Corruptions of Uſurers, and the Looſneſs of Youth, he ordain'd, That no Uſurer ſhou'd recover any Money of young Heirs. if it was lent to be repaid with Advantage upon the Deceaſe of their Fathers. He made many other ſtrict Laws for the reſtraining of Lewdneſs; and as he was ſevere in puniſhing of Vice, ſo he was no leſs remarkable for rewarding all kinds of Merits, in which he extended his Liberality to all ſorts of People, compleating the Eſtates, and ſettling Penſions upon all indigent Senators and Conſular Perſons, when their Wants proceeded from no manifeſt Crimes of theirs. But his more particular Bounty he expreſs'd towards the Profeſſors of all Arts and Sciences; and ſettled a conſtant Salary of a hundred thouſand *Seſterces* upon the Teachers of Rhetorick, to be paid Yearly out of the Exchequer. He indeed baniſh'd many of the Philoſophers from the City, by reaſon of their exceſſive Inſolence; but was always a true and hearty Encourager of Learning and Learned Men. He entertain'd *Joſephus*, the famous Writer of the *Jewiſh* War and Antiquities, with

with great Civility,, honour'd him with a Statue, and highly applauded his Writings; tho' all were not finiſh'd in his Reign. In his Reign flouriſh'd *Pliny* the Elder, an eminent Natural Hiſtorian, *Quinctilian* the renown'd Orator, and many other Perſons of great Learning, who were highly eſteem'd by this Emperor. He was no leſs an Encourager of all other Excellencies in Art, and invited the greateſt Maſters and Artificers from all Parts of the World, by his bountiful Allowances, making likewiſe conſiderable Preſents to 'em, as he found Occaſion. An ingenious Engineer undertaking to remove certain Columns of vaſt Weight into the *Capitol*, at a ſmall Charge, was well rewarded for the Invention, and his Performance excus'd, the Emperor telling him, *That he ſhould let the Poor live.*

Yet all his numerous Acts of Generoſity and Magnificence cou'd not perſerve him from the Scandal of Avarice and Rapaciouſneſs, of which he gave many publick Teſtimonies, ſome of which were below the Dignity of an Emperor. *Suetonius* tells us, That he was not content to revive the old Impoſitions which had been remitted under *Galba*, to add new and more grievous Tributes to ſeveral of the Provinces; but he alſo drove a Trade publickly, which would have been diſhonourable to a private Perſon, bartering and buying Commodities, that he might ſell 'em to Advantage. Some believ'd that it was his Cuſtom to advance the moſt griping and rapacious of his Officers to the moſt profitable Charges to make uſe of them as Sponges, and to ſqueeze them when they were become rich. He deſcended to ſome very unuſual and diſhonourable Impoſts, even to the laying an Exciſe upon Perſons Urine. This caus'd his Son *Titus* to remonſtrate to him the baſeneſs of ſuch an Invention; but *Veſpaſian* immediately took ſome of the firſt Money that came from that Exciſe, and holding it to his Son, demanded, *if the ſmell offen-*

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*ded him? And yet*, proceeded he, *this comes out of the Urine*. For this and all other his ſevere Impoſts, Authors do much excuſe him, by reaſon of the great Neceſſities of the State, and emptineſs of the Exchequer, when he came firſt to the Government. For he then declar'd publickly in the Senate, *That for the Subſiſtance and Re-eſtabliſhment of the Common-wealth, he wanted a Supply of Forty Millions of great Seſterces.* An incredible Sum, exceeding three hundred Millions of our Money. This is the more readily believ'd and acknowledg'd, becauſe he always employ'd his Revenue to great and noble Purpoſes, and laid it out with great Wiſdom and Liberality. His publick Works and Edifices were highly chargeable and expenſive; his Preſents and Penſions were numerous, and not without Profuſeneſs; and his Feaſts and Entertainments were frequent and magnificent, according to his Quality: And in all things he acted principally to the Peace and Honour of his Subjects in general; ſo that by his daily conſidering of their Good, the nearer he approach'd the end of his Days the more he encreas'd the hearty Love and Reſpect, of the whole Senate and People.

The great Changes and new Eſtabliſhments he made in the Provinces and Tributary Kingdoms before his Death, were very remarkable; many of which he reduc'd to a fuller Subjection to the *Roman* State than ever had they been before. Beſides *Judæa* and *Comagena*, before particulariz'd, he reduc'd the Kingdoms of *Licia*, *Pamphyila*, and *Cilicia*, in *Aſia*, which before had their own proper Kings, to Provinces of the Empire: In *Europe* he did the like to the Kingdoms of *Achaia* and *Thracia*, the Iſlands of *Rhodes* and *Samos*, together with the great City of *Byzantium*, and many other Places. *Aur. Victor* tells us, That this Emperor new form'd and eſtabliſh'd a thouſand Nations, who ſcarcely before were reckon'd to be two hundred, the greateſt Part being extinguiſh'd

guiſh'd by the Cruelty of former Tyrants. As to the Particulars and Occaſions of all theſe Acts, Hiſtorians have been to ſhort and imperfect; tho' we have Reaſon to preſume from the reſt of the Actions of this Emperor, that his Conqueſts and Reductions were not without good Ground or very plauſible Pretenſions. As no Provinces in the Empire lay out of his View and Care, ſo in all his Reign he had a particular Regard to *Britain*, as a Nation that added much Glory and Renown to the *Roman* Empire. He ſent firſt *Petilius Cerealis* to be Governor in thoſe Parts, who bravely enter'd the Country of the *Brigantes*, the moſt Northern and numerous People in that Province; to whom he gave many and ſignal Defeats, and either ravag'd or conquer'd the greateſt Part of their Territories. So that *Cerealis* ſeem'd to have eclipſed the Fame and Conduct of any that could come after him; when *Julius Frontinus*, a great Man, and as eminent as could be expected after ſuch a Predeceſſor, ſucceeded by *Veſpaſian*'s Order in the ſame Charge, with no leſs Glory. For he ſubdu'd the ſtrong and warlike Nation of the *Silures*, the Inhabitants of *South-Wales*; where he had not only a potent Enemy to encounter, but alſo almoſt inſuperable Difficulties from the Nature and Situation of the Country. In the laſt Year of *Veſpaſian*'s Reign, *Frontinus* was ſucceeded by *Julius Agricola*, a Commander of great Fame, both for Valour and Conduct, who enter'd upon the moſt memorable Expedition that had ever been known in *Britain*, continuing about ſeven or eight Years, and ſucceeding with great Reputation and Renown. But nothing of great Note was perform'd by him in this Reign.

*Veſpaſian* being now in his Ninth Conſulſhip, and his Son *Titus* in his Seventh, and having done many great and noble Acts to the happy Settlement of the Empire, he was ſurpriz'd at *Campania* with ſome light Motions of a Diſtemper, when immediately he

he cry'd out, according to the Aſpirings of his Pagan Principles, *Methinks I am going to be a God.* His Indiſpoſition cauſed him to remove to the City. from whence he retir'd to *Cutyliæ* and an Eſtate he had about *Reate*, which he uſually viſited every Summer. In this Place, notwithſtanding the Encreaſe of his Diſtemper, he gave himſelf up to the Affairs of the Empire, as formerly; but having corrupted his Entrails by the uſe of cold Water, he was after a ſhort Time ſuddenly taken with with a Flux, which ſoon brought him to ſuch a Weakneſs, that he was ready to faint; when of a ſudden he cry'd out with his former Courage and Bravery, *An Emperor ought to die ſtanding on his Feet*; and raiſing himſelf up, he expir'd in the Hands of thoſe that ſuſtain'd him; his Death being highly lamented, and his Memory gratefully preſerv'd by all the great and wiſe Men in the Empire. Thus dy'd *Flavius Veſpaſian*, the Tenth Emperor of *Rome*, in the ſixty ninth Year of his Age, after a laborious Reign of ten Years, or very near; a Prince of great Wiſdom, Moderation, and Modeſty, next *Julius Cæſar* in War, and to *Auguſtus* in Peace; one whom Providence ſeem'd to have rais'd on purpoſe to reſtore ſo vaſt an Empire as *Rome*, and ſave it from ſinking; and one whom *Pliny* ſaid, *That Greatneſs and Majeſty had changed nothing in him; but only to make his Power of doing Good anſwerable to his Will.* He was the Second *Roman* Emperor that dy'd a natural Death, and the firſt that was ſucceeded by his own Son. He dy'd in the 832 Year of the City, *A. D.* 79. it being 123 Years after the Beginning of the Empire by *Julius Cæſar*, and 105 after the full Settlement of it by *Auguſtus*.

*The Death of Veſpaſian.*

CHAP.

## CHAP. VI.

*From the Death of* VESPASIAN *to the Death of* DOMITIAN *the Twelfth Emperor, which ended the Family of the* VESPASIANS, *and the* Twelve Cæsars.

*Containing the Space of near ſeventeen YEARS.*

I. UPON the Deceaſe of the great *Veſpaſian*, his eldeſt Son *Titus* was univerſally receiv'd and obey'd as Emperor; both for being his Father's Aſſociate in the Empire, and likewiſe his being appointed his Succeſſor by his laſt Will and Teſtament: Only his ambitious Brother *Domitian* made ſome Oppoſition, inſolently maintaining, *That his Father had nominated him, and that his Brother* Titus *had falſify'd his Will*; but his Plea having but a weak Foundation, ſoon fell for want of a Support. *Titus* was now near 39 Years of Age, a Perſon of uncommon Excellencies and Accompliſhments, both as to the Perfections of his Body, and the Ornaments of his Mind. He had ſerved in many Wars and Expeditions, with great Honour and Renown, and diſcharged many Offices in the State with no leſs Wiſdom and Underſtanding. Yet notwithſtanding his many Virtues and Deſerts, he had not liv'd free from ſeveral Crimes and Vices, which brought many Accuſations and Aſperſions upon him in his Father's Reign. His Severity to ſome particular Perſons, and his countenancing the Aſſaſſination of *A. Cecinna* and ſome others, for exciting the Soldiers to Sedition, gain'd him the Hatred of many. Beſides his Cruelty, he was decry'd alſo for his Voluptuouſneſs and Luxury, for

*A. D.* 79. Titus *made Emperor.*

for his frequent Spinning out his Treats and Collations with the moſt profuſe and diſſolute of his Friends, till Midnight and after. Now was he leſs accus'd for his Luſt upon many Accounts, and particularly for his extraordinary Paſſion for Queen *Berenice*; Siſter to King *Agrippa* of *Judæa*, to whom by Report he had promis'd Marriage, but perform'd it not, by reaſon of the Hatred of the People. He was ſuſpected alſo of Rapine and Extortion, in relation to his Father's new Impoſitions, upon whoſe Account he was willing to bear part of the Odium. And more than all, he was not only looked upon privately as a ſecond *Nero*, but likewiſe pronounced ſo publickly by the People; ſo that ſcarce ever any Man arrived at the Empire with a more ſullied Reputation, or a greater Repugnancy of the People of *Rome*.

But in a very ſhort Time after his Entrance upon the Government, theſe Calumnies and Accuſations turn'd all to his Praiſe and Advantage; and his Vertues and Graces became ſo bright and perſpicuous, as to diſperſe all Doubts and Suſpicions, and to make him gain that Reputation under the Burden and Envy of the Empire, which he could not obtain under the Freedom of a Private Perſon. After this, he had ſo much Skill and Addreſs, together with ſo much good Fortune in gaining upon the Hearts and Affections of all People, as to be generally ſtil'd, *The Love and Delight of Mankind*. *Philoſtratus* tells us, That he had before adviſ'd with the famous *Apollonius Tynnæus* how to govern well and nicely; who only bad him *Follow his Father's Steps, and could not fail*. His firſt Step towards the gaining the Hearts of his Subjects, and his happy Government of the Empire, was his moderating his Paſſions, and bridling his ſtrong Inclinations; one great Inſtance of which, was his withdrawing himſelf from the Company of his beautiful Queen *Berenice*, and his ſending her away

away, notwithſtanding their mutual and paſſionate Loves, and all out of the great Reſpect he bore to the Senate and People of *Rome*. He alſo diſcharg'd ſeveral Perſons who were the chief Inſtruments of his Delights and Recreations, rightly judging them to be unbecoming the Majeſty and Dignity of his Office. He not only forbore to countenance and careſs his Company of Dancers, whom he had formerly choſen with great Skill, but alſo to ſee them in any publick Aſſembly; tho' he was ſtill a great Encourager of publick Games and manly Paſtimes. In all theſe Matters, he ſhew'd ſuch a happy Mixrure of firm Reſolution and humble Modeſty, that of him it was ſaid, *That if ever any Man truly abſtain'd from what was his own, he was the Perſon.* He was not thus only in reſpect to himſelf, but likewiſe to all others, for he never took any thing from a Citizen; and was ſo little addicted to deſire other Men's Properties, that he wou'd not receive the uſual Preſents and Contributions which were his due: Yet none of his Predeceſſors was more truly liberal and munificent than he.

The firſt publick Act he did, was a general Confirmation and Ratification of many Rewards and Privileges which had been granted by ſeveral of his Predeceſſors, not conſidering an Order of *Tiberius*, by which ſucceeding Emperors might refuſe to confirm their Predeceſſors Grants; ſo that when they did confirm 'em, it was commonly with ſuch Formality, as if they were the firſt and only Donors: But *Titus*, without theſe Formalities, confirm'd all by one general Edict, and was the firſt Emperor that obſerv'd that Method. After this he proceeded with all Wiſdom and Diligenece in the great Affairs of the Publick, and particularly in the regulating and reforming of ſeveral Miſchiefs which had not been perfectly remov'd in his Father's Reign; amongſt which that of *Informers*, *Promoters*, and *Pettifoggers*

was

was very notorious, who had their Riſe from the Licentiouſneſs and Impunity of former Reigns, and daily increaſing in Corruptions, they became the Cauſers and Fomenters of all kinds of Heats and Diſſentions. Of theſe *Titus* made daily and publick Examples, condemning them to be ſcourg'd and beaten with Clubs in the main *Forum*, then to be dragg'd through the Theater, and at laſt, part to be ſold as Slaves, and part to be tranſported to uninhabited Iſlands, till he had utterly exterminated thoſe Peſts of the City. To put a further Stop than his Father had done to the Corruptions and Tediouſneſs of Law-Suits, he prohibited, among other Things, that the ſame Caſe ſhould be try'd by ſeveral Laws; or that any one ſhould inquire into the Eſtate of any dead Perſon, after a ſet and preciſes Number of Years.

He was no leſs active than his Father in repairing of ancient Buildings, and erecting of new; and after he had dedicated the famous Amphitheater, and with admirable Expedition finiſh'd the Baths hard by, he exhibited many Shows which were very ſumptuous and magnificent. He preſented alſo the People with a Naval Battel, in the old *Naumachia*, as alſo a Prize by his Gladiators in the ſame Place; and in one Day he caus'd 5000 Wild Beaſts of all Kinds to be baited for the Satisfaction of the Citizens. Theſe publick Rejoycings and Feſtivals were continu'd for a hundred Days ſucceſſively; in which, and in all other Caſes, he treated the People with exceeding Kindneſs and Affability, and having deſign'd to give them the Diverſion of the Gladiators, he order'd it to be proclamim'd, *That all Things ſhou'd be exhibited, not according to his own Fancy, but the Pleaſure of the Spectators*; and he was ſo far from refuſing what they deſir'd, that he earneſtly ſolicited them to declare their Minds. Moreover, his Complaiſance was ſo great, that tho' in his Judgment he was for one Party of the

the Gladiators, yet he many times joyn'd both in Voice and Geſture with the Opinion of the People; yet ſtill ſo as to retain the Majeſty of an Emperor, and to do no Injuſtice in the Diſtribution of the ſeveral Prizes. And that he might not be deficient in any point of Popularity, he permitted thoſe of the common Rank to have acceſs into his Baths, while he was bathing himſelf. His Liberality, Courteſie, and Readineſs to do good, have been obſerv'd and applauded by Writers in all Ages; and even St. *Auguſtine* ſtil'd him by the Title of a *moſt ſweet Prince*. One of his principal Methods was never to ſend away any Petitioner with an unpleaſing Anſwer, nor without ſome hopes of Succeſs; and thereupon being advertis'd by ſome of his Council, *That he promis'd more than he ſeem'd able to perform*, he made anſwer, *That no Man ought to depart ſorrowful from the Preſence of a Prince*; an Anſwer that ſufficiently ſhew'd his Diſpoſiton to Mercy and Goodneſs. He was naturally ſo deſirous of doing Good, and of aſſiſting others in all kinds of Neceſſities, that one Night being told, that he had done nothing for any Perſon that Day, he with a heavy Countenance, expreſs'd his Diſſatisfaction in this memorable Apophthegm, *Amici, Diem perdidi, My Friends, I have loſt a Day*; a Sentence worthy of an Emperor, and to be retain'd in the Memory of all Princes.

The whole Rule and Government of this Emperor, was mild and merciful, ſo as to receive no Accuſation againſt ſuch as cenſur'd and abus'd him; for he uſually ſaid, *When I do nothing worthy of Cenſure, I regard not Calumnies*. He was ſo tender of the Lives of his Subjects, that when he enter'd upon the Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, he ſolemnly proteſted, *That he did it to keep his Hands pure and undefiled from Blood*; from which time he never was either the Author, or the Occaſion of any Man's Death, tho' he wanted not Opportunities of executing his Revenge; af-

firming, *That he had rather die himſelf than put another to Death.* Of this great Clemency, there was a remarkable Inſtance: Two of the *Patrician* Degree being convicted of Treaſon, and aſpiring to the Empire, he made uſe of no Torments or Inquiſitions, nor inflicted any Puniſhment, but only privately admoniſh'd 'em to deſiſt, mildly telling them, *That the Empire was given by Providence, and that it was in vain to commit a Villany either in Hopes of obtaining it, or though Fear to be diſappointed of it: But for any thing elſe, they might command what he cou'd grant.* At the ſame time he diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to one of their Mothers to eaſe her of her Fears, and to aſſure her *That her Son was out of all Danger*; and, as if this was not a ſufficient Inſtance of his Generoſity, he not only entertain'd them at Supper with himſelf that Night, but the next Day at a Spectacle of Gladiators, plac'd them by himſelf, and when the Combatants Weapons were according to Cuſtom preſented to him, he publickly deſir'd their Judgment and Approbation. His Carriage was no leſs remarkable towards his Brother *Domitian*, who was continually conſpiring againſt his Perſon, and as often incenſing the Legions and Cohorts againſt him, ſoliciting them to a Defection, in order to which he had prepar'd all Matters for an open Rebellion. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe Provocations and Dangers, he wou'd not be perſwaded, either to execute, baniſh, or diſcountenance him by diminiſhing his former Honours; but on the contrary, he comported himſelf towards him as at firſt, giving him the Title of *Aſſociate* and *Succeſſor*, and with Tears privately intreating him, *Not to attempt that by Treaſon and Fratricide which he ſhortly ſhould obtain freely and in courſe; therefore he deſir'd, That at length they might live amicably like Brothers.*

In the ſhort Reign of this Emperor, there happen'd ſome Misfortunes and Calamities no leſs unexpected than deplorable: The firſt was a dreadful and almoſt

almoſt incredible Eruptions of the Flames of Mount *Veſuvius* and *Campania*, which after it had ruin'd many Cities, and a vaſt Tract of Land, the Aſhes were carry'd through the Air into many diſtant Nations. At this Mount, *Pliny* the Elder, and famous natural Hiſtorian, then Admiral of the *Roman* Navy, being deſirous to diſcover the Reaſon of this wonderful Accident, by his too near approaching it, was ſuffocated in the Smoak, as his Nephew teſtifies. Beſides this terrible Calamity, there happened a Fire in *Rome*, which laſted three Days, and as many Nights inceſſantly; and likewiſe a dangerous Peſtilence, in which there commonly dy'd ten thouſand every Day. Nevertheleſs, in all theſe Miſeries, *Titus* behaved himſelf not only with the Care and Regard of a Prince, but likewiſe with the Tenderneſs and Compaſſion of a Father, comforting the diſtreſſed with his reviving Edicts, and aſſiſting them as his own Revenues would permit him. He choſe ſuch Perſons by Suffrage, as had been Conſuls before, to take upon them the Charge of ſeeing the Ruins in *Campania* repaired; and ſuch Goods and Eſtates as were found pertaining to Perſons which had periſhed by the ſaid Mountain, and had dy'd without Heirs, he commanded ſhou'd be employ'd towards the Building of thoſe Cities and Towns which had ſuffer'd. In relation to the Burning of the City, he publickly declar'd, *That he would take the whole Loſs of that upon himſelf*; and accordingly he deſign'd all the Ornaments and Furniture belonging to his own Palaces, to the Re-adornment of the Temples, and publick Buildings of the City: And that all Things might be effected with more Certainty and Expedition, he commiſſion'd ſeveral *Roman* Knights to ſee all his Commands executed. Then to remedy the Peſtilence, and to abate the Malignity of that Diſtemper, there were no Methods, either Human or Divine, that he neglected; having ſought out all ſorts of Remedies, and all kinds of Sacrifices

which he thought might be of any imaginable Use.

While *Titus* was thus busily employ'd in the Affairs of a calamitous, tho' peaceful Empire, *Agricola*, his renown'd Lieutenant in *Britain*, proceeded in his famous Expedition with admirable Success, both in reducing and civilizing that Nation. He had enter'd *Britain* in the Reign of *Vespasian*, a short time before whose Arrival, the *Ordovices*, the Inhabitants of *North-Wales*, had almost entirely destroy'd a Wing of the *Roman* Legions; by which Means the rest of the conquer'd Nations were all ready for a Revolt, either out of a desire of Liberty, or to discover the Worth of the new Lieutenant. *Agricola*, tho' the Season was far advanc'd, with great Celerity gathered together his scatter'd Troops and Auxiliaries, and march'd towards these formidable People, who kept themselves in places of Advantage, and durst not descend into indifferent Ground. He therefore with great Bravery, placing himself foremost, advanc'd towards them with his Army, and being seconded with the Skill and Courage of his veterane Soldiers, put them all to Flight and Sword, so that the whole Nation was almost extirpated. *Agricola*, finding that all Things were like to succeed according to the Event of his first Actions, immediately determin'd to make himself Master of the Isle *Mona*, or *Anglesey*; but this Design being so suddenly laid, Ships were wanting for the Expedition, which defect was notwithstanding supply'd by the great Policy and Resolution of the General. He commanded a choice Body of Auxiliaries, who were well acquainted with the Shallows of the Waters, suddenly to pass over, and invade the Island; and these, by the Custom of their Native Country, being able in Swimming to govern themselves, their Horses and Arms, perform'd it so effectually, that the Enemy, who first expected a Fleet, were exceedingly surpriz'd and confounded, as supposing nothing could be hard or invincible to Men that began

gan a War with ſuch Reſolution. Whereupon they immediately deſir'd Peace, and ſurrender'd the Iſland to the Command of *Agricola*, who now became great and famous, as having upon his Entrance, a Time uſually ſpent in Ceremony and Oſtentation, encounter'd ſo much Toil and Hazard with great Succeſs.

*Agricola* in theſe proſperous Proceedings of his Fortunes, ſought not with any glorious Relations or Letters, to improve and augment the Greatneſs of his Honour; but rather in ſeeking to ſuppreſs the Fame of his Actions, made 'em become more ſplendent: And then applying himſelf to Civil Government, he regulated and reform'd many Abuſes and Corruptions in his Family, in his Camp, and in the whole Province, and eſpecially thoſe that afflicted the poorer ſort, as Exactions, encreaſe of Tributes, and Payments of Corn, which had been very burdenſome to the *Britains*; all which he moderated and levelled in ſuch a manner, as they became eaſie to the Inhabitants. By ſuppreſſing theſe and the liſte Enormities, he gain'd no leſs Honour than in the Field, all Perſons beginning to entertain an honourable Opinion of their new Governor. And whereas the *Britains*, hitherto haraſs'd with Oppreſſions and Wars, had ſmall Leiſure or Inclination to apply themſelves to Matters that accompany Peace, and to the Ornament of Civil and ſetled Societies; therefore they were ready for Revolts and Inſurrections upon every ſlight Occaſion. The better to induce them by Pleaſures to Reſt and Quietneſs, he exhorted them in private, and aſſiſted them in Publick to build Temples, Places of Reſort, and ſtately Houſes; and likewiſe provided, that the Sons of the Nobility ſhould be carefully inſtructed in the liberal Arts and Sciences, commending the Induſtry, and preferring the Parts of the *Britains* before thoſe of the *Gauls*; ſo that they, who but lately deſpis'd the *Roman* Language, did now affect and ſtudy the Graces of it.

From that time also, the *Roman* Modes and Dresses became in request, and the *Gown* commonly wore; proceeding by degrees to their softness an incentives to Debauchery, Portio's, Baths, and Banquets, which by the Ignorant were termed Genteelness, when in reality *Tacitus* tells us, they were but the Trappings of their Yoke and Bondage. By these Means *Agricola* brought the *Britains* to a more general Inclination to Peace, which partly by the Negligence, and partly by the Avarice of former Governors, had been no less odious than War it self.

In the following Year, *Agricola*, unsatisfy'd with his former Conquests, discover'd new Countries and Parts of *Britain* yet untouch'd, or at least not fully subdu'd; and being ambitious of drawing the Confines of the *Roman* Empire into a larger compass, he marched Northward up to the very Frith of *Taus* or *Tweed*, wasting all as he pass'd, and without Resistance fortify'd the Passages with Castles and Forts, which he stored with sufficient Provisions. By which means every wintering Garrison secured and guarded it self, and with the Summer-Service, ever repaired the Winters Miscarriages; which continually disappointed the Enemy, so that *Agricola* had all the Successes he could desire. The following Summer he spent in ordering and setling what he had over-run; and with such Success, that if the Valour of his Armies, and the Glory of the *Roman* Empire could have permitted it, they needed not have sought any other Boundary in *Britain*. For the Friths of *Glota*, and *Bodotria*, *Dunbretton* and *Edenborough*, two Arms of two opposite Seas, shooting far into the Land, were only divided by a narrow Neck of Land, which *Agricola* had secur'd by Forts and Garrisons; so that the *Romans* were absolute Lords of all the *South* Side, and had pent up the Enemy as it were within another Island.

For these great Successes and Exploits in *Britain*, *Agricola* not only purchas'd much Fame, but *Titus* also receiv'd great Honours upon his Account, particularly to be saluted *Imperator* the fifteenth Time. But this Emperor liv'd not to enjoy these Honours, being suddenly snatch'd away, to the exceeding detriment of the World, and to the unexpressible Grief of all his Subjects. Not long before, at the finishing of certain publick Solemnities, in which he wept plentifully before the People, he retir'd into the Territories of the *Sabines*, somewhat more melancholly than formrely, being discourag'd at some unfortunate Omens. In his first Stage he was surpriz'd with a violent Fever, and being carry'd afterwards in his Litter, and finding that he must submit to Death, he cou'd not forbear expressing his mighty Unwillingness to depart; and looking up to Heaven, with an unusual Tenderness complain'd, *That he should be taken away so undeservedly, and protesting that in the whole Course of his Life, he did not know of any Action but one that he ought repent of*, which he did not express Shortly after, he dy'd upon the Ides of *September*, in the same Town where his Father dy'd, not without suspicion of his Brother's Treachery, being now in the 41*st* Year of his Age, having had but a short Reign of two Years, as many Months, and twenty Days; a Prince too deserving for so corrupt an Age, and one whom *Tacitus* says, was capable of any kind of Dignity, in whose countenance was no less Sweetness than Majesty. This happen'd 48 Years after our Saviour's Crucifixion; about which Time several dangerous Heresies began to creep into the Church, and corrupt the Purity of the *Christian* Faith. *The Death of* Titus.

II. As soon as the Death of *Titus* was known and publish'd, a general Grief and Sadness appear'd in all the City, which in a short time spread it self through *A. D.* 81.

all the Provinces to the utmoſt Bounds of the Empire; this Prince being lamented in all Parts, as tho' the World had been deprived of a perpetual Protector. All the Senators, whithout any legal and regular Convocation, haſted to the Senate-Houſe with great Impatience; and ſhutting the Doors for a time, open'd them again, render'd more Thanks and Acknowledgments, and heap'd upon him more Praiſes and Encomiums, than ever the Emperor obtain'd, either before or after his Death, placing him alſo among their Gods; which ſhews with what great Facility, and in how ſhort a Time a Prince may gain the Hearts of his Subjects. This great and venerable Reſpect that all had for him and his Father, caus'd his Brother *Domitian* to ſucceed him in the Empire, without Oppoſition or Contradiction, notwithſtanding the ill Opinion that many had juſtly conceiv'd of him, he being now about thirty Years of Age. The Pride and Ambition of this Prince had formerly appear'd in ſeveral manifeſt Inſtances, which caus'd many to dread his Government; and tho' he ſhew'd great concern for the Death of his Brother, yet ſhortly after his Arrival at the Empire, he inſolently declar'd in open Senate, *That it was he who had given it both to his Father and Brother, and that they had but reſtor'd it to him again.* In the former part of his Reign, his Vices and Enormities were happily temper'd by many wiſe and good Actions; in which Time he ſpent and employ'd many of his Hours in divers kinds of Recreations and Diverſions, particularly in Archery and Gaming, in the former of which he was ſo wonderfully expert, that out of Glory he wou'd often cauſe his Page to ſtand at a great Diſtance with his Hands ſpread for a Mark, where he wou'd ſhoot with that Art, as to ſtick all his Arrows between his Fingers without any Hurt. And here I muſt not omit one cruel, tho' deſpicable Recreation, of which all Authors take notice, which was his uſual Cuſtom

**Domitian made Emperor.**

of

of retiring an Hour in a Day into his Chamber, in the Beginning of his Reign, where his ſole Employment was a ridiculous catching of Flies, and pricking 'em through with a ſharp Bodkin; which Cuſtom gave Occaſion to *Criſpus*, when one enquir'd, whether any Body was with the Emperor, ſharply to anſwer, *Not ſo much as a Fly.*

The Begining of his Reign was generally acceptable to the People, at which time he ſhew'd ſo great an Abhorrency to all Manner of Cruelty and Bloodſhed, that he once reſolv'd by expreſs Edict to forbid the ſacrificing of Oxen. He alſo ſhew'd no Signs of Avarice or Parſimony; but on the other ſide, gave frequent Teſtimonies not only of his Moderation, but Liberality, behaving himſelf very bountifully to all that were about him, inculcating nothing to them ſo much as to avoid Baſeneſs and Sordidneſs. Such Inheritances as were left him by Perſons who had Children, he would not accept; and refus'd ſeveral other Eſtates; and likewiſe remitted many Penalties and Tributes which were his Right. He neglected all kind of Literature, which his Father and Brother had highly encourag'd; only he was very careful and liberal in repairing of the Libraries which had been burnt, and recovering Copies of ſuch Books as had been loſt, ſending purpoſely to *Alexandria* to tranſcribe and correct them. But he had ſo great a hatred to Philoſophers, Mathematicians, and Aſtrologers, that in the ſecond Year of his Reign, he not only baniſh'd them out of *Rome*, but likewiſe out of all *Italy*. But in publick Ediſices, Shows, and Spectacles, he was no leſs Ambitious than any of his Predeceſſors. He rebuilt ſeveral ſtately and noble Fabricks, which had been deſtroy'd by the Fire in his Brother's Reign; among the reſt, of the Capitol which had been burnt again: But he was reſolv'd to engroſs the Honour and Glory of it to himſelf; for he wou'd not permit any Name to be put in the Inſcriptions

ſcriptions but his own, nor allow the leaſt mention of the Primitive Founder. In the Capitol he erected a new Chappel, which he dedicated to *Jupiter Cuſtos*, as alſo a *Forum*, or a Hall of Juſtice; and in Honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he inſtituted three ſorts of Conteſts to be obſerv'd every five Years, of Muſick, Horſemanſhip, and Wreſtling, in which he diſtributed his Coronets in great Numbers. He likewiſe built another Temple for the *Flavian* Family, a Courſe or Liſts for Races and Wreſtlings, a Muſick-Houſe, and many other publick and magnificent Buildings.

The better to obtain the Favour and Applauſe of the People, *Domitian* ordain'd many publick Shows and Games which were exhibited with wonderful pomp and Curioſity. Firſt, he caus'd a vaſt Lake to be digg'd near the River *Tiber*, ſurrounding it with ſpacious Walls and numerous Seats; in which he repreſented Sea-Fights, by great Numbers of Ships, which almoſt amounted to compleat Fleets, and ſcarcely differ'd from real Battels. He alſo frequently exhibited that cruel Sport of Gladiators, and gave large Rewards to Chariot-Racers. He had likewiſe his Tourneys, and Battels of Horſe Men and Foot-Men, and Huntings and Baitings of infinite Numbers of Wild Beaſts, in which he exceeded all his Predeceſſors; for he caus'd Women, as well as Men, publickly to fight with Wild Beaſts. In the third Year of his Reign he caus'd the Celebration of thoſe great Games and Feaſts call'd, *Sæcular*, which of all others were far the moſt ſolemn and magnificent, and in a regular Courſe cou'd be repreſented but once in a hundred Years, which was ſo long ſince their Celebration by *Auguſtus*; only *Claudius* had order'd them in his own Reign, without obſerving Time or Order. In theſe ſolemn and religious Games he added many Things, and beſides had Diſputations and Controverſies both in *Latin* and *Greek* Proſe,

Ludi Sæculares. *A. D.* 84.

Proſe, as alſo all kinds of Muſicians, Singers, and Dancers, together with Virgins for running of Races: In all which Solemnities he diſtributed great Rewards, ſitting Preſident himſelf, magnificently adorn'd with a purple Robe and Crown, with the Prieſt of *Jupiter*, and the College of the *Flavian* Prieſts about him, with their Coronets. He alſo promoted all kinds of Tragedies, Comedies, and Stage-Plays; and in concluſion, there were made by his Order all thoſe Feaſts, Games, and Revels, that ever had been ſeen or known in *Rome*, beſides many which were newly invented. Among all which he made a Diſtribution among the whole Body of the *Roman* People of 300 Seſterces to every Perſon call'd *Congiarii*; and during the time of theſe Revels, which laſted a conſiderable time, he made many ſumptuous Banquets and publick Entertainments; and there were thrown among the common People all ſorts Coins, Clothes, and other valuable Things out of Windows, which were call'd *Miſſilia*. By which kind of Shows and Benevolences, he was greatly eſteem'd by the vulgar Sort in the former Part of his Reign.

But in ſome other Matters *Domitian* was more deſervedly commended and eſteem'd; particularly in his Adminiſtration of Juſtice, in which he was more than ordinary diligent and induſtrious: He many times ſat himſelf in an extraordinary Manner in the Courts, and ſuperſeded the partial Sentences of the *Centumviri*: He likewiſe admoniſh'd the Commiſſioners and delegated Judges, not to incline too much to the rhetorical Perſwaſions of ſuch as interpoſed in the behalf of the Slaves and Servants who demanded their Liberty, ſeverely puniſhing ſuch Judges and Counſellors as were corrupt, and acted by Bribes. And in this Matter he was ſo careful as to encourage the Tribunes himſelf to accuſe a particular *Ædile* of Extortion, and to demand Juſtice againſt him of the Senate. He was ſo exact in relation to the Corruption

tions, and Enormities of the City Magiſtrates, and the ſeveral Governors of Provinces, that there was never known more Equity and Modeſty among the great Officers, than in his Reign, tho' after his Death moſt of the ſame Perſons were convict of all Manner of Crimes. He purſu'd his Father's and Brother's Deſigns as to the reforming of tedious Law-Suits, and in baniſhing *Delators* and *Promoters*; and he diſcharg'd ſuch as had been ſued in the Exchequer five Years before, and had their Suits ſtill depending, not allowing any new Proceſs to be made upon that Account, but within a Year's ſpace; and with this particular Caution, That if the *Informer* made not his Charge good, he ſhould ſuffer Baniſhment. He likewiſe prohibited the Caſtration of Children; and ſuch as were Eunuchs already, and in the Poſſeſſion of the Merchants, he moderated their Prices, and reduc'd them to a more reaſonable Rate. Obſerving a vaſt Plenty of Wine, and as great a Scarcity of Corn the ſame Year, he concluded, that the great Care in cultivating Vines had caus'd the neglect of Tillage; to prevent with Inconvenience for the future, he by an Edict commanded, that no more Vines ſhould be planted in *Italy*, and that they ſhould be cut down in the Provinces, or at leaſt reduc'd to a Moiety: But he perſiſted not long in this Reſolution. Having taken upon him the Office of *Cenſor*, and the Regulation of Manners, he reform'd many Abuſes in the City; particularly he ſuppreſs'd ſuch Libels and Defamatory Writings, as any ways reflected upon Perſons of Quality of either Sex, and caus'd them to be burnt, adding Diſgrace and Infamy to the Authors. He turn'd a Senator out of the Houſe, purely for his immoderate Delight in Buffoonry and Dancing; judging thoſe Qualities below the Dignity of that venerable Order. From ſuch Women as were Scandalous in their Lives, he took away the Privilege of Litters. and their Capacities of Legacies and Inheritance;

tance; and ſtruck a *Roman* Knight out of the Liſt of the Judges, for receiving his Wife after ſhe had been repudiate for Adultery. But as for the Whoredoms of the *Veſtal* Virgins, which had been accidentally neglected by his Father and Brother, he puniſh'd without Mercy: Such as were convicted but once, ſuffer'd Death as ordinary Malefactors; but others were bury'd alive, according to the ancient Cuſtom, and their aſſociate Criminals whipt to Death. Theſe and the like memorable Acts of Juſtice, have been highly applauded by many; but in moſt of 'em he us'd ſuch Pride and Elation, and ſhew'd himſelf ſo exceſſively Vain-glorious, as gave almoſt evident Tokens of his future Enormities. He was at preſent very various by reaſon of the Equality and Proportion of his Vertues and Vices, till in Proceſs of Time, the latter prevail'd ſo as to drive him into all kinds of Cruelties and Impieties.

Agricola's *Progreſs in* Britain.

In all the Beginning of this Emperor's Reign, *Agricola* vigorouſly purſu'd his great Attempts and Enterprizes in *Britain*; and after thoſe memorable Succeſſes in the laſt Reign, he continu'd his Progreſs, and with many proſperous Conflicts ſubdu'd ſome adjacent Places and People, till then unknown to the *Romans*; and likewiſe put Garriſons into thoſe Parts of *Britain* which lie towards *Ireland*. After this, ſuſpecting a general Inſurrection of the *Caledonians*, thoſe fierce Northern Nations beyond *Bodotria*, in the following Years he man'd out a Fleet to ſearch out the Creeks and Harbours of that ample Region, and with his Army march'd for the *North*. After various Progreſſions and Succeſſes, the *Britains*, intent upon nothing but Revenge or Slavery, by Leagues and Treaties muſter'd up their whole Power; being at laſt ſenſible, that a common Danger muſt be repell'd by Confederacy and Union. Theſe, as their laſt Effort, had gather'd together above 30000 armed Men, beſides great Numbers of Youth, and luſty old Men, who

who formerly had been famous Soldiers, and ſtill retain'd the Scars and Badges of their Bravery. Upon the Approaches of both Armies, all Perſons with great Eagerneſs and Impatience attended the Succeſs of this deciding Battel; and *Galgacus* both by Birth and Merit Commander of the *Britains*, with a noble Warmth and Courage is ſaid to have ſpoken to this Effect. *When I conſider the Cauſe of this War, and our preſent Urgency, I have Reaſon to preſume, that the future Happineſs and Freedom of the whole Iſland will date their Birth from this important Day. For we are the moſt valiant Remains of the* Britains, *ſeated in the remoteſt Parts, beyond the Ken of thoſe Nations enſlav'd by the Enemy; ſo that our Eyes are yet unpolluted, and free from the Contagion of Foreign Tyranny; and this ſecret Receſs, unknown to Fame, hath hitherto preſerv'd us in all the Bleſſings of Liberty. Beyond us in no Nation, nothing but Waves and Rocks; on that Side, nothing but Bondage and Slavery, which we muſt expect from the* Romans; *a People unſatiable in their Luſts, and unbounded in their Ambitions. Thoſe Robbers of the World, and Ravagers of the Univerſe, now the exhauſted Lands can no more furniſh their Rapines, endeavour to riſle the wide Sea and Ocean. When they meet with opulent Enemies, their Cruelty proceeds from Avarice; when with Poor, it ariſes from Ambition. The* Eaſt *and* Weſt, *vaſt as they are, cannot ſatiate their voracious Minds; they, and they alone, with equal Greedineſs and Appetite, graſp at the Riches and Poverty of all Nations. Devaſtations, Murders, and Extirpation, paſs with them under the falſe Names of* Empire *and* Government; *and they boaſt of eſtabliſhing Peace in thoſe Provinces they have render'd deſolate. Our Goods are their Tribute, our Corn their Proviſion, our Bodies their Tools for all kinds of Drudgery, and if the Modeſty of our Wives and Daughters has preſerv'd them from open Violence, when they were Enemies, it cannot ſecure them from their laſcivious Friendſhip, now they are Gueſts. Other Slaves, whom Nature and Fortune have deſtin'd to Servitude, are nouriſhed*

by

*by their Masters; but the* Britains *alone purchase their own Bondage, and maintain and support their Oppressors. Were our Enemies Courage in War equal to their Debaucheries in Peace, we might justly dread their Arms; but their Glory is all owing to our Dissentions: But our Union will dissipate their Forces, which are gather'd out of many Nations; so that one Miscarriage of theirs will dissolve their Power. In sum, there you see Tributes and Slavery, here Death or Liberty; therefore let us remember the Glory of our Ancestors, and consider the Happiness of our Posterity.*

This Speech being vehemently deliver'd, was receiv'd with barbarous Songs, and confus'd Acclamations; while *Agricola* on the other side encourag'd his Men with all the Force and Charms of the *Roman* Eloquence, and fearing to be flank'd by reason of the Enemies Numbers, he drew out his Front in the utmost Length, and advanc'd himself at the Head of his Foot. The Battel began at a considerable Distance, wherein the *Britains* shew'd great Art and Courage, by means of their broad Swords and short Bucklers, with which they bore off the Darts of the Enemies, and pour'd in upon them with Showers of their own. To prevent which Inconveniency, *Agricola* order'd the *Batavian* and *Tungrian* Cohorts to advance against them with their sharp-pointed Bucklers, which render'd their pointless Swords unserviceable, and so mangled their Faces that they were oblig'd to retire with great Precipitation. This Advantage being seconded by the Emulation of the other Cohorts, who furiously bore down all before them; and being many Ways back'd and supported by the great Skill of their General, the *Britains* were at last dispers'd: Whilst many unarm'd ran desperately upon the Swords of their Enemies, others tho' arm'd betook themselves to Flight, leaving a Field dismally strew'd with heaps of Arms, Carcasses, mangled Limbs and Blood. Night and Weariness put an end to the Chace, and Victory made it pleasant to the Conque-

rors;

rors; but the *Britains*, both Men and Women, wandering in a deplorable Manner, ſpent the Night in calling their loſt Friends, carrying off the Wounded, in burning their houſes out of Rage and Fury, and ſhifting from one Hole to another. Sometimes they conſulted with each other, and conceiv'd ſome Hopes; than again they were broken with Compaſſion, and often with Madneſs at the ſight of their Wives and Children, ſeveral of which they deſtroy'd out of Pity, to prevent their future Miſeries. This Victory put a ſtop to all future Reſiſtance, and *Agricola* ſending out his Fleet along the Coaſts, they firſt diſcover'd *Britain* to be an Iſland; and at the ſame Time found out the Iſles of *Orkney*, and ſubdu'd them, which had only been heard of till that Time. And thus after many Struggles and Conflicts, about 138 Years after *Julius Cæſar*'s firſt Entrance, the utmoſt Limits of *Britain*, and the *Orcades* beyond it, were by the Valour and Induſtry of *Agricola* made known to the *Romans*. and the greateſt part of the Iſle reduc'd into an entire and civiliz'd Province in the fourth Year of *Domitian*'s Reign, the Government of which was ever annex'd and appropriated to the *Roman* Emperors themſelves, and no ways to the Diſpoſal of the Senate.

Britain's *final Reduction.* *A. D.* 85.

*Agricola* having ſent a plain Account of theſe Tranſactions, without any amplifying Terms, to *Domitian*, whoſe Vices and Impieties began more openly to diſplay themſelves, his Letters were receiv'd with an open ſhew of great Joy, tho' in Reality with as much Trouble and Concern. For he was conſcious to himſelf, that his late *German* Triumph was both unjuſt and ridiculous; having bought certain Slaves of that Country, and dreſt them in the Habit of Captives to adorn the Solemnity; whereas now a great and real Victory of many thouſands ſlain and ſubdu'd, became current in every Man's Mouth. It was dangerous, he thought, that the Honour of a private,

Private Perſon ſhou'd eclipſe the Glory of a Prince; and that he had in vain ſuppreſs'd the Study of Oratory and other Popular Arts, if another cou'd thus ſurpaſs him in the Art of War. Being tormented with theſe Thoughts, and muſing of it in his Cloſet, a general Fore-runner of Cruelty with this Prince, he concluded it moſt convenient to conceal his Reſentments till the Fame of theſe Victories, and the Heat and Eſteem of the Soldiers were ſomewhat abated. Therefore he took care that Triumphal Ornaments, Statues, and other Honours ſhould be decreed him, and that in very honourable Terms by the Senate; and to remove him from *Britain*, caus'd a Report to be ſpread, that the Lieutenancy of *Syria*, then vacant by the Death of *Atilius Rufus*, and reſerv'd for Perſons of the higheſt Rank, was deſign'd for him. By which politick Contrivance this worthy Commander was diſplac'd from his Lieutenancy in *Britain*, the Province being ſurrender'd in a peaceable Condition to *Saluſtius Lucullus*, and that of *Syria* diſpos'd of otherwiſe. That his Entry into *Rome* might be obſcure and private, he came into the City by Night, as he was order'd; and by Night was admitted into the Palace, where the Emperor receiv'd him with a ſhort and ſilent Salutation; from whom he quickly drew of among the reſt of the Attendants. After which, to prevent further Inconveniencies, he gave himſelf up to a retir'd and unactive Life; notwithſtanding his Death ſome Years after was not without Suſpicion of Poyſon by *Domitian*'s Directions

Thus did this Emperor treat his principal Commander *Agricola*; a manifeſt Fore-runner of an unproſperous Reign, when Princes become regardleſs and jealous of their Subjects beſt Services. He ſhortly after found the Inconveniency of this kind of Treatment in the ſucceeding Wars that happen'd in his Reign, which were all undertaken upon Neceſſity

ceſſity. The firſt was againſt the *Sarmatians* in *Europe*, with whom were join'd thoſe of *Aſia*, and many of the ancient *Scythians*, who all together invaded the *Roman* Empire, and began a cruel and dangerous War, at once deſtroying a whole Legion, and a General of the *Romans*. But after ſeveral Reinforcements of the Legions, and much Bloodſhed, the *Sarmatians* were overthrown, and conſtrain'd to retire into their Country, with the Loſs of many of their People. After which in the Eighth Year of *Domitian*'s Reign, the *Dacians*, under the Conduct of *Decebalus* their King, made an Eruption out of their Country, and extreamly afflicted the *Roman* State; in which War many bloody Battels were fought to the great Shame and Loſs of the *Romans*. At firſt they overthrew *Oppius Sabinus*, a Man of Conſular Dignity, and cut off the greateſt Parts of his Army; and next *Cornelius Fuſcus*, Captain of the *Prætorian* Guards, in ſeveral Fights. Our remaining Authors are very brief and imperfect as to the Particulars of theſe great and dangerous Wars; but *Tacitus*, whoſe large Account of 'em is loſt, tells us, that many Armies and Standards of the *Romans* were caſt away, thro' the Raſhneſs or Cowardice of their Commanders, The Conteſts were not then for the Limits of the Empire, and the Banks of the *Danube*; but the ſtanding Legions, and the Provinces themſelves were in danger of being loſt; ſo that Loſſes being heap'd upon Loſſes, every Seaſon became unhappily memorable for ſome Calamity or Overthrow. But at laſt the *Roman* State, vigorouſly exerting its inward Power and Strength, repell'd thoſe barbarous Nations, tho' not without the Aſſiſtance of Money, and unjuſtly procur'd *Domitian* a Triumph, which was not his only Triumph; for he obtain'd another over the *Catti*, a People in *Germany*, with whom he maintain'd a doubtful War; for which he vainly aſſum'd the Surname of *Germanicus*, and caus'd the two Months *September*

*tember* and *October*, to be call'd *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*, because in one of them he was made Emperor, and in the other he was born.

After this *Domitian* proceeded to higher Degrees of Pride and Extravagancy, not permitting his Statues in the *Capitol* to be made of any Thing less than of pure Gold and Silver, and of precise Weight. And as Ambition is a boundless Madness, which sets Men against Heaven, when it has raised 'em above the World; so it caus'd this Emperor impiously to assume to himself Divine Honours, and to stile himself *Our Lord* and *Our God*; ordering likewise that no Man should presume to call him otherwise, either in Writing or Discourse. This monstrous Arrogancy brought him into all kinds of Enormities, and was the fatal Fore-runner of many excessive Cruelties, destroying great Numbers of all Sorts without Mercy or Consideration; so that he prov'd like *Nero* and *Caligula*, and not like his Father or Brother. He caus'd many Illustrious Senators to be put to Death, some of which had been Consuls, particularly *Civilis Cerealis* in his Proconsulship of *Asia*, and *Salvidenus Orfitus*, and *Accilius Glabrio*, in their Banishments, unjustly pretending Practices against the State. He also punish'd Multitudes of others upon very slight and trifling Occasion: *Ælius Lamia* among the rest was executed only for his Jests, tho' they were old and innocent; *Salvius Cocceanus*, for celebrating the Nativity of *Otho* the Emperor, who was his Uncle by the Father's side; *Metius Pompositanus*, for being reported to have had an Imperial Horoscope, portending him to be Emperor; and other Pretences of the like Nature; and *Salustius Lucullus*, his Lieutenant in *Britain*, for suffering a new sort of Lances to be call'd *Lucullia*'s, after his own Name. He commanded *Junius Rusticus* to be put to Death, for publishing a Writing in Commendation of *Pætus Thrasea*, and *Helvidius Priscus*, two Philosophers, contrary to his Fa-

ther's Promotion in the Empire; upon which Occaſion he a ſecond time baniſh'd all the Philoſophers, Mathematicians, &c. out of *Rome* and *Italy*. Soon after this Decree the great Magician *Apollonius Tyanæus*, having often endeavour'd to rival our Saviour, was brought before *Domitian*, where performing many Tricks of Magick, is ſaid immediately to vaniſh out of ſight.

Upon the account of the many Cruelties of this Emperor, and for ſome Affronts receiv'd, *Lucius Antonius*, Governor of the Upper *Germany*, rais'd a dangerous Rebellion in thoſe Parts; and being Commander of a numerous Army, he uſurped the Title of Emperor. The Succeſs of this Inſurrection remain'd long doubtful, and became daily more formidable to the Emperor, who had ſo much loſt the Love of his People, till his General *Normandus* dexterouſly ſurpriz'd *Antonius*, juſt when a Sudden Over-flowing of the *Rhine* had ſtopp'd the Arrival of the *German* Auxiliaries, and deſtroy'd both him and his Army. The News of this Victory, we are told, was brought to *Rome* by Supernatural Means on the ſame Day that the Battel was fought, to the great ſurprize of the Emperor and City.

After this Victory and Succeſs, *Domitian*'s Cruelty increas'd, ſhewing no kind of Mercy to thoſe who had been of the Adverſe Party; and that he might throughly revenge himſelf, and diſcover all their Accomplices, he invented new kinds of Tortures, putting Fire into their Privities, and ſometimes cutting off their Hands. After which he became exorbitant in his Cruelties, even to his greateſt Friends and Favourites, in which he was not only fierce and poſitive, but alſo exceeding ſubtle and artificial in ſurprizing. The day before he crucify'd the Comptroller of his Houſhold, he kindly call'd him up into his Chamber, caus'd him to ſit down by him, diſmiſs'd him cheerfully and ſecure, and favour'd him with a

Diſh

Diſh of Meat from his own Table that Night. Having concluded on the Death of *Aretinus Clemens*, a Perſon of Conſular Dignity, and one of his principal Favourites and Emiſſaries, he ſent for him, complemented him, ſhew'd him greater Favour than formerly, and carry'd him about with him in his own Litter: And that he might abuſe the Patience of Men with more Scorn and Contempt, he never pronounc'd any diſmal Sentence, but with a cunning Preamble, full of great Clemency and Mercy; ſo that whenever he appear'd kind and gentle in the Prologue, it was a certain Sign of proving cruel and bloody in the Epilogue. Having brought ſome Perſons accus'd of Treaſon before the Senate, to prepare them for his Deſign, he publickly declar'd, That *that Day would manifeſtly ſhew how dear he was to the Senate*; by which Means he fore-ſpoke their Judgments, and eaſily prevail'd to have them condemn'd to die *more Majorum*, the moſt cruel of all Deaths: Which when he had obtain'd, as if he had been terrify'd with the Atrocity of the Puniſhment, he thus interceded with the Senate, *Permit, I beſeech you, Venerable Fathers, that I may obtain of your tender Pity (which I know cannot be obtain'd but with great difficulty) that theſe poor condemn'd Wretches may be allowed to make choice of what Deaths they will ſuffer: By ſo doing you will reſcue your own Eyes from a diſmal Spectacle of Horror, and all the World will take notice that I was then preſent in the Senate.*

In the midſt of theſe various Cruelties, this Emperor gave himſelf up to all kinds of Luxury and Incontinence, and to the Practice of all ſorts of covetous and rapacious Acts. In the former he was no leſs notorious than the moſt vicious of his Predeceſſors, being enormouſly addicted to Luſt and Wantonneſs, and frequently converſing and ſwimming with the moſt ordinary and lewd Proſtitutes. Having exhauſted his Treaſury by extraordinary Build-

ings, by his frequent Exhibitions to the People, by his Augmentation of his Soldiers Pay, and other great Charges of the Empire, his Avarice began to appear, and to ſhew it ſelf in its moſt ugly Form, reducing him to the Invention of all kinds of Rapines and Extortions. He ſeiz'd upon the Eſtates of all People, whether living or dead, upon the leaſt Accuſation, by the firſt Informer; and the ſmalleſt Action or Word againſt the Majeſty of the Prince, was ſufficient to ruin the Poſſeſſor. He confiſcated Inheritances, tho' never ſo remote, if but one Witneſs could be found to depoſe, *That he heard the deceaſed Party ſay, when living, That* Cæſar *was his Heir.* With which Artificial Contrivances, and as many others as he could invent, he never ceas'd ſqueezing and pillaging opulent Perſons, not only in *Rome* and *Italy*, but alſo in other Provinces ſubject to the Empire; ſo that Wealth and Riches now became the *Romans* greateſt Snare. But above all, the ſeveral Tributes of the *Jews*, now the Abjects of the World, was exacted with greateſt Rigour and Severity, not only from ſuch as by open Profeſſion were *Jews*, and practis'd their Religion in the City, but from ſuch alſo as had diſſembled their Original, and by that Means evaded the Impoſitions. And his enormous Impieties have awakened in him the quickeſt Jealouſies, he became extreamly ſuſpicious of the Line of *David*, upon Report made to him, *That from Him ſhould ariſe a Perſon who was to rule the whole World.* Whereupon this cruel Emperor commanded all thoſe *Jews* of the Lineage of *David* to be diligently ſearcht out and ſlain. Tho' afterwards two Chriſtian Grandſons of St. *Jude* the Apoſtle, of that Line, being brought before him, and finding them poor and inconſiderable, and underſtanding by them that *Chriſt*'s Kingdom was not of this World, he diſmiſt them, ſuppoſing their Meanneſs and Simplicity to be below his Fears and Jealouſies.

At

At length to set a Seal to all former Wickednesses, this Emperor set himself to persecute the Catholick Church, and to destroy the Christian Religion, and by his Letters and Edicts. both in *Rome* and in other Places, infinite Numbers of *Christians* were banish'd and put to Death; upon whom he executed various Cruelties. This was the second general Persecution of the Church which broke out in the tenth Year of this Emperor's Reign, and 26 Year after the beginning of the first under *Nero*, tho' some place is three or four Years after; in which the beloved Disciple St. *John* was sent for to *Rome*, by the Proconsul of *Asia*, where by *Domitian*'s Command he was thrown into a Cauldron of boiling Oil, or rather Oil set on fire; whence he was miraculously preserv'd from Danger, and immediatly after banished to the desolate Isle of *Patmos*, where he wrote the *Apocalypse*, which was a Divine Representation of the State and Condition of Christianity in the future Periods, and Age of the Church. Many other eminent *Christians* suffer'd in this Persecution, particularly, *Timothy* was ston'd to Death in *Ephesus* by *Diana*'s Votaries; and *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* was martyr'd at *Athens*. Besides, *Domitian* spar'd not his Cousin-German *Fl. Clemens*, in the Time of his Consulship, for being a *Christian*; and banished his Wife *Fl. Domitilla*, his own Kinswoman also, for the same Reason, into the Island *Pandataria*. Thus like his bloody Predecessor *Nero*, he rag'd against the innocent *Christians*, and likewise their Persecutors; but before his Death, after two or three Years, he moderated the Persecution, and made it cease.

*The second general Persecution.* *A. D.* 91.

Now *Domitian* by his brutish and bloody Practices, became odius to the greatest part of his Subjects, but exceeding terrible to the Senate and Nobility; the whole Body of which he often threatned by the causeless Deaths and Banishments of so many of them. Once the Senate-House was beset, and the

Senators environ'd with Soldiers, to their great Terror; another Time they were driven to a moſt diſmal Fright by a more private Contrivance of the Emperor's, which ſucceeded in this manner. *Domitian*, at a ſet Evening and Feſtival, made a kind and ſolemn Invitation of the greateſt part of the Senate to a publick Entertainment. At the Entrance of his Palace they were all formally receiv'd, and ceremoniouſly conducted, and lock'd up in a ſpacious Hall hung round with Black, and illuminated by a few melancholy Lamps, which were only ſufficient to ſhew the Horror of the Place, and to diſcover ſeveral Coffins, upon which were fairly written the Names of the Senators invited. The Senators were fill'd with ſtrange Fears and Apprehenſions at the appearance of this Diſmal Scene, and the Proſpect of Death ſo ſolemnly carv'd out for them, well knowing the cauſeleſs and unreaſonable Cruelties of this Emperor. In the height of their frightful Imaginations, after a long Writing, their Fears were increas'd by an Entertainment of many naked Perſons, with their Bodies all over blacken'd, who enter'd the Hall with drawn Sword in one Hand, and flaming Torches in the other. The Gueſts at this dreadful Appearance, expected nothing but immediate Death, when ſuddenly the naked Perſons, after they had danc'd ſome time about them, ſet open the Doors, telling them *That the Emperor gave all the Company leave to withdraw.* Thus did this Tyrant threaten the main Body of the Senate at once; but he ſeldom threatened, without ſtriking, eſpecially if he once got their Names into a certain Table-Book, which he kept purpoſely for cruel and bloody Deſigns.

As *Domitian* drew near the End of his Reign, his Errors and Enormities became more conſpicuous and notorious; he became more lazy and unactive, more inſolent and revengeful, and like a thorough pac'd Tyrant, inſupportably jealous and ſuſpicious of all Perſons

Persons. The Predictions of the *Chaldæans*, and other Astrologers, concerning his Death, gave him violent Apprehensions; which, together with his numerous Crimes, made him live in perpetual Disquiet, the least Suspicion throwing him into the greatest Anxety. At length he wou'd not admit any Prisoner or Criminal to be brought before him, but in private, and with the greatest Caution; nor wou'd he hear any of them plead for themselves, till he had first secur'd their Chains in his Hands: And that his Domesticks might perceive how unsafe it was for any to attempt the Life of his Patron, upon any Pretence, he commanded *Epaphroditus* to be executed, for being suppos'd to assist *Nero* in his Death, tho' he desir'd it himself, being first deserted by the rest of his Friends Finally, his Jealousies increas'd to that Degree, that he caus'd his Gallery, in which he usuelly walk'd, to be set about with a certain Stone call'd *Phengites*, by the Brightness of which he cou'd discern what was done behind him by Reflection, as in a Glass. He became daily tormented with unfortunate Omens and Portents; but nothing more terify'd him than the Answer of *Ascleterion*, the Astrologer, and the strange Accident that ensu'd. For he being accus'd to *Domitian*, of publishing the Predictions of his Death, and not denying the Charge, the Emperor ask'd if he knew his own Fortune, and what would be his Death; the Astrologer reply'd, *That he should be devour'd by Dogs*. To convince the World, as he thought, of his Error, he caus'd him immedately to be slain, and burn'd with all possible Care and Caution; which while his Officers were effecting, a furious Tempest suddenly arose, blew down the Funeral Pile, and threw off the Body; where the Dogs by accident caught it up, and devour'd it before it was half burnt. His Jealousies extended likewise to Writers and Learned Men, especially Historians, whom he punish'd for their due Praises of Illustrious

Men.

Men. He always dreaded these, well knowing that wise and faithful Men continually observ'd and condemn'd the hainous Offences of Tyrants, and would record them for the good of Posterity. Notwithstanding *Josephus* by a happy Fortune attain'd the Favour, if not the Encouragement of this Emperor, finishing his History of the *Jewish* Antiquities, in the 13*th* Year of this Reign. At which Time flourish'd many eminent Writers, particularly *Martial*, the witty Epigrammatick Poet; *Juvenal* the declaiming Satyrist, who lively expos'd the Vices of this corrupt Reign; that sonorous Enthusiastick Poet *Statius*, who begins the 4*th* Book of his *Sylvæ*, with the Celebration of *Domitian*'s 27*th* Consulship, which was in the 14*th* Year of his Reign; with several others who were prompted more by the Genius of the Nation, than the Encouragement of the Emperor.

The last part of this Reign is represented by *Tacitus*, as the most miserable and insupportable of any preceding; in which he tells us, *Domitian*, not at set Times, and by various Degrees, but with an uninterrupted Course, and with one Blow, as it were, endeavour'd to ruin the State. *Nero* exercis'd abominable Cruelties, but withdrew his Presence, and look'd not on: But the principal Part of the *Romans* Miseries in this Reign, was to see and be seen; when Mens secret Sighs were register'd; and when the stern Countenance and fiery Visage of the Tyrant, with which he arm'd himself against Confusion and Blushing, cou'd endure publickly to observe and mark the Fears and Paleness of such an infinite Number of People. But a Period was soon put to his furious Proceedings; for *Rome* had now learn'd the fatal Secret, and being inur'd to that violent Expedient disburthening its self of Tyrants and Monsters, His Ruin was much promoted by means of the unjust Death of his Cousin *Clemens* above-mentioned, and hastned by Reason of an accidental Discovery of his own

own Wife *Domitia*, who ſearching into his black Table-Book, found her own Name there, with many of his principal Friends, particularly *Stephanus* his Steward, *Norbanus* and *Petronius*, to whom he ſhew'd the Book, in order to oblige them to concert Matters with her, and diſpatch *Domitian*. Theſe and ſeveral others, to whom the higheſt Friendſhip had been ſhewn, were ſoon perſwaded into a deep Conſpiracy, which they form'd and carry'd on with the greateſt Diligence and Secrecy. Of theſe *Stephanus* and *Parthenius* were Principals, the latter of which was *Domitian*'s chief Chamberlain, and the former for ſeveral Days had worn a Dagger in his left Arm, which he wrapt in Wool, pretending an accidental Hurt in that Place. Having after divers Conſultations, determined the Manner and Method of Proceeding they impatiently waited for the firſt Opportunity to put their fatal Deſign in Execution.

The *Roman* Writers take notice of ſeveral preſaging Omens before his Death, particularly frequent and terrible Flaſhes of Lightning, which drove him almoſt to Deſpair, and caus'd him to cry out, *Let Jove ſtrike whom he pleaſes.* He had notice formerly of the Day and Hour of his Death, according to ſome, and the preceding Day having order'd ſome choice Fruit, which were preſented him, to be reſerv'd againſt the next, he added, *If it be my Fortune to uſe them*: Then turning to thoſe about him, he told them, *That the next Day ſome fatal Thing would be perform'd, which ſhould prove the Diſcourſe of all the World.* At Midnight he was ſo affrighted, as to leap out of his Bed; and the next Morning he ſent for an Aſtrologer who came from *Germany*, and condemn'd him to Death, for declaring to him that the late great Lightnings portended a Revolution in the State. At Night when his Fears were greateſt, he enquiring of his Attendants what Hour it was, they falſly told him Midnight, which was an Hour later than that which he appre-

apprehended. At which, being transported, as if all Danger was past, he hastned to his Bath for the refreshment of his Body; but *Parthenius*, with great Earnestness led him another way, pretending he had got a Person in his Chamber, who had a Matter of the highest Importance to discover to him, and such as could not safely be deferr'd. In which Chamber he was met by *Stephanus*, who under pretence of discovering a Conspiracy, presented *Domitian* with a List of several Names; and while he was reading it with great Horror and Astonishment, he suddenly struck his Dagger into his Groin. Whereupon the Emperor crying out, clos'd with him, and with great Violence threw him to the Ground. before he could give him a second Wound; but in the midst of these Struglings, *Parthenius*, *Clodianus*, *Maximus*, and *Saturius*, with other Conspirators, who were of his own Houshold, ran all furiously upon him, and with many Wounds dispatch'd this impious Tyrant. It is almost incredible what some Writers report concerning *Apollonius Tyanæus*, formerly mention'd, who being at *Ephesus*, at the same Minute that *Domitian* was slain, suddenly cry'd out with great Eagerness *Courage brave* Stephanus! *Strike the Tyrant home*; and immediately after said, *All is well, the Tyrant is dead, he is just now slain.*

*The Death of* Domitian.

This was the wretched End of *Flavius Domitian*, the twelfth Emperor of *Rome*, in the 45th Year of his Age, and the 15th of his Reign; a Person, who tho' he had the noble Examples of a Father and Brother, by his detestable Vices and Ambition, became so odious and abominable, that the Empire groan'd with his Burden, and the World could contain him no longer. The Judgments of Heaven were still more exemplary in the Indignities offer'd to his Body and his Memory: For tho' his Death was taken heinously by his *Prætorian* Guards, who were often Instruments of his Cruelty, and therefore offer'd to canonize him

as

as a God; yet the Joy of the Senate was ſo extraordinary, that being aſſembled in the utmoſt Haſte, they could not abſtain from reviling him after the moſt opprobrious and contemptuous manner imaginable, commanding Ladders to be immediately brought, all his Scutcheons, Statues, and Images to be torn down, and deſtroy'd before their Faces; and at laſt made a Decree, *That no more Honour ſhould be ſhown at his Funeral, than was allowed to a common Ruffian; that all his Inſcriptions ſhould be totally raz'd; that his Name ſhould be ſtruck out of the Regiſters of Fame, and his Memory aboliſhed for ever.* He differ'd from *Caligula* and *Nero* in this, that tho' he was rather more cruel, he was not altogether ſo irregular and extravagant; and by a happy preſerving the Juſtice of Governors and Magiſtrates, he kept the Empire from general Rebellions and Revolts; by which means he reſcu'd himſelf from *Nero*'s Guilt of ſowing the Seeds, and creating of Civil Wars after his Death. His Death put a Period to the Family of the *Veſpaſians*, and was the laſt of thoſe Emperors, vulgarly call'd *The Twelve* Cæſars; of which *Julius*, *Auguſtus*, *Veſpaſian*, and *Titus*, were Perſons tho' not faultleſs, of ſingular Merits and Renown; *Galba* and *Otho* had great Vices and Errors; *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius Nero*, *Vitellius*, and *Domitian*, tho' commendable for ſome Qualities, were Monſters of Mankind, and Peſts of the World. Of all of them, but three dy'd a natural Death; moſt, if not all the reſt, having been the juſt and wilful Cauſe of their own Ruin and Deſtruction. The Death of the laſt happen'd *U. C.* 849, it being 138 Years after the Beginning of the Imperial State of *Rome* under *Julius Cæſar*, 121 after the full Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 96 Years after our Saviour's Birth, 63 after his Crucifixion, and 25 after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

*The End of the Firſt Book.*

# THE Roman Hiſtory.

## BOOK II.

*From the laſt of the Twelve* CÆSARS, *to the Removal of the Imperial Seat by* Conſtantine the Great.

*Containing the ſpace of* 234 *YEARS,*

## CHAP. I.

*From the Death of* DOMITIAN, *the laſt of the Twelve* CÆSERS, *to the Death of* TRAJAN, *the Fourteenth Emperor, who brought the Empire to the utmoſt Extent and Power.*

*Containing the Space of* 21 *YEARS.*

ROME had now been ſeverely harraſs'd and afflicted with the lawleſs Actions of a barbarous and tyrannical Prince, and by all the Miſeries and Calamities of Arbitrary Power; ſo that the Death of *Domitian*, how irregular ſoever, prov'd a great Relief and extraordinary *A. D.* 96.

nary Satisfaction to the Greateſt and Wiſeſt of the City, who under his Reign cou'd have no Security either of their Lives or Eſtates. Many Perſons Hopes were rais'd and enlarg'd by a Proſpect of thoſe Golden Days that ſucceeded, which they believ'd were portended by *Domitian*'s late Dream, of having a Golden Neck and Head grown upon his Shoulders. Tho' this was but a ſmall Foundation for Mens Hopes, yet in the Event, thoſe proſperous Times prov'd true, by reaſon of the Moderation and Wiſe Government of the five ſucceeding Emperors, who, tho' Foreigners, procur'd that Happineſs to the *Roman* State, which but few of its own Natives and Neighbours cou'd afford. The Senate, after ſome Moderation of their Tranſports of Joy for *Domitian*'s Death, and ſome ſmall Conſultations, immediately took care to provide a Succeſſor, before any other ſhou'd be choſen by the Army; and *Cocceius Nerva*, being at that time, for his many Vertues, Experience and Age, a Perſon of the greateſt Reputation and Eſteem in *Rome*, he was made Emperor by his Suffrages, having been firſt favour'd and aſſiſted by *Petronius Secundus*, Captain of the *Prætorian* Guards, and *Parthenius*, one of the late Conſpirators. *Nerva* was of an illuſtrious Family, ſprung from a Father of the ſame Name, and born in the Iſle of *Crete*, tho' moſt ſay in *Narnia* a City in *Umbria*, and others ſay *Spain*; being now above Sixty four Years of Age, and not without ſome bodily Infirmities. He had been often invited to take upon him the Empire in the late Reign, and was often in Danger from *Domitian*; therefore he was the more ready to accept of this Dignity, tho' declining in Years.

**Nerva** *made Emperor.*

*Nerva* was ſcarcely receiv'd in the Senate, and allow'd of as Emperor, when he was exceedingly ſurpriz'd by a falſe Rumour, That *Domitian* was ſtill alive, and that the Report of his Death was only and Artifice to create new Miſchiefs and Cruelties. This

News

News extreamly confounded this wary and timorous Prince, ſo that his Countenance was ſuddenly chang'd, his Voice loſt, and he hardly able to ſtand; till *Parthanius* gave him ſuch aſſurance of the Truth of his Death, that he recover'd his former Temper and Reſolution. Shortly after, the whole Senate went to pay him their utmoſt Reſpects, and to receive him as their Lord and Emperor; all ſhewing great Satisfaction, and no leſs Hopes of future Proſperity and Succeſs. Many Congratulatory Speeches and Complements were made to this new Emperor; but that from *Arrius Antonius*, a very wiſe and juſt Man, and his intimate Companion, was of a different kind from the reſt. For having embrac'd him with great Familiarity, he openly told him, *That in Conſideration of his Advancement to this high Dignity, he came with the reſt to congratulate the good Fortune of the Senate and People of* Rome, *and the Happineſs of the Provinces of the Empire, but could not congratulate Him upon any Account. For,* proceeded he, *having by your Wiſdom and Virtue, now happily eſcap'd the Malice of your Enemies, and the Injuries of wicked Princes, you plunge your ſelf into new Troubles and Dangers, and expoſe your ſelf to the Cenſure and Hatred of all, both Friends and Enemies; eſpecially the former, who will unjuſtly preſume upon your Favour, in reſpect of ancient Amity; and if any of their Suits be deny'd, they will become greater and more violent Enemies, than thoſe who openly declare themſelves your Foes.*

After the finiſhing of the Ceremonies and the accuſtomed Solemnities, *Nerva* diligently and cloſely apply'd himſelf to the great Affairs of the Publick, and perform'd ſeveral noble and excellent Things. And his firſt was the reſcinding of the odious Acts and Decrees of his Predeceſſor *Domitian*, particularly recalling the ſcatter'd *Chriſtians*, who from *Rome* and other Cities were baniſh'd in the late Reign, permitting them the free Uſe of their Religion, In the Time of which general Indulgence, St. *John* the Evan-

geliſt left the Iſle of *Patmos*, and return'd into *Aſia* his ancient Charge, chiefly fixing himſelf at *Epheſus*, the Care and Preſidency of which he took upon him, and by the Aſſiſtance of Seven other Biſhops, govern'd that ſpacious Dioceſe. This Emperor ſhew'd the like Kindneſs and Humanity to all others, who were unjuſtly baniſh'd by his Predeceſſor; and likewiſe releas'd and diſcharg'd all the Cities of the Empire from thoſe ſevere Impoſitions which *Veſpaſian* and *Domitian* had laid upon them. He particularly remov'd that rigorous Tribute upon all Carriages, which had been look'd upon as ſo great a Grievance in general, that the Senate commanded Coyns to be minted in remembrance of the Goodneſs of the Emperor that eas'd *Italy* of that Burden. To many who by *Domitian* had been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſs'd of their Goods, he commanded the Owners to be reſtor'd to all ſuch as cou'd be found about the Imperal Palaces: And he not only ſhew'd himſelf liberal to thoſe who were oppreſs'd; but to all poor Men who had Sons, he caus'd them to be bred up at his own Charges. He made alſo a munificent Diſtribution among all the People of *Rome*, in a larger Meaſure than was uſually made by any of his Predeceſſors; and to ſome decay'd Citizens, who he knew had no Eſtates, he caus'd certain Poſſeſſions, which he purchas'd for that Purpoſe, to be divided among them; all which he left to the care and Management of certain Senators appointed for that purpoſe. And above all, he conferr'd great Favours, and beſtowed large Gifts upon his Friends and Relations; and his Liberality was generally ſo extenſive, that at his firſt Arrival to the Empire, he was conſtrain'd to ſell his Gold and Silver Plate, and other rich Moveables of his Houſe, to enable him to perform his many bountiful Offices. His Liberality likewiſe extended to Learning, and learned Men, of whom he was a great Incourager, being himſelf very eloquent and a good Poet, as

*Martial*

*Martial* assures us; in whose Time flourish'd, besides some eminent Writers mention'd in *Domitian*'s Reign, that celebrated Institutor of Youth, *Quintilian*.

This Emperor was no less noted for his Mildness and Clemency, than his Bounty and Liberality, insomuch that he solemnly swore, *That no Senator of* Rome *should by his Commandment be put to Death, tho' they gave never so just an Occasion*; Which Oath he so religiously observ'd, that when two of that Rank had conspired against his Life, he us'd no kind of Severity against them: But first sending for them, *To let them see he was not ignorant of their traiterous Designs*, he carry'd them with him to the publick Theatre, plac'd them on each side of him, and presented each with a Sword, telling them before all the World, *That they might experience the goodness of the Weapons upon his Body*. This and other uncommon Acts of Clemency, gave occasion to some to murmur against the Lenity of his Government, alledging, *That such great Mildness caus'd too much Looseness and Corruption in the State*; and *Fronto*, a principal Man in *Rome*, presum'd openly to declare, *That it was a great Misfortune to live under that Reign, where all Things were forbidden, but a worse under that where all Things were allow'd*. Upon notice of which Boldness, *Nerva* shew'd but small Anger, but prudently prohibited and alter'd several Things which gave Occasion for such a Censure; and he so much desir'd to govern wisely and uprightly, that he acted nothing of Moment without the Assistance of others, and he procur'd such as were of the greatest Experience in *Rome*, by whose Advice and Counsel, he provided, ordained, and dispatched all Matters of Consequence. Yet by reason of his Mildness and Remissness in some Particulars, the great Officers of State and Governors of Provinces were accus'd of being more corrupt in their Administrations, and more burdensom

to the People, than under that Tyrant *Domitian*, who by a happy and vigorous Reſolution, reſtrain'd a great Part of their ſhameleſs Briberies and indirect Practices. And by this Means likewiſe, ſeveral were condemn'd thro' the Accuſation of Sycophants; particularly *Suras* a Philoſopher.

During the ſhort Time of his Reign, he made ſeveral good Laws and Ordinances; among which he ſtrictly prohibited a common Abuſe of that Age, which was the Caſtration of Males; a Cuſtom which *Domitian* had likewiſe condemn'd, tho' not wholly remov'd. He alſo forbad that any Man ſhould marry his Niece, or Brother's Daughter, which was firſt allow'd in *Claudius*'s Reign; and ſettled ſeveral other Things that wanted Reformation. He put all thoſe Servants and Slaves to Death, who had taken the Advantage of the laſt Reign, and ſought the Lives of their Maſters by turning *Informers*; and likewiſe ordained, that no Perſon of that Rank ſhould be heard in any Accuſation againſt their Maſters. He would not permit any Statues to be erected in his Honour, and took down all thoſe Gold and Silver Statues of *Domitian*'s, which the Senate had ſpared, and converted them into large Sums of Money. He ſold a great many rich Robes and Plate, much of the Furniture of the Palace, and retrench'd ſeveral unreaſonable Expences of the Court. At the ſame time he had ſo little of Avarice in his Temper, that when *Herodes Atticus* had found a large Treaſure in his Houſe, and to avoid Calumnies, he diſcover'd to Him as the legal Owner; *Nerva* generouſly wrote to him, *Utere, Uſe it:* But the other not believing himſelf ſecure, gave him to underſtand, *That this Treaſure exceeded the Condition of a private Perſon*; Whereupon the Emperor readily reply'd, *Ergo abutere, Then abuſe it*; being freely willing to reap none of the Profit himſelf. He was alſo a noted and frequent Reconciler of all Differences and Conteſts, and had ſo great a Con-

Confidence in his own Innocence, that he often ſaid, *That tho' he ſhould quit the Empire, and return to a private Life, he had done nothing that could cauſe him to fear any Man.* He had ſo ſmall a Fear of *Virgilius Rufus*, a moſt popular Man, whom the Armies had formerly ſet up for Emperor, that he made him his Collegue in the Conſulſhip; and upon his Death ſhortly after, he gave him an honourable Epitaph, importing, *That* Rufus's *aſſuming the Empire, was ſolely for his Country's Good.* Notwithſtanding the Actions of this Prince gave him no Reaſon to fear Enemies, yet he liv'd not free from the treacherous Practices of his Subjects: For beſides the forementi-on'd Senators who aim'd at his Life, *Calpurnius Craſſus*, with ſome others, form'd a dangerous Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon, but this was timely reveal'd to this good Emperor, who according to his wonted Clemency, would uſe no Severity, but reſted ſatisfy'd with only the Baniſhment of thoſe who were culpable, tho' the Senate deſir'd to inflict a more rigorous Puniſhment. Still he continu'd in his uſual Security, his Symbol being, *A good Mind poſſeſſes a Kingdom.*

This Emperor had no remarkable Wars abroad, but was not free from ſome Diſturbances among his Soldiers at home, more eſpecially in the Beginning of the Second Year of his Reign; all which aroſe upon the Account of *Domitian*'s Murder, which they reſolv'd to revenge the firſt Opportunity. *Caſperius Ælianus*, Captain of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, was the Principal in this Commotion, who zealouſly excited the Soldiers to deſtroy all thoſe who had join'd in the late Emperor's Aſſaſſination; which they determin'd to put in Execution, though *Nerva* neither gave them Encouragement nor Permiſſion. This Motion was ſudden and impetuous, and the Emperor extreamly concern'd, reſolving to prevent their Demands, and protect thoſe from whom he receiv'd the Empire, or to die in their behalf; all which

to the People, than under that Tyrant *Domitian*, who by a happy and vigorous Resolution, restrain'd a great Part of their shameless Briberies and indirect Practices. And by this Means likewise, several were condemn'd thro' the Accusation of Sycophants; particularly *Suras* a Philosopher.

During the short Time of his Reign, he made several good Laws and Ordinances; among which he strictly prohibited a common Abuse of that Age, which was the Castration of Males; a Custom which *Domitian* had likewise condemn'd, tho' not wholly remov'd. He also forbad that any Man should marry his Niece, or Brother's Daughter, which was first allow'd in *Claudius*'s Reign; and settled several other Things that wanted Reformation. He put all those Servants and Slaves to Death, who had taken the Advantage of the last Reign, and sought the Lives of their Masters by turning *Informers*; and likewise ordained, that no Person of that Rank should be heard in any Accusation against their Masters. He would not permit any Statues to be erected in his Honour, and took down all those Gold and Silver Statues of *Domitian*'s, which the Senate had spared, and converted them into large Sums of Money. He sold a great many rich Robes and Plate, much of the Furniture of the Palace, and retrench'd several unreasonable Expences of the Court. At the same time he had so little of Avarice in his Temper, that when *Herodes Atticus* had found a large Treasure in his House, and to avoid Calumnies, he discover'd to Him as the legal Owner; *Nerva* generously wrote to him, *Utere, Use it:* But the other not believing himself secure, gave him to understand, *That this Treasure exceeded the Condition of a private Person*; Whereupon the Emperor readily reply'd, *Ergo abutere, Then abuse it*; being freely willing to reap none of the Profit himself. He was also a noted and frequent Reconciler of all Differences and Contests, and had so great a Con-

Confidence in his own Innocence, that he often ſaid, *That tho' he ſhould quit the Empire, and return to a private Life, he had done nothing that could cauſe him to fear any Man.* He had ſo ſmall a Fear of *Virgilius Rufus*, a moſt popular Man, whom the Armies had formerly ſet up for Emperor, that he made him his Collegue in the Conſulſhip; and upon his Death ſhortly after, he gave him an honourable Epitaph, importing, *That* Rufus's *aſſuming the Empire, was ſolely for his Country's Good.* Notwithſtanding the Actions of this Prince gave him no Reaſon to fear Enemies, yet he liv'd not free from the treacherous Practices of his Subjects: For beſides the forementi-on'd Senators who aim'd at his Life, *Calpurnius Craſſus*, with ſome others, form'd a dangerous Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon, but this was timely reveal'd to this good Emperor, who according to his wonted Clemency, would uſe no Severity, but reſted ſatisfy'd with only the Baniſhment of thoſe who were culpable, tho' the Senate deſir'd to inflict a more rigorous Puniſhment. Still he continu'd in his uſual Security, his Symbol being, *A good Mind poſſeſſes a Kingdom.*

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he openly declar'd and publiſh'd. But the Matter was carry'd on with ſuch Violence and Reſolution, that the old Emperor wanted ſufficient Power and Vigour to put a Stop to their Fury; So that *Stephanus* and *Petronius* were ſlain, and all others who were pronounced guilty by *Caſperius*; who reſted not here, but conſtrain'd *Nerva* himſelf to give Thanks to the Soldiers before the People, for deſtroying the worſt and moſt impious of all Men. This was a very ſenſible Affliction to the Emperor, whoſe Power and Authority daily declin'd; and now finding that his Age and Infirmities render'd him almoſt contemptible to his Soldiers, he reſolv'd to adopt ſome worthy Perſon for his Succeſſor, who ſhould be able both to ſupport him, and govern after his Deceaſe. Tho' *Nerva* had many conſiderable Friends and Relations, who endeavour'd for this high Dignity, yet like a noble, juſt and generous Prince, he ſought only the publick Good of his Country, and wiſely made choice of *Ulpius Trajanus*, an utter Stranger to his Family, then Governor of the lower *Germany*, and the greateſt and moſt deſerving Perſon of that Age. Having put his Determination in Execution, and the accuſtom'd Solemnities perform'd, he adopted him in the Capitol, made him *Cæſar* in the Senate, and immediately ſent Ambaſſadors to him at *Cologne*, with the Enſigns and Arms of the Empire, and a Verſe in *Latin*, deſiring him, *To come and ſuccour him*. The adoption of *Trajan* prov'd ſo great a Curb to the Licentiouſneſs and Mutinies of the Soldiers, that for the future they remain'd in a perfect Quietneſs and Obedience. But *Nerva* liv'd not long to enjoy the Benefit of this happy Choice; for about three Months after, he was ſeiz'd with a violent Paſſion againſt a Senator call'd *Regulus*, and by ſtraining his Voice, he was put into ſuch a Diſorder; that by reaſon of the Feebleneſs of his Body, and the Lowneſs of his Spirits, he fell into a Fever,

**Trajan adopted by Nerva.**

Fever, and ſhortly after dy'd, being almoſt 66 Years of Age, after a ſhort Reign of one Year, four Months and nine Days. Thus dy'd *Cocceius Nerva*, the thirteenth Emperor of *Rome*, a Prince of great Wiſdom, Generoſity and Moderation; and ſo much the more commendable for his impartial Choice of ſo brave a Succeſſor. He was deify'd by the Senate according to the ancient Cuſtom, and his Body interr'd in the Sepulchre of *Auguſtus*. *The Death of Nerva.*

II. The *Roman* Empire in the laſt Reign, had but partly recover'd its Miſeries and Loſſes occaſion'd by the Tyranny and Miſmanagement of *Domitian*; but this preſent Reign ſeems to have been the peculiar Care of Providence to reſtore all Things to their former Luſtre, and to ſpread the *Roman* Fame to a larger Extent than ever. *Trajan* was at *Agrippina*, or *Cologne*, or returning from thence when *Nerva* dy'd, having firſt reduc'd all *Germany* beyond the *Rhine*, to its former State and Condition; for which and other noble Qualities he was joyfully receiv'd at *Rome* by the Senate and People, and obey'd as Emperor. He was a *Spaniard* by Birth of an illuſtrious Family, born in a Town call'd *Italica*, not far from the City of *Seville*; being now above 42 Years of Age, of a ſtrong Body and vigorous Mind, happily temper'd with the furious warmth of Youth, and the wary Experience of old Age; ſo that he was in all Reſpects prepar'd for the greateſt Attempts, and the nobleſt Enterprizes. His Father's Name was *Trajan*, and his Wife's *Plotina*, a Lady of great Note, whoſe Modeſty and Piety in this exalted Station, was highly eſteem'd by the *Romans*. In the begining of his Reign, he was bleſs'd with the Happineſs of having the greateſt Maſter of this Age, that admirable Philoſopher and Biographer *Plutarch*, who, at *Trajan*'s firſt Arrival at the Empire, is ſaid to have writ to him to this purpoſe. *Since your Merits, without* *A. D. 98.* *Trajan made Emperor.*

*out Importunities, have gain'd you the Empire, I must congratulate both your Virtue, and my own good Fortune; if at leaſt your future Government proves anſwerable to your former worth: Otherwiſe you have ſubjected your ſelf to all Perils, and me to the Cenſures of detracting Tongues. For* Rome *will never ſupport an Emperor unworthy of her ſelf; and the Errors of the Scholar will be charg'd upon the Maſter: Upon which account* Seneca *is reproach'd, and his Fame ſtill ſuffers for the Enormities of* Nero; *and even* Socrates *and* Quintilian *have not eſcap'd Cenſure for the Miſcarriages of their Pupils. But you, if you ſtill continue what you are, and recede not from your ſelf, will certainly adminiſter all Things as becomes your Dignity. If you lay the Foundation of Government on the Command of your own Paſſions, and make Virtue the Scope of all your Actions, they will all proceed in true Harmony and Order. I have ſet before you the Power of Laws, and the Civil Conſtitutions of your Predeceſſors; which if you obſerve and obey,* Plutarch *is then your* Guide of Living: *If otherwiſe, this preſent Letter ſhall be my publick Teſtimony againſt you, That you ſhall not ruin the* Roman *Empire, under the Pretence of the Counſel and Authority of* Plutarch. *Trajan* ſtrictly obſerved theſe and the like Methods; and it's believ'd, that this wiſe Emperor made uſe of *Plutarch* in all his Counſels, and that the great Happineſs that attended all his Actions and Adminiſtration, proceeded in a great meaſure, from his noble Inſtructions.

*Trajan* with great Care and Induſtry, ſet about the Adminiſtration of the Government, and purſu'd it with that Mildneſs and Moderation, that Juſtice and Impartiality, together with that wiſdom and Sagacity, as caus'd the Admiration as well as the Love and Satisfaction of the Senate and People of *Rome*. He firſt endeavour'd to reform the Laws, and to cauſe them to be obſerv'd; and that Equity and Juſtice ſhould be ſtrictly and faithfully adminiſtred in all Caſes. He alſo took great Care to advance the

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moſt worthy and virtuous Men in the higheſt Poſts and Offices; and ſuch as were otherwiſe, he reclaim'd with Gentleneſs and Clemency, and not with Rigour and Severity. Upon his taking upon him the Empire, he declar'd in the open Senate, *That no good Man by his Command, ſhould ever ſuffer Death or Diſgrace*; which he confirm'd by a ſolemn Oath, and inviolably obſerv'd it throughout his whole Reign, according to *Dion*. Shortly after he ſent for *Caſperius* and the *Prætorian* Cohorts, who had rais'd the Sedition againſt *Nerva*, under the Notion of employing them, and disbanded them as mutinous Perſons, without further Puniſhment; tho' ſome ſay he put them to Death. He immediately ſhew'd his great Bounty and Liberality, beſtowing large Benefits and Favours upon all Men, greatly relieving the Poor and Indigent, in which he both imitated and excell'd his Predeceſſor *Nerva*; which he in an eminent manner ſhew'd by his educating of great numbers of poor Mens Children in *Rome*, and in all *Italy*. He was no leſs noted for the Command of his Paſſions, and did ſo far moderate his Wrath and Choler, as he was never known to be overcome with it; and likewiſe, was as free from the Deſires of other Mens Properties, and all kinds of Rapines and Avarice. In ſum, he was endu'd with all the noble Virtues and Qualifications of a mighty Emperor: In the Affairs of War he was valiant and induſtrious; in the Times of Peace mild and gentle; and in relieving the Diſtreſſed, liberal and bountiful. And ſeeing there are two Things expected and requir'd in great Princes, Religion at Home, and Fortitude in Arms Abroad, and Wiſdom in both; he was endu'd with ſo great a Meaſure of the nobleſt Gifts, that, as *Aurelius Victor* tells us, he ſeem'd to enjoy a tranſcendent Temperature of all Virtues: Only he was not free from thoſe two Vices of Luxury and Women; though

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in the former he never ſhew'd any Diſorder or Extravagance, nor in the latter us'd any Violence or Compulſion.

With theſe Virtues and Qualifications he began his Reign, continuing in Peace for a ſhort ſpace; but being a moſt expert Commander, and inſpir'd with a Martial Warmth, and a Thirſt after Glory above his Predeceſſors, he reſolv'd to extend and enlarge the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire by the Force of his Arms. His firſt Enterprize was againſt the *Dacians*, the Inhabiters of a ſpacious Country on the North of the River *Danube*; taking a juſt Occaſion from the frequent Ravages and Wars they had made upon the *Roman* Dominions in *Domitian*'s Reign. *Trajan* rais'd a great and powerful Army, and with great Celerity march'd into thoſe barbarous Countries, where he was vigorouſly oppos'd by *Decebalus* their King, with his utmoſt Power, ſo that the War became ſharp and bloody. But *Decebalus*, being no longer able to protract the War, was conſtrain'd to come to a general Battel, where *Trajan* by his Skill and Valour overthrew him, with exceeding great Loſs to the *Dacians*, with no ſmall Slaughter to the *Romans*. This Victory was purchas'd with the Expence of ſo much Blood, that the *Romans* wanted Linnen to bind up their Wounds; which occaſion'd this Emperor, out of a generous Pity, to tear his own Robes and Veſtments towards the ſupplying that Defect. And for thoſe who dy'd bravely, he order'd Altars to be erected, and Sacrifices to be yearly offer'd to their Memory. *Trajan* cloſely purſu'd the Enemy, and with ſo much Diligence, that *Decebalus*, almoſt reduc'd to Deſpair, ſent to him, humbly imploring Peace, and offering to accept of any Articles and Conditions that the Emperor ſhould propoſe. Whereupon *Trajan*, who glory'd as much in pardoning the Humble and Submiſſive, as in ſubduing the Proud and Haughty, notwithſtanding he had made himſelf Maſter of

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the greateſt part of his Country, was willing to admit him into Grace and Favour upon theſe following Conditions. Firſt, *To ſurrender ſuch Lands as he held within the Bounds of the Empire.* Next, *To deliver up all his Inſtruments and Engines of War, and his ſeveral Engineers, together with all the* Roman *Deſerters.* Thirdly, *To evacuate all the Caſtles and Forts within his Dominions, and to demoliſh ſuch as ſhould be appointed by the Emperor.* Laſtly, *To look upon only thoſe for Allies and Enemies, which were ſo reputed by the Senate.* Theſe Articles were unwillingly accepted of by *Decebalus*, who, after he had ſworn to obſerve them, came before the Emperor to his Camp; where ſolemnly proſtrating himſelf to the Earth, he publickly acknowledg'd himſelf his Victim and Vaſſal. This ended his firſt *Dacian* War, in the third Year of his Reign; for the Succeſs of which *Trajan* obtain'd the Sirname of *Dacius.*

*Trajan* returning Victorious to *Rome*, entered the City in ſolemn Triumph, and brought with him the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Dacia*, to whom he gave Audience in the Senate; and the Peace which *Trajan* had granted was there confirm'd. After this, for Joy, and in honour of theſe late Conqueſts, and the more to endear himſelf to the People of *Rome*, he exhibited all manner of Games and Shows, which were uſual upon theſe Occaſions; withal, adding ſeveral new Games as he thought fit. But theſe publick Rejoycings did not withdraw him from doing of Juſtice, nor from the Care of the Government; but while they laſted, he ſpent the greateſt part of his Time in diſpatching of publick Buſineſs, and adminiſtring of Juſtice, going in Perſon to the Tribunal and publick Audience, to judge and determine many Cauſes; which he did with no leſs Wiſdom than Juſtice. While *Trajan* was thus worthily employ'd in the City, in a ſhort Space, *Decebalus*, being as unable to endure Subjection and Servitude as his

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Predeceſſors, began to make Preparations for a new War, firſt privately, and afterwards publickly; repairing and fortifying his Towns and Caſtles, providing Arms and Engines, and levying both domeſtick and neighbouring Forces againſt the Empire, reſolving to make one vigorous Puſh towards the regaining his Loſſes. Upon notice of theſe powerful Preparations, *Decebalus* a ſecond Time was adjudg'd an Enemy to the Empire; and ſo with an equal Army, but more incens'd than formerly, *Trajan* went to theſe Provinces again in Perſon. In theſe Wars *Decebalus*, growing more cautious by his former Defeats, refus'd to come to a Battel, uſing all kinds of Policies, Stratagems, and Treacheries againſt the *Romans*; by ſome of which *Trajan* himſelf was in great danger of being ſlain or taken: and by a notorious Piece of Treachery, under the pretence of a ſafe Conduct, the Enemy took a great Commander and Favourite of the Emperor's, call'd *Longinus*. *Decebalus* finding ſo valuable a Prize and Priſoner, ſent to *Trajan* to purchaſe a Pardon, and to treat of a Peace; threatning beſides, that if it were not granted him, he would inſtantly put *Longinus* to Death. To which Propoſal, *Trajan* gave Anſwer, *That Peace and War had not their Dependance upon the Safety of one Subject*, and proſecuted the War with all poſſible Vigour and Induſtry. *Decebalus* did not immediately put his Threats in Execution; but *Longinus* finding no Security of Life, nor no Life without Bonds, took Poyſon and deſtroy'd himſelf.

*A famous Bridge over the* Danube.

During theſe Actions, in a very ſhort Space, *Trajan* built a Bridge over that ſpacious River *Danube*, for the Convenience of his Forces, being all of ſquare Stone of wonderful Beauty, and one of the moſt ſtately and magnificent Works of that Nature in the World. This Bridge contain'd twenty lofty Arches, being in Height an hundred and fifty Foot, beſides the Foundation, and ſixty Foot in Breadth; every

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Arch being distant from each other a hundred and seventy Foot: Which was a most stupendious Fabrick, considering the short Time of its Building, and the numerous and almost insuperable Difficulties of laying so large a Foundation in a River so vastly deep, with an Ozy Bottom, and a contracted Stream rapid to a Miracle. This may be one Proof of the Wealth and Greatness of the *Roman* Empire, which shews, that nothing is too bold and difficult for that Nation to attempt and effect. This Bridge was erected by *Trajan* to make a free Passage for his Armies to pass the River *Danube*, against these barbarous Nations; but his Successor *Adrian* being of another Opinion, to hinder them of the like Conveniency, as some write, order'd it to be broken down. Upon the finishing this Bridge, *Trajan* continu'd the War with great Vigour, shewing himself a most expert and valiant Commander, perpetually encouraging his Soldiers by his own Example; and notwithstanding the Country was large and spacious, and the Inhabitants fierce and hardy, he conquer'd and subdu'd the whole, discover'd much Treasure, and reduc'd King *Decebalus* to such Extremities, that to escape being made Prisoner he slew himself. His Head was immediately sent to *Rome*, and the whole Country of *Dacia* was added to the *Roman* Empire, and reduc'd into a regular Province; in which Country *Trajan* built many Cities and Towns, and sent several Colonies, being now in the sixth Year of his Reign. After which he return'd towards *Rome* with great Honour and Renown, bringing with him large Sums of Money, and much Wealth, taken from that King and Country; and his Name and Generosity became so famous through the World, that on his Way he was met by Ambassadors from the very *Indies*, and several other Nations, to sue for his Alliance, acknowledging him to be their Lord and Superior. At his return to *Rome* he enter'd the

Dacia *conquer'd and made a Province.* *A. D.* 104.

the City in Solemn Triumph, and immediately after were exhibited various Shows and Games, with many magnificent Treats and Feasts, for Joy of his Return and Victories. These were more Pompous than any before this Time; lasting for the space of an hundred and twenty Days, in which sometimes ten thousand Beasts, both wild and tame, were kill'd in a Day, accompany'd with an infinite Number of Gladiators Prizes, and other Warlike Pastimes.

Now remaining in *Rome* in Peace and great Prosperity, the Emperor vigorously proceeded in a further Reformation of the Laws, and all kinds of Inconveniencies: Among the rest he utterly exterminated those insufferable Vermin the *Delators*, *Informers*, and *Pettifoggers*, who in former Reigns had made incredible Advantages by fomenting all kinds of private Quarrels and Dissentions, and had been almost destroy'd by *Titus*. He was no less busily employ'd in publick Edifices and Fabricks, in *Rome*, *Italy*, and all Parts of the Empire; building several whole Cities and Towns, and granting great Privileges to others. He rebuilt the grand Cirque, much larger and more beautiful than before, and put an Inscription upon it, signifying, *That it was to make it worthy to receive the People of Rome.* He made an infinite number of Bridges, High-ways, and Causeys, to the great Advantage and Conveniency of all Places; in the Care and number of which useful Works he exceeded all his Predecessors. Finding the City to have suffer'd extreamly through Fires in his Reign, he ordain'd for the future, That no private House should be built higher than sixty Foot, because of the vast Ruins and Expences when such Fires happen'd; for which Care and Regard to the publick Good, he was esteem'd *a Father of his Country*. But in all his various Buildings, he carefully avoided Oppression, and never took the Liberty and Benefit of any Man's Goods

Goods or Labour, as was frequent in ſome of his Predeceſſors. He ſhew'd himſelf exceeding courteous and liberal to all Men; and he often went to viſit his Friends, either when they were ſick, or upon Feſtival Days; and without diſtinction kept mutual Feaſts among them, going out with them in their Litters. He always retain'd a profound Veneration for the Senate, and he never injur'd any of that Sacred Order, nor was any condemn'd in all his Reign, but one by Order of Senate without his Knowledge. He never us'd any kind of Injuſtice or Extortion to increaſe the Exchequer, but acted all Things with great Moderation and Munificence, and both publickly and privately enrich'd deſerving Men with Money and Honours, tho' he had but ſmall acquaintance with them. He entertain'd Perſons of Merit with great Love and Familiarity, tho' they were of mean Degrees, and frequently admitted them into his private Converſation; for which, being blam'd for his too great Condeſcenſion, he generouſly replyed, *That he treated his Subjects with the ſame Uſage, as he himſelf wou'd deſire of his Prince, were he a private Perſon.* Then he had ſo great an Aſſurance of his own Innocence and Integrity, that in giving his Sword to *Saburanus*, according to Cuſtom, when he made him Captain of the Guards, he pronounc'd theſe remarkable Words, *Take this Sword, and if I govern like a juſt Prince, employ it in my Service; but if I abuſe my Authority, draw it againſt me.* After which he added, *that he who gave Laws to the reſt of the World, lay under ſtricter Obligations to obſerve 'em, than any of his Subjects.*

As this Emperor was moſt juſt and regular in all the Actions of his Adminiſtration, ſo he proceeded with great Freedom and Diſregard to Danger; and he gave many Teſtimonies of his fearleſs and open Diſpoſition; but more particularly in his great Confidence ſhew'd to his Friend and Favourite *Sura.* For

ſome

ſome Perſons, who envy'd his great Share he had in the Emperor's Friendſhip, us'd all imaginable Methods to blaſt his Reputation, and render him ſuſpected to his Maſter; accuſing him even of forming a Deſign againſt his Life. But *Trajan*, to ſhew how much he rely'd upon the Fidelity of his Friend, having received an Invitation to Sup with him, went freely and unconcernedly; then purpoſely ſending back all his Guards, he order'd *Sura*'s Phyſician and Barber to be brought to him, commanding the former to take off his Hair about his Eye-Brows, and the latter to ſhave off his Beard; after which he bath'd himſelf, and remain'd fearleſly among *Sura*'s Friends and Companions. Upon this Trial he return'd to his Palace, and recounting all Circumſtances, told the Accuſer, *That if* Sura *had any Deſign againſt his Life, he gave him the faireſt and ſafeſt Occaſion to execute them; and his neglect of it was a plain Indication that no ſuch Deſign was ever form'd.* The Death of *Sura*, not long after, was a great Affliction to the Emperor, who honour'd his Memory with publick Statues for his many Services to him and the Publick: Which was an Honour that he was pleaſed to beſtow upon the Memories of many Worthy Perſons; and no Prince was more remarkable for his generous and grateful Acknowledgment of the real and publick Services of his Subjects, And tho' by reaſon of his great Affairs, he was not very excellent in the Skill of Arts and Sciences, yet no Prince in the World uſed greater Munificence, and gave greater Encouragement to Learning and Learned Men than he, there being many of eminent Note in this Reign. For beſides his famous *Greek* Maſter *Plutarch* before mentioned, there flouriſh'd *Pliny* the Younger, who, in his Panegyrick upon *Trajan*, which he deliver'd in the Senate-Houſe, when he was Conſul, gives us the true Exemplar of an excellent Orator, as well as of a good Prince. And amongſt many others flouriſh'd

*Suetonius*,

*Suetonius*, who writ the Lives of the Twelve *Cæsars*, with the same Freedom as they liv'd them; *Lucius Florus*, who has left us a neat, though irregular Compendium of the *Roman* History; *Cornelius Tacitus*, a most sublime and grave, though sometimes obscure Historian, famous for his Political Reflections and profound Sense; and *Lucian*, that great Scoffer at Christianity and Religion, remarkable for his great Wit and pure *Greek*, who began to flourish in this Reign.

For nine Years space *Trajan* reign'd with great Success and Prosperity, without any Blemish or Disorder in his Government; at which Time he began to look upon the Numbers of the *Christians*, with an extream jealous and suspicious Eye; dreading them not only as the Underminers of the Religion of the Empire, and Enemies to the Gods of the *Romans*, but also judging them to be Establishers of *Heteriæ*; or *illegal Societies*, which usually were the Nurseries of Faction and Sedition. In the Number of which *Heteriæ*, all Colleges and Corporations were accounted, that were not settled either by the Constitution of the Emperor, or the Decree of the Senate; and the Persons frequenting them adjudg'd guilty of High-Treason. Under this plausible Pretence the *Christians* were prosecuted by Governors and other Officers; so that a sharp Persecution broke out in most Parts of the Empire; in which great Numbers of *Christians* fell by the Rage of popular Tumults, as well as by Edicts and Processes. This was the Third general Persecution of the Church, which broke out in the Ninth Year of this Emperor's Reign, sixteen Years after the beginning of the second by *Domitian*, and forty two after the beginning of the first under *Nero*. In this Persecution, St. *Clements*, Bishop of *Rome*, suffer'd Martyrdom, being thrown into the Sea with an Anchor about his Neck; St. *Simeon*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, at 120 Years of Age, being

*The Third general Persecution. A. D. 107.*

firſt ſcourged, and then crucify'd; and St. *Ignatius*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, who was condemn'd to be thrown to wild Beaſts at *Rome*, by *Trajan* himſelf, who had a particular Diſpute with him at *Antioch*. This Perſecution for a while rag'd in ſeveral Parts of the Empire, and was ſo much the more burdenſome, becauſe the *Chriſtians* generally ſuffer'd under the Notions of Malefactors and Traytors, and under an Emperor fam'd throughout the World for his ſingular Juſtice and Moderation. But it had not continu'd long before *Trajan*, coming to *Antioch*, in order to his Expedition againſt the *Parthians* and *Armenians*, did there mitigate the Rigor of it: For having receiv'd an Account from *Pliny*, the Proconſul in *Bithynia*, employ'd by him for that Purpoſe, *of the Innocency and Simplicity of the* Chriſtians, *that they were a hurtleſs and inoffenſive Generation, whoſe principal Notions was their worſhipping Chriſt as a God, and their obliging themſelves by Oath to abſtain from all Wickedneſs:* And likewiſe receiving another Account from *Tiberianus*, Governor of *Paleſtine*, who told him, *That he was wearied out in executing the Laws againſt the* Galilæans, *who crowded to Execution in ſuch Multitudes, that he was at a loſs how to proceed.* Hereupon the Emperor gave Command, *That no particular Inquiſition ſhould be made after the* Chriſtians, *tho' if any offer'd themſelves they ſhould ſuffer.* By which Means the Perſecution in a great meaſure ceas'd; and the Fire which had hitherto rag'd to a great degree, began now to be extinguiſh'd, and only crept up and down in private Corners.

*Trajan's great Expedition in the Eaſt.*

From *Antioch Trajan* march'd with a powerful Army againſt *Armenia*, taking Occaſion from the King of *Armenia*'s receiving the Crown and Enſigns of a King from the Hands of the King of *Parthia*, acknowledging him for his Superior and Sovereign, when that King ought to have receiv'd his Authority from *Rome*, according to former Articles. Upon his

his first Invasion of *Armenia*, the Fame of his Arrival was such, and the Enemies Fears in all Parts so great, that he met with no great Resistance, neither in *Armenia*, nor in the Countries adjoining; and the greatest part of the Kings, Nobles, and Governors of the Neighbouring Countries, came submissively to him, humbly acknowledging themselves his Subjects, and him their Lord and Sovereign, bringing with them many rare and noble Presents. Among many other Things of great Value and Curiosity, he was presented with an Horse, for Largeness, Colour and Shape, the most valuable in the World; which being before taught, upon his approaching the Emperor's Presence gracefully kneel'd down, and bow'd his Head to the Earth, as it were owning him to be the Sovereign of the World. *Trajan* having in a short Space subdu'd all the Kingdom of *Armenia*, and gotten *Partamitasites* the King into his Power, he reduc'd the whole Country into a Province of the Empire; and at the same Time rewarded those Kings and Tetrarchs who were in his Service, with many noble and munificent Presents, fining others great Sums, according to their several Actions and Deserts. And leaving all Things in good Order, and sufficient Garrisons to secure the Country, he march'd forwards with his victorious Army, conquering the Dominions of the King of *Parthia*, and then entred that opulent Country of *Mesopotamia*, where he took the City of *Nisibis*, and other Places, and made that Kingdom like *Armenia*, a Province of the Empire. In all which the King of *Parthia* was constrain'd to submit, after many Skirmishes, Encounters, Attacks, Sieges, and a Thousand noble Acts, perform'd by this Emperor; wherein he not only shew'd himself a Person of infinite Courage, Valour, and Industry, but likewise of no less Skill and Conduct, as well as exact Policy and Discipline. He always march'd on Foot at the Head of his Ar-

Armenia.

Parthia, and Mesopotamia conquer'd.

my, which he exactly view'd and furniſh'd againſt every Expedition; uſing all imaginable Variety in his Marches, and ſometimes propagating falſe Reports, and playing the part of a Spy to keep his Men more carefully to their Duty. If they croſs'd a River on Foot, he did the ſame, conforming himſelf to all their Inconveniences and Extremities with the utmoſt Complaiſance, but alſo with ſo much Diſcretion and Authority, that no Mutinies nor Diſturbances were ever known in his Armies. The Fame of his mighty Victories daily fill'd the Ears of the Senate and People of *Rome*, who order'd great Sacrifices and Thankſgivings, and conferr'd new Honours and Titles upon him, particularly decreeing him the Name of *Optimus*, or *Moſt Excellent*, and likewiſe the Sirnames of *Armenicus* and *Parthicus*, and other Titles, upon the Account of theſe extraordinary Conqueſts.

After this great Succeſs, and enlarging the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire, he deſir'd to repoſe himſelf for ſome few Days, and therefore determin'd to paſs the Winter in *Syria*; where diſpoſing of his Army to the beſt Advantage, he lodg'd himſelf in *Antioch*; to which City repair'd a numerous and ſplendid Concourſe of many Kings, Potentates, and Ambaſſadors from ſeveral Parts of the *Eaſt*, all to attend this mighty Emperor. Continuing there in great Affluence and Proſperity, and ſurrounded by ſuch a glorious Train of Monarchs and crown'd Heads, he and the whole City were ſurpriz'd with the moſt aſtoniſhing Accident that cou'd be imagin'd; which was an Earthquake, the moſt dreadful and amazing that ever happen'd in any Age whatſoever. It was in a manner general; but *Syria*, and eſpecially *Antioch*, felt the greateſt Share of its Fury; it beginning with a moſt furious Storm and Whirlwind, which tore up an infinite Number of Trees and Houſes, and brought down the Birds to the Earth; which was ſuc-

ſucceeded with ſuch dreadful Lightnings and Thunders, as overthrew the moſt ſtately Palaces and Buildings in *Antioch*, and it ſeem'd as though the World was all in Flames, and the Earth open'd to devour all Human Kind. The Sea was alſo in a wonderful Motion, which was ſeconded with ſuch extream Heats, that Men were oblig'd to ſtrip themſelves and go under Ground. Many Cities in the *Eaſt* were likewiſe ruin'd, many Hills and Mountains ſunk, and became level, many Rivers were dry'd up, and many Waterrs and Fountains ſprung up in new places. In the City of *Antioch* almoſt all the Houſes and Buildings were entirely demoliſh'd, and many Thouſands of People ſlain; particularly *Pedo* the Conſul; and *Trajan* himſelf was in great danger of his Life, eſcaping by a ſudden leaping out of a Window into the Fields, where he was conſtrain'd to remain for many Days in Tents. Some write he was held in the Air by an unknown Hand for ſome ſpace; and 'tis believ'd by many, that theſe Calamities were Inſtances of the Divine Diſpleaſure, for the Severities towards the *Chriſtians*; and that theſe caus'd ſome Remorſe in *Trajan*'s Mind upon their Account, and diſpos'd him to a better Opinion of that Religion in the reſt of his Reign, it being now about the 17*th* Year, *A. D.* 115.

*Trajan* with great Diligence and Induſtry repair'd *Antioch*, and the other Cities that ſuffer'd by this Calamity; and the following Summer he gather'd all his Forces together, and parted from *Antioch* to proceed in his famous Expeditions he had begun; directing his March towards the *Eaſt*, to make a Conqueſt of *Aſſyria* and *Chaldæa*, with the renown'd City of *Babylon*, Capitol of the ancient Monarchy of the *Aſſyrians*. And being to paſs the famous River *Euphrates*, at a large winding of it, he was oblig'd to encounter many great Difficulties and Dangers; For the *Parthians*, with their utmoſt Power,

endeavour'd to ſtop his Paſſage; but *Trajan*, by his indefatigable Toil and Induſtry found out a Remedy for this Inconvenience, ſecretly cauſing Boats to be made upon the adjoining Mountains, and bringing them upon Carriages to the Water-ſide, ſuddenly made a Bridge over the River, and paſs'd his Army with great Celerity, but not without great Slaughter and Danger on both Sides. Having paſs'd the River, he boldly advanc'd forward, conquering and ſubduing Cities and Caſtles in all Parts, and among the reſt, the great City of *Arbela* in *Aſſyria*, in whoſe Fields *Alexander* the Great Overthrew King *Darius*. After which he ſtill continu'd his ſucceſsful Progreſs, and conquer'd other Countries where the *Roman* Standards had never been before diſplay'd: and from thence, without meeting any great Oppoſition, he advanc'd up to the Walls of the famous City *Babylon*, the Power and Greatneſs of which we read ſuch Wonders; and taking it by Force of Arms, he alſo ſubdu'd all its Territories; by which means he became entire Maſter of thoſe rich and noble Countries *Chaldæa* and *Aſſyria*. Here he deſign'd to make a Cut from the great River *Euphrates* to the *Tigris*, for the Conveniency of his Veſſels and his Marches; but finding the former River ſo much higher than the other, as to render one unnavigable, he mounted his Veſſels upon Land-Carriages; and brought them to the *Tigris*; from whence he advanc'd to the great City *Cteſiphon*, which he took, and open'd himſelf a paſſage into *Perſia*, where he ſtill made new Conqueſts, and gain'd new places to the Wonder and Terror of all Nations. But for the Particulars of theſe great Wars and Conqueſts, Authors have been too brief and ſuccinct; and by reaſon of the Loſs of others, many noble Acts and great Exploits of this Emperor are unknown to us.

*Chaldæa and Aſſyria conquered.*

*Trajan*

*Trajan* having made himſelf Lord of all thoſe Nations about the Rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, with other Countries and Provinces adjoining; he took new Ways, and went down the River *Tigris* towards the *Perſian* Gulf, to ſubdue a mighty King call'd *Athambilus*, who inhabitted a conſiderable Iſland, made by the Divided Streams of that River. At the Emperor's Arrival, the Terror of his Arms was ſo great, that the King and the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts ſubmitted, yielding up all into his Hands. But here he met with exceeding great Dangers and Inconveniences; for Winter coming on, he was afflicted with ſuch violent Rains, Storms and Tempeſts, together with ſuch Inundations of the *Tigris*, that he was in danger of loſing the greateſt part of his Army. After which, with indefatigable Pains he fitted out a large Fleet, and ſailing down the *Perſian* Gulf, enter'd the vaſt Oriental Ocean, conquering even to the *Indies*, and ſubduing part of them to the *Roman* Empire; having firſt receiv'd Information of thoſe Countries, by certain Merchant Ships, ſailing into thoſe Parts. But this vaſt Attempt againſt the *Indies*, and along thoſe Coaſts, ſucceeded not long according to *Trajan*'s Expectation: For not only the Revolts of ſome of his new Conqueſts, oblig'd him to ſhorten his intended Voyage and Expedition; but likewiſe the ſcarcity of Proviſions, and Conveniences on thoſe Coaſts and Countries, quite contrary to the fam'd Reports of their Fertility and Abundance, was a Means to draw him from ſuch diſtant Parts of the World. For which Cauſes any further Attempts ſeem'd unworthy of ſo great an Emperor; eſpecially ſince he found himſelf too aged and unweildy for extraordinary Fatigues; therefore he reſolv'd to return with his Fleet to the *Perſian* Gulf. Upon theſe Seas he began to reflect upon the Defects of Age, and the Decay of Vigour, and ſaid, *If the Divine Powers had preſerv'd to him his former*

*Father Conqueſts.*

*Health and Strength, he would not have reſted till he had attain'd the utmoſt and remoteſt Confines of the World: And that he accounted* Alexander the Great *infinitely happy in beginning his Reign ſo very young; yet he ſtill purpos'd to paſs further than he.* And ſo he wrote to the Senate of *Rome*, and ſent them the particular Relations and Names of all the ſeveral Nations he had conquer'd and ſubdu'd, which were ſo many, that *Dion* tells us, they cou'd ſcarcely be number'd or nam'd. Upon which the Senate order'd new Sacrifices and Thankſgivings, and decreed him many new and additional Honours, and among the reſt a Triumphal Arch, of great Beauty and Magnificence, for the better Preſervation of his Memory to future Ages.

*Trajan* thus returning to the *Perſian* Gulf, and landing near the Mouth of the *Tigris*, he ſpeedily took Order for the Recovery of thoſe Places which had revolted, ſending two Commanders call'd *Lucius* and *Maximus*, with powerful Armies. Theſe in the beginning had ill Succeſs; for *Maximus* in a Battel againſt the *Parthians*, was overthrown and ſlain: But *Lucius* afterwards reinforcing and relieving his Army obtain'd ſeveral Victories over the Enemy, and recover'd the City of *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia*, and others which had revolted; doing the like to the City *Edeſſa*, in the ſame Province, which for ſome particular Crimes he laid in Aſhes. And while *Lucius* was thus employ'd, *Euricius* and *Clarius* two other Commanders of the Emperor's, ſucceſsfully proceeded againſt others who had likewiſe revolted, from whom they took the City of *Seleucia*, upon the River *Tigris* and other Cities which the *Parthians* had recover'd in thoſe Parts. So that in a ſhort Space *Trajan* not only retook all thoſe Countries which had revolted, but likewiſe conquer'd many other Cities and Provinces; by which means he became Lord of the greateſt and beſt Parts of *Aſia*. All this was attended with an uninterrupted Courſe of Proſperity, meeting with no con-

conſiderable Loſſes, nor no Repulſes, but before one City in the Deſarts of *Arabia*. And what is an additional Honour to all his Conqueſts and Victories, during the whole Time of his carrying on theſe Wars, ſo very remote and diſtant from *Rome*, ſo great was his Wiſdom and careful Management, that no Tumult or Diſorder ever happen'd in the City. Now this wiſe and great Emperor finding himſelf weary'd out with Age and Labour, and judging it impoſſible for one Man rightly to govern ſo vaſt and unweildy an Empire as that of *Rome*, eſpecially thoſe Provinces taken from the untameable *Parthians*; he reſolv'd to ſettle a King in *Parthia* and *Perſia*, of his own chuſing, which King ſhou'd be a Vaſſal to the *Roman* Empire, reſerving to the Emperors the ſupream Juriſdiction and Soveraignity. With this Reſolution *Trajan* repair'd to the great City *Cteſiphon* in *Perſia*; and convoking the principal of the *Parthian* Nation, who gladly gave him Security for Obedience to the *Roman* Empire, he with great Pomp and Solemnity, Crown'd one of the Royal Line of *Parthia* call'd *Parthenaſpates*, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of that Nation. Afterwards he did the like in the Kingdom of *Albania* in *Aſia*, near the *Caſpian* Sea; eſtabliſhing there a King to govern that Kingdom; and placing Governors and Lieutenants in other Provinces, he enlarg'd the Bounds and Limits of the *Roman* Empire, beyond the River *Tygris*, where the Name of the *Romans*, till now had ſcarcely been heard of; it being now above 4000 Miles in length. And having ended all Wars in the *Eaſt* with great Glory and Renown, and eſtabliſh'd all Countries with no leſs Wiſdom and Underſtanding; he reſolv'd to direct his Journey towards *Italy* and *Rome*, in a more magnificent and triumphant Manner than any of all his Predeceſſors.

*Rebellion and Miſeries of the Jews.*

Before the finiſhing of theſe laſt Wars, and full Settlement of the *Eaſt*, the *Jews*, who had been diſperſed

ſperſed into all Parts of the world, fell into a dreadful Rebellion in ſeveral Provinces of the Empire; taking Occaſion from *Trajan*'s diſtant Expeditions, but more eſpecially from the late terible Earthquakes, which, as they believ'd, portended the Ruin and Downfal of the *Roman* Empire. Having enter'd into a Conſpiracy, they made incredible Slaughters and barbarous Maſſacres upon *Romans* and *Greeks* of all Ranks and Degrees, without either Diſcretion or mercy. This Rebellion began firſt in *Cyrene* a *Roman* Province in *Africa*, ſhortly after in *Ægypt*, and next in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, which Places they in a manner diſpeopled, ſo great and boundleſs was their Rage and Fury. Their Barbarities were ſo heinous and outragious, that they eat Mens Fleſh, beſmear'd themſelves with their Blood, wore their Skins, ſawed them aſunder, caſt them to wild Beaſts, made them kill each other, and put them to all kinds of Torments. Beſides the particular Slaughters they committed throughout *Ægypt*, in *Cyrene* they ſlew 200000, and in *Cyprus* 250000. *Trajan* was then about returning into *Italy*, and finding the perniçious Effects of theſe Barbarities, in a great Rage reſolv'd to purſue theſe impious Wretches throughout his Dominions, not as Enemies or Rebels, but as Creatures noxious and deſtructive to Human Society, with a Revenge anſwerable to the vaſtneſs of their Crimes; which he ſpeedily effected, under the Conduct of ſeveral Commanders both by Sea and Land. Theſe, after many cruel and bloody Hoſtilities, ſeverely chaſtis'd that obſtinate and rebellious Nation, whom God had now forſaken, leaving them to be treated as the Venom and Peſts of Mankind, and to be deſtroy'd in infinite Numbers by all Kinds of Deaths; which prov'd the moſt terrible Execution and Puniſhment, that ever happen'd to any Nation in the World. The Carriage and Behaviour of thoſe in *Cyrene* and *Cyprus*, caus'd the Emperor to ſuſ-

peçt

pect their Brethren in *Meſopotamia*; and upon that order'd *L. Quintus* to baniſh all out of that Country, which was ſoon effected with the Deſtruction of great Numbers by Acts of Hoſtility. And becauſe the Cruelties of the *Jews* were moſt notorious in *Cyprus*, partly for the future Security of the *Cypriots*, and partly to brand the *Jews* with perpetual Infamy, it was publickly enacted, *That no* Jew, *tho' driven by Tempeſts, ſhou'd preſume to ſet Foot in* Cyprus, *upon pain of immediate Execution, as already condemn'd by his very Appearance on that Soil, which had been tainted with the deadly Venom of his Country-men.*

This great Slaughter and Puniſhment being abated, *Trajan* taking good Order about the Affairs of *Aſia*, began his Journey towards *Italy*, leaving his Couſin *Adrian* General of all his Forces in the *Eaſt*; and ſo continu'd his Journey, cover'd with infinite Glories and Honours; there being in *Rome* the moſt magnificent Triumph, and ſolemn Reception prepar'd for him that ever had been known ſince the building of the City. But coming into the Province of *Cicilia*, in the leſſer *Aſia*, he found himſelf weak and declining; and his Diſtemper increaſing, he order'd himſelf to be carry'd to the City of *Seleucia*, where within a few Days after, he dy'd of a Flux, tho' ſome ſuſpect Poyſon to have been the main Cauſe. Thus dy'd the mighty *Trajan*, the 14th Emperor of *Rome*, in the 63*d* Year of his Age, after a triumphant Reign of 19 Years, 6 Months and 15 Days; a Prince of incomparable Abilities, either for the Command of an Army, or the Government of an Empire; and had not his Actions been ſtain'd with his Severities to the *Chriſtians*, he might have been eſteem'd the moſt Matchleſs Prince in all the *Pagan* World. His great Virtues and Excellencies, made his Memory ſo dear and precious to the *Romans*, that beſides thoſe many and divine Honours they ſhew'd to him after his Death, it became a Cuſtom

*The Death of Trajan.*

ſtom in ſucceeding Reigns, when they pour'd out their Bleſſings upon their new choſen Emperors, they wiſh'd them the *Fortune* of *Auguſtus*, and the *Goodneſs* of *Trajan*, as the greateſt Happineſs they could poſſibly enjoy; a thing worthily to be conſider'd by all Princes, whoſe good or bad Actions are certain to make their Memories precious or odious to all future Ages. *Trajan* dy'd in the 870th Year of the City, 142 after the Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 117 after our Saviour's Nativity, and 46 after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

## CHAP. II.

*From the Death of* TRAJAN *to the Death of* ANTONIUS PHILOSOPHUS, *or* MARCUS AURELIUS, *the ſeventeenth Emperor; when the Power and Luſtre of the* ROMAN *Empire began to decline.*

*Containing the Space of 63 YEARS.*

A. D. 117. I. THE *Roman* Empire was never ſo large and ſpacious as at preſent; nor was it ever ſo formidable to the reſt of the World, as at the Time when *Trajan* left it; tho' not long after it began to ſink by the Unwieldineſs of its Bulk, and the Vaſtneſs of its own Weight. The Death of this Prince brought a general Sorrow and Mourning upon the whole Empire; and tho' he had the Enjoyment of the largeſt Authority, and greateſt Revenues of any in the World, he wanted the Power of producing an Heir to ſucceed him after his Deceaſe. He had neither Son nor Daughter, nor wou'd he adopt any Perſon

ſon for his Succeſſor, as ſome believe, imitating *Alexander the Great*, whom he ever endeavour'd to excel in Honour and Renown. But his Wife *Plotina*, finding his Nephew *Ælius Adrianus*, or *Hadrianus*, a Perſon of great Authority and Popularity, and no leſs Wiſdom and Merits, endeavour'd with great Diligence and Policy to gain him the Empire. In order to effect this great Deſign, the Death of *Trajan*, according to Agreement, was for ſome Space conceal'd, till *Adrian* had ſounded the Inclination of his Army, and *Plotina* the Nobility of *Rome*, and ſhortly after ſhe produc'd a forg'd Inſtrument, importing, *That* Trajan *had adopted him for his Son and Succeſſor.* Finally, their Policies and Artifices ſucceeded ſo well, that the Deſign took effect, and the Army immediately ſwore Obedience, and did Homage to *Adrian*, notwithſtanding his being abſent from *Rome*, and in the City of *Antioch*, where he had been left by *Trajan*, as General of all the Forces in the *Eaſt*. He doubled the uſual Donative to the Soldiers, for a fortunate Preſage of his future Reign; and immediately wrote to the Senate, excuſing himſelf *for aſſuming the Empire without their firſt Choice and Approbation; being occaſional by the haſty Salutation of the Soldiers, who rightly judg'd, That the Senate ought not to be long without a Head*; concluding with a Petition, *To be confirm'd in the Empire*; which after a little Conſideration of his Merits and Alliance with *Trajan*, was eaſily granted, and he acknowledg'd and obey'd by all Men as Emperor. *Adrian* was by Deſcent a *Spaniard*, and of *Italica*, the ſame City where *Trajan* was born, his Mother's Name being *Domitia Paulina* of *Cales* in *Spain*. He was Nephew to *Trajan* by his Mother, others ſay by his Father, tho' ſome ſay he was Son of his Couſin German; and was marry'd to *Sabina*, *Trajan*'s Siſter's Daughter. When he enter'd upon the Empire, he was about forty Years of Age,

Adrian *made Emperor.*

Age, being a Prince highly acceptable, and promiſing to the *Roman* State; for he had in the laſt Reign born the higheſt Offices both Civil and Military, which he diſcharged with much Honour and Reputation.

Shortly after the Death of *Trajan*, before *Adrian* left the *Eaſt*, the *Parthians* and ſome other Nations lately conquer'd, reaſſum'd their former Courages, and began to make Revolts; and likewiſe in *Britain*, and ſome other Parts, there began to be ſome Alterations and Inſurrections. All which *Adrian* might with no Difficulty have pacify'd and ſuppreſs'd by the Force and Power of his Arms, and wanted neither Courage nor Forces to effect it; but he thought it moſt convenient to decline the Extremities of War and Violence. For tho' this Emperor was but little Inferior to his Uncle in Courage and Arms, yet he much differ'd in his Temper and Inclinations: *Trajan* had a mighty Thirſt after Honour and Fame, and graſp'd at all Occaſions and Methods to enlarge the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire; but *Adrian*'s principal Care was to preſerve the Ancient Limits entire, without any Ambitious Proſpects of farther Conqueſts. Therefore in the Beginning of his Reign, he in a great Meaſure abandon'd the Provinces of the *Parthians*, and other Provinces of the *Eaſt*, beyond the *Euphrates* to the *Indies*, which *Trajan* had conquered; judging *Parthia*, *Media*, *Meſopotamia*, and the reſt of thoſe diſtant Provinces, to be of a greater Inconvenience to the *Roman* Empire, than Advantage; and for the better Safety and Security of other Places, he made *Euphrates* the Boundary and Barrier in thoſe Parts, and plac'd his Legions about the Banks of that River. Some are of Opinion, that he did this out of a ſecret Envy and tacit Detraction of

of his Uncle *Trajan*'s Glory and Reputation; tho' others more juſtly commend it as a politick and prudent Action, and for the real Good of the Empire. Having thus ſettled Affairs in the *Eaſt*, he left *Catillus Severus* Governor of *Syria*; and ſuppreſſing ſome Diſturbances lately rais'd by the *Jews*, he took his Journey by Land towards *Italy*, and ſent the Aſhes of *Trajan* by Sea. Upon his nigh approach to *Rome*, he was inform'd, that a magnificent Triumph was prepar'd for him in the ſame manner as was provided for his Uncle *Trajan*, as being his Companion in all the ſame Wars and Conqueſts: But he wholly refus'd that Honour, judging himſelf not worthy of it, and order'd that the ſame Triumph and Entertainment ſhould be given to *Trajan*'s Image; which was perform'd with a wonderful Pomp and Solemnity; and 'tis obſerv'd, that he was the only Man that ever triumph'd after he was Dead. His Aſhes were plac'd in a Golden Urn upon the Top of a lofty Pillar of 140 Foot high, and of curious Workmanſhip, repreſenting the Particulars of all his noble Exploits, which remains to this Day, ſtill going by the Name of *Trajan*'s Pillar. Beſides their Deifying him after the *Roman* Cuſtom, in Honour of him, they inſtituted new Games call'd *Parthica*, which continu'd for many Ages; ſo highly was this Emperor belov'd, and ſo dear his Memory to all his Subjects.

*Adrian* began his Reign with the great Love and Applauſe of all Men, and immediately perform'd many Parts of an excellent Prince, conformable to the Courſe of his paſt Life, and the future Hopes conceiv'd of him. His Parts and Qualifications were admirable, and ſcarce any Prince in the World was more remarkable, for the Excellency and Variety of his Endowments. He was capable of comprehending whatſoever he deſir'd, and was highly skilful in all Exerciſes both of Body and Mind, and

wanted

wanted no Strength nor Abilities either for Arms or Learning, in which he induſtriouſly endeavour'd to excel all Men. He compos'd excellently well both in Proſe and Verſe, pleaded Cauſes, and became perfect in Oratory; but ſo much affected the Stile and Phraſe of ancient Times, that he preferr'd *Cato* before *Cicero*, *Ennius* before *Virgil*, and *Cæcilius* before *Salluſt*. He was a ſingular Mathematician, and a Maſter of all its ſeveral Parts; and was no leſs skilful in Phyſick, knowing the Vertues and Properties of all Herbs and Minerals. In Drawing and Paintings he was equal to the greateſt Maſters; and was an excellent Muſician, and ſung to Admiration. Beſides all, he had a Memory beyond Belief, and could exactly retain all Places, Buſineſſes, and Soldiers, calling them all by their Names, tho' he had been long abſent from them; and moreover was of ſuch a Capacity, that he cou'd endite, write and confer of Buſineſs all at one Inſtant. Finally, he is ſaid to be as much Maſter of all Arts and Sciences, as almoſt any Man cou'd be of one; being likewiſe very expert and politick in Wars and Military Diſcipline, and was very ſtrong, able and skilful in Arms, both on Foot and Horſe-back: And was alſo much addicted to all ſorts of Huntings; in which he was ſo dextrous, that with his own Hands he frequently kill'd Lions, Bears, Wild-Boars, and other fierce Beaſts. And though he ever lov'd, and continually endeavour'd the Peace of the *Roman* Empire, yet in all his Reign he had a more than ordinary Care of Martial Diſcipline; ſeverely puniſhing the Vices and Licentiouſneſs of Soldiers, correcting and reforming paſt Errors, and preſcribing new Rules for the future,

Shortly after his Entrance into the City, he took an Oath, That he wou'd never puniſh a Senator, otherwiſe than by the very Sentence of the Senate; and at his Birth-Day he exhibited many Shows and

Games

Games to the People, ordering many wild Beasts to be baited and encounter'd, particularly an hundred Lions, and as many Lioneſſes; giving beſides great Gifts in diſtinct Portions, both to Men and Women in the Cirques and Theatres. He proceeded to eaſe the particular Towns and Magiſtrates of the Charge of the *publick Poſt* and *Carriages*, by ordering them to be maintain'd out of the *Exchequer*. In fine, to omit nothing that was kind and generous, he forgave an infinite number of Debts due to the *Exchequer* from private Perſons in the City and the Country, remitting likewiſe the Arrears of large Sums due from the Provinces, and burning the Bonds and Regiſters of them in the publick *Forum*. He would not take the forfeited Eſtates of condemned Perſons into his private Coffers, but order'd them all to be return'd in to the publick Treaſury. He much recommended himſelf by ſeveral Acts of Generoſity and Moderation; and particularly increas'd the Allowance which by *Trajan* had been given to the Maintenance of great Numbers of poor Children; relieving likewiſe many decay'd Noble-Men and Senators, whoſe Misfortunes proceeded from no Fault of theirs. His Moderation and Clemency appear'd by his pardoning the injuries that were done him before he was Emperor; and having once met a Perſon who had offended him, he ſaid, *You have eſcaped, ſince I am made Emperor.* He was very ready in beſtowing Favours upon all Men, abated the Tributes and Subſidies through the Empire, adminiſtred Juſtice with Exactneſs, and acted all Things by the Counſel and Advice of the Senate. and of wiſe Men whom he kept about him, and carry'd with him in all his Travels; for he not only deſired to be inform'd, but likewiſe to be adviſ'd and reprov'd, if Occaſion required it: And he often declar'd in open Court and Senate, *That he would govern the Republick, ſo as to procure the Peoples Good, not his own.*

He had so great a Veneration for the Senate, and was so nice in conferring the Honour of that House, that when he created *Tatian*, his Captain of the Guards, and a Consular Person, he told him, *That he had nothing in his Power equal to this last Honour*, And further, he proceeded even to execrate those Emperors who had a less Esteem for Senators than they ought. Upon solemn Days he commonly waited upon the Consuls to their own Houses, and familiarly convers'd with Men of Reputation, visiting them in their Sickness twice or thrice in a Day, and treating them with all the Kindness and Familiarity of Companions. He visited some sick Persons who were no more enfranchis'd Servants, comforting them in their Infirmities, and assisting them with his Counsels. He was extreamly Affable and Courteous in his Discourses he had with worthy Persons of low Degree; and he despis'd such as would envy him a Pleasure so sensible to him, upon the Pretence of maintaining the Port and Gravity of an Emperor.

Yet notwithstanding all these noble Virtues and Qualifications, this Emperor was not free from many great Vices and Imperfections; and he is observ'd to have had a strange and unusual Mixture of both, so as to seem to reconcile most Vices with their contrary Virtues. For in the midst of his Excellencies, he was noted to be proud and vain-glorious, envious and detracting, cruel and revengeful; which last appear'd from his putting some eminent Persons to Death at his Arrival to the Empire. He was inquisitive and prying into the Secrets even of the meanest Families; and was so ready to hearken to Whisperers and Sycophants, that the Estates and Lives of his greatest Friends became often endanger'd. However he had an uncommon Faculty of commanding and governing his Affections, and by a mighty Artifice cover'd his insolent, envious, sullen, and

and wanton Diſpoſition: But he ſhewed himſelf more publick in his Severities to the *Chriſtians*, countenancing or permitting their Perſecution in ſeveral Parts of the Empire. This began in the ſecond Year of his Reign, and by Reaſon of the Sharpneſs of it, and Its long Continuance, many have accounted it the Fourth General Perſecution: But it is not generally reckon'd ſo by the Fathers of the Church, ſince no new Edicts were iſſu'd out againſt the *Chriſtians*, but only *Trajan*'s Laws ſtill in Force were again put in Execution; ſo that it may be call'd a Revival, or perhaps a Continuance of the Third Perſecution, which was not intirely ceas'd in *Trajan*'s Reign.

*A Perſecution of the Chriſtians.* *A. D.* 118.

In the ſame Year that this Perſecution was begun or reviv'd, ſeveral of the Northern Nations, as the *Alanes*, *Scythians* in *Europe*, the *Sarmatians* and *Dacians*, began to make Devaſtations in the *Roman* Empire. Againſt theſe barbarous People *Adrian* himſelf parted from *Rome*, with a very powerful Army; but upon his near approach to their Countries, the Name of *Adrian*, the Lieutenant of *Trajan*, brought them to a Submiſſion; which being readily accepted by the Emperor, ended all preſent Conteſts. The better to have eas'd the *Roman* State, he determined to have quitted the Province of *Dacia* for the future, but was deterr'd from that Deſign by his Friends, who made it appear, that *Rome* would then be much expos'd to the Inſults of the Northern Nations; ſo that he only broke down the famous Bridge that *Trajan* had built over the *Danube*, the better to prevent their Incurſions. In this Journey, a Conſpiracy was diſcover'd againſt his Perſon, which occaſion'd the Execution of four Conſular Perſons; but this Execution was diſown'd by the Emperor, as done without his Conſent and Approbation. Therefore leaving *Marcius Turbo* Governor of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, he return'd ſpeedily to *Rome*, to purge him-

himself from the Infamy and Envy of this Fact, making a large Congiary or Distribution of Money among the People, conferring great Favours and Privileges upon many, and exhibiting magnificent Games and Spectacles to the City; not forgetting a careful Execution of Justice in his Government. Staying at *Rome* for a shorter Time than before, he resolv'd to visit the whole Empire in Person, to see that all Things were regulated and establish'd to the Honour and Safety of the Publick; and taking with him a splendid Court, and a considerable Force, he first entered the Province of *Gaul*, where he made a Lustration of all the Inhabitants, viewed the chief Cities and Fortifications, and gave many Marks of his Favour, as he did in all other Places of the Empire. In his Travels he usually said, *That an Emperor ought to imitate the Sun, who carries his Light through all the Corners and Regions of the Earth*; and he most commonly travell'd on Foot, and always with his Head bare, making no Distinction between the frozen Mountains of the *Alps*, and the scorching Sands of *Ægypt*. From *Gaul* he went into *Germany*, carefully surveying the Legions and Armies there; and tho' he endeavour'd to preserve Peace rather than promote Wars, yet he strictly kept his Soldiers to true Discipline and Hardships, and carefully banish'd all Luxury and Delicacies from the Camp. He put down the Use of Arbours, shady Walks, and Grotto's among the Soldiers, cut off many superfluous Expences of his Officers; and to excite them by his own Example, he exercis'd himself in all Hardships, and often walk'd twenty Miles together at the Head of his Troops. He also conform'd himself to the Lives and Habits of the ordinary Soldiers, eating their Ammunition Bread, Bacon, and Cheese, after the Examples of the Younger *Scipio* and *Metellus*; but where his Commands were harder than ordinary, he was ready to give them Money and

Adrian's Journey.

and Preferments for their Incouragement. He mark'd out Camps himſelf, made many wiſe Rules for liſting Soldiers, and perſonally examin'd into the State of the Magazines for Ammunition and Proviſions, with many other Things for the laſting Eſtabliſhment of Order and Authority.

After ſome ſtay in *Germany*, he enter'd *Belgium*, and from then paſs'd over into *Britain*, where he reform'd many Abuſes, and reconcil'd the Inhabitants and *Romans* which dwelt there, as well the Garriſons, as the Natives and Colonies. And for the better Eſtabliſhment of future Peace and Security he caus'd a mighty Wall to be made of Wood and Earth, extending from the River *Eden* in *Cumberland*, to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, eight Miles in length; and all to prevent the Incurſion of the wilder *Britains*, and dangerous Neighbours, that daily diſturb'd the Peace of the *Romans*. This ſtupendious Work was begun in the Third Year of his Reign: And having taken all neceſſary care in this Iſland, the Emperor return'd into *Gaul*, where he erected ſome famous Buildings, ſome to the Honour of *Plotina*, and conferr'd many Favours and Honours in that Country. Having thus viſited all *Gaul* and the Borders, he directed his Journey for *Spain*, and at his Arrival he was received with great Joy and Satisfaction, being a Native of that Country. After he had view'd and viſited many Places, he took up his Winter-Quarters in the City of *Taragon*, where he call'd a Meeting or Parliament of all the Provinces in *Spain*, and ordained many Things for the Good and Benefit of that Country. At this Place, walking in a Garden, a Servant of the Houſe ran furiouſly at him with a drawn Sword to kill him; but the Emperor cloſing with the Man, took him Priſoner, deliver'd him to his Guards, and inſtead of puniſhing him, ſent him a Phyſician to bleed him, as a Perſon quite diſtracted; which was a remarka-

*A famous Wall in Britain.*

ble Inſtance of the Command of his Temper. After the Extremity of the Winter was paſt, he reviv'd his Journey, and travell'd through all *Spain*, viſiting the ſeveral Cities, and beſtowing many Favours upon them; eſpecially his own Country *Italica* and *Seville*, to which he granted many great Exemptions, and ſeveral peculiar Privileges, but went not thither himſelf. Thus having travell'd over all *Spain*, and the Eaſtern parts of the Empire, he returned towards *Rome*, deſigning after ſome convenient Stay there, to ſurvey the reſt of the *Roman* Empire, which was much the largeſt part; and at this Time he appointed the exact Limits and Bounds of the Empire, from the barbarous Nations on the North. Where there wanted Rivers and other natural Marks and Diviſions, he made uſe of large Stones, Pillars, Trees, and other Things; and to the High *Germans*, who at that Time were free, he appointed a King, which gain'd him a great Reſpect among thoſe People who were ready to revolt.

*Adrian* being now a third Time at *Rome* in great Peace and Proſperity, he employ'd himſelf in the Affairs of the City, and the frequent Converſation of ingenious and learned Men. Of theſe he was a great Encourager and munificent Patron; and had with him Philoſophers, Aſtronomers, Poets, Rhetoricians, Grammarians, Muſicians, Geometricians, Architects, and excellent Painters and Statuaries; moſt of whom he ſurpaſs'd in their own Skill, and he frequently declar'd, *That he never neglected or omitted any kind of Learning or Knowledge that might be uſeful in Peace or War, either for an Emperor or a private Perſon.* But as extraordinary Parts and Curioſity are too often accompanied with an envious and cenſorious Temper, ſo this Emperor bore a ſecret Hatred to ſeveral worthy Perſons whoſe Learning and Ingenuity had gain'd them a more than ordinary Reputation. And tho' he openly careſs'd and entertain'd learned

learned Men with great Satisfaction, yet he had a great Jealouſie of ſuch as any Ways excell'd him; and he took ſuch an exceeding Delight in puzling and conquering others in Diſputes and Arguments, that many yielded their Cauſes when the Advantage was apparently on their Side. As *Favorinus* did, an ingenious Man, who owning himſelf worſted by the Emperor, when he could with eaſe have repell'd the Force of his Arguments, and being blam'd by his Friends for ſuch a Conceſſion, made anſwer, *Ought not I to give Place to a Man who has Thirty Legions at his Command?* But this envious and ambitious Temper of *Adrian*'s ſometimes proceeded to open Violence and Puniſhment of great Artiſts, and particularly to the executing of *Apollodorus* the Architect, for freely ſhewing him the Errors of his own new Buildings. *Similis* the Captain of his Guards being envy'd for ſome extraordinary Skill, got leave to retire, and living quietly ſeven Years after in the Country, order'd this Inſcription on his Tomb, *Here lies* Similis, *whoſe Life conſiſted of ſixty ſeven Years, yet liv'd but ſeven.* He was ſo fond of Glory in theſe Matters, that *Spartian* tells us, that he wrote his own Life and Actions, and afterwards gave it to his Servants who were Scholars, to publiſh it under their own Names. In this Reign flouriſh'd the chief of the Juriſconſults or Lawyers, and particularly *Julian*, who compos'd the perpetual Edict by the Emperor's Command, to ſerve as a Rule for all the ſucceeding *Prætors* in *Rome*; being call'd *Edictum Perpetuum*, becauſe it was to continue in force for ever. Beſides him, among other Learned Men and Writers, flouriſh'd *Ptolemy* of *Alexandria*, the famous Aſtronomer; *Phlegon*, *Adrian*'s Freed-man, eminent for his exact Claculation of the Olympiads; *Arrian*, who wrote the Expedition of *Alexander* the Great; and *Aulus Gellius*, the Learned Author of the *Noctes Atticæ*,

Edictum Perpetuum.

The Emperor continuing in *Rome* for a conſiderable ſpace, towards the ſeventh Year of his Reign he receiv'd Intelligence that the *Parthians* began to make War againſt the Empire; which caus'd him to haſten his Journey into the *Eaſt*; and making all neceſſary Preparations, he reſolved to proſecute the War in Perſon; which ſo alarm'd the Enemy, that they immediately ſu'd for a Peace, and obtained it. This gave *Adrian* an Opportunity of purſuing his Travels without Moleſtation; and beginning his Journey he ſhortly arrived in the Leſſer *Aſia*, from whence he turned back into *Greece* to the renowned City of *Athens*. Here he made a conſiderable ſtay, took upon him the Place and Honour of *Archon*, celebrated their ſolemn Sports, and gave many particular Laws and Privileges to that City: but eſpecially was entered into their *Eleuſinian* Myſteries, which were accounted the moſt ſacred and venerable of the whole Gentile World, and by way of Eminence, were particularly ſtyled the *Myſteries*. The Emperor's buſie and ſuperſtitious Zeal in this Place, was a ſufficient Warrant for many to purſue and oppreſs the *Chriſtians* more ſeverely than formerly; which caus'd the Perſecution to grow ſo fierce and hot, that they were forc'd to remonſtrate and declare their Caſe to the Emperor himſelf. And particularly St. *Quadratus*, Biſhop of *Athens*, and *Ariſtides* a *Chriſtian* Philoſopher in the ſame City, preſented Apologies to *Adrian, defending the* Chriſtian *Religion from the Exceptions and Calumnies of its Enemies, and vindicating it from thoſe Pretences upon which ill Men ſought its Ruin and Deſtruction; and above all, they particularly urg'd our Saviour's Miracles, his curing Diſeaſes, and raiſing the Dead, of which ſome Inſtances were ſtill alive.* Theſe Apologies, and Letters from *Serenus Granianus*, Proconſul of *Aſia*, which repreſented the unjuſt Proceedings againſt the *Chriſtians*, took off the Keenneſs of the Emperor's fury, and caus'd him to write

to

to the Governors of Provinces, *That the* Christians *should not be punish'd for the future, except they had manifestly transgressed the Laws of the Empire.* And he was likewise so far wrought into a good Opinion of *Christianity*, that *Lampridius* tells us, he design'd to build a Temple to *Christ*, and to receive him into the Number of their Gods; and that he commanded Temples to be built in all Cities without Images, which were for a long space called *Adrian*'s; but was stopp'd in his Proceedings by some, who consulting the Oracle, had been told, that if this succeeded, the *Pagan* Temples would be deserted, and all Men become *Christians*. *A. D.* 124.

After a whole Winter's continuance in *Athens*, the Emperor return'd towards *Italy*, taking *Sicily* by his Way, where he visited *Ætna*, the famous Burning Mountain, and the principal Places of that Island; and after that return'd a fourth Time to *Rome*. But after a short stay, he prepared Ships and Gallies, and cross'd the *Mediterranean* into *Africk*, where he was received with incredible Joy and Satisfaction, not only for the Esteem the Inhabitants had for him, but also because his Arrival was attended with plentiful Showers of Rain, which the Country had wanted for five Years together. Here the Emperor spent much Time in regulating and reforming the Government, in ending and deciding Controversies, and in ordering many magnificent Buildings to be erected; among which was his Re-edifying a great part of the famous City of *Carthage*, which he commanded to be call'd *Adrianople*, according to his own Name. Staying a considerable Time in *Africk*, he return'd prosperously to *Rome* a fifth Time, where he carefully provided for all the other Matters of the Empire; yet he made no long stay; but when all expected and hop'd for his continuance in the City, he suddenly got ready for his Journey into the *East*. He travell'd a second Time into *Greece*, and viewing all parts, he caus'd

caus'd thoſe Buildings and Temples to be finiſh'd, which he order'd before to be begun, and enjoyn'd others to be built: And thus continuing his Journey, he paſs'd over into the Leſſer *Aſia*, and acted there with the ſame Care, Prudence, and Exactneſs as he did in all other Parts, Having gone through the Leſſer *Aſia*, into *Syria*, he by Letters and Meſſengers invited all the Kings, Tetrarchs, and Potentates in thoſe Parts, not only Subjects and Allies, but alſo Neighbours and Strangers, to conſult and converſe with him in that Country. Among this numerous and ſplendid Concourſe, the King of *Parthia* was one, to whom he freely ſent his Daughter, who had been taken Priſoner by *Trajan* in the former Wars; for which generous Act many came to his Court to viſit, honour, and acknowledge him; all whom he received with ſuch uncommon Courteſie and Civility, as rais'd the Envy and Concern of all others who neglected this Opportunity. At the Finiſhing of theſe magnificent Feaſts and Entertainments, after a Survey of *Syria*, the Emperor enter'd *Paleſtine* and *Judæa*, viſiting all the principal Cities; after which he ſet forwards, and did the like in the ſubdu'd Part of *Arabia*. From whence he paſs'd into *Ægypt*; where he made a long Stay than in other Parts, viewing the Strength and famous Antiquities of that Country, and in Memory of the Great *Pompey*, caus'd a moſt magnificent Monument to be erected over him, his Tomb being now much ruin'd and decay'd. He alſo caus'd a City to be founded in the Name and Memorial of a beautiful Youth, whom he lov'd exceedingly, who dy'd in this Country. And at the ſame Time he commanded the Holy City *Jeruſalem* to be rebuilt with great Charge; which was perform'd with admirable Expedition principally by the Aſſiſtance of the *Jews*, who began much to raiſe their ſhort-liv'd Hopes and Expectations. In this the Emperor built a Temple to *Jupiter*

Jeruſalem *Rebuilt.* *A. D.* 130.

*piter Capitolinus*, which extreamly offended the *Jews*, and rais'd greater Miſchiefs than ever; and he likewiſe chang'd its former Name, and call'd it *Adria Capitolina*, which was done in the 14th Year of his Reign, 59 Years after its Deſtruction by *Titus*.

Theſe and many other Matters being tranſacted by *Adrian*, during his Abode in *Aſia* and *Ægypt*, he return'd into *Europe*; and arriving in *Greece*, he remain'd a conſiderable ſpace with his whole Court in the City of *Athens*. Being there, in the 16th Year of his Reign, the *Jews* again rais'd a dangerous Rebellion, deſtroying what *Romans* they could in *Judæa*, *Galilee*, and other Parts, with an infinite number of *Chriſtians*. They were firſt incens'd by the Privileges of the *Pagan* Worſhipers in their new City, and afterwards confirm'd by one who pretended he came down as a Light from Heaven to deliver them from Slavery and Bondage, declaring, *He was the Star fore-told by Baalam*, whence being call'd *Barcocab*, he was worſhipp'd and receiv'd as the *Meſſiah*; which brought the *Jews* in all Nations into this Sedition. *Dio* tells us, That the whole World was in a manner ſhaken by this Commotion of the *Jews*. But *Adrian* ſpeedily ſent his beſt Commanders againſt this obſtinate and perfidious Nation, the chief of whom being *Julius Severus*, Governor of *Britain*. And tho' he gain'd the Victory at laſt, he would not have choſen ſo many Triumphs at the purchaſe of ſo much Blood. But the extraordinary Strength now in the *Jews*, was given them for their Deſtruction; and the more dangerous this Rebellion had been, the more ſevere was the Emperor's puniſhment, and the greater his Care in preventing the like Miſchiefs for the future. The War was concluded in two Years time with the Demoliſhment of Fifty of their ſtrongeſt Cities, the Deſtruction of 985 of their beſt Towns, the Death of 580000 Men in Battels and Skirmiſhes, beſides infinite Numbers conſum'd by Famines and Diſeaſes,

Diſeaſes, and their whole Land laid waſte, which almoſt prov'd the Extirpation of the *Jewiſh* Nation. *Adrian* after this ſtrange Deſolation, baniſh'd all *Jews* out of *Judæa*, and by publick Decree prohibited any of them to come in view of that Country, or ſo much as look towards their Soil or City. *Dio* tells us, that this Deſolation was foretold by the falling aſunder of *Solomon*'s Sepulchre; and by Wolves and Hyæna's, who howl'd about the Streets, and devour'd People in the Fields. This happen'd four Years after the re-edifying of *Jeruſalem*, and ſixty three after the Deſtruction of that City by *Titus*, and the firſt Diſperſion of the *Jews*. This *Jewiſh* Inſurrection was immediately follow'd by a dangerous Irruption of the *Alani* and *Meſagetes*, barbarous Nations of *Scythia Aſiatica*, who enter'd *Media* with great Fury, and came into *Armenia*, paſſing in their Ravages and Devaſtations as far as *Cappadocia*, where *Flavius Arrianus* was Commander for the Emperor. But *Adrian*, who ever choſe Peace before an unprofitable War, us'd ſuch Means, and ſent ſuch Preſents to their King, that they all returned peaceably into their own Country.

*The laſt great Diſperſion of the* Jews. *A. D.* 134.

*Adrian* having eſtabliſh'd all Matters with great Wiſdom and Advantage in the ſeveral Parts of the Empire, after he had beſtow'd many Gifts and Favours upon the Cities of *Greece*, he reſolved to conclude his whole Journey, and to return to *Rome* for the reſt of his Days, having ſpent thirteen Years in ſurveying the Empire, beſides the ſeveral Times of his Continuance in *Rome*. This was his ſixth and laſt Time of his return to the City, where his Entrance was exceeding grateful, and acceptable to all People; and tho' he began to be old and unwieldy, he was no leſs diligent in the publick Adminiſtration, than when he had his greateſt Strength. He ſettled all Affairs with extraordinary Order and Regularity; he eſtabliſh'd the Palatine and publick Offices, and

reduc'd

reduc'd them and the Militia into ſo good a Form, that they continu'd the ſame for many Ages. He commanded the Senators and Equites never to appear in publick, but with their Gowns and proper Habits, except when they return'd from Supper; and he himſelf was always careful of his Habit, while he was in *Rome* or *Italy*. He allow'd to the Children of proſcrib'd Perſons the twelfth part of their Parents Goods; and ſequeſter'd the Eſtates of Idiots; but if they had Children, he gave all to them. He forbad Maſters to kill their Slaves, as had been before allow'd, but order'd them to be try'd by the Laws in all Capital Crimes; and took away the private Perſons for Servants, which were formerly in the Management of their Maſters. If a Maſter was found kill'd in his Houſe, he would not allow all his Slaves to be put to the Torture as formerly; but only ſuch of them as might have perceiv'd and prevented it. He ordain'd that all ſuch Perſons as wilfully conſum'd their Eſtates, ſhould be firſt expos'd to publick Shame in the Amphitheatre, and then turn'd out of the City. Theſe and many other Laws and Ordinances he made; but finding himſelf ancient and indiſpos'd, and without Heirs, he took Care for a Succeſſor, and therefore determin'd to adopt ſome conſiderable Man that ſhould be worthy of ſuch a Dignity. After many Conſiderations and Conſultations about ſo weighty a Matter, he at laſt made choice of *Lucius Commodus*, tho' contrary to the Advices of his Council, a Thing not uſual till then; and calling the chief of the Senate to his Bed-ſide, he told them, *That ſince Nature had deny'd him a Son, they by the Laws had ſupply'd that Defect, and granted him one. Birth and Adoption were equal as to the Publick Good; only Birth was often the effect of Fate and Chance, and Adoption the Effect of Choice and Wiſdom. Nature had often given Fools to the Damage of a Nation; but Choice generally produc'd wiſe Men to the Preſervation of its*

*its Happineſs.* He likewiſe inſiſted upon the Vertues and Merits of the Perſon, and having adopted him, and entitl'd him *Cæſar*, he chang'd his Name to *Ælius Verus*; ordering likewiſe the Celebration of the *Circenſian* Games, and a Donative to the Soldiers and People. On the ſame Day he commanded *Severianus*, a great and popular Man, to be ſlain, together with his own Nephew *Fuſcus*, for certain ſuſpicions of Treaſon and Uſurpation; and likewiſe he commanded ſome others to be put to Death upon Pretences not wholly juſtifiable, his Infirmities diſcloſing his innate Cruelty, which before this Time had ſhewn it ſelf too openly in ſome Inſtances.

L. Commodus *Adopted by* Adrian.

In a ſhort Time the Bodily Infirmities of the new adopted *Cæſar* appear'd ſo manifeſtly, that *Adrian* began to repent of his chuſing ſo feeble a Succeſſor; and he often ſaid, *That he had lean'd againſt a rotten Wall*; but his Death ſoon after reliev'd the Emperor's Fears. Upon which he immediately adopted *Marcus Antoninus* an eminent Man, afterwards ſurnam'd *Pius*; at the ſame Time obliging him to adopt two others; namely, *Marcus Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, two promiſing Youths, who afterwards became Emperors. All which being eſtabliſh'd with the Approbation of the Senate and chief of *Rome*, and the Emperor's Diſtemper encreaſing, he caus'd himſelf to be carry'd to the City of *Baiæ*; where his Pains became very tormenting, and ſometimes threw him into Convulſions; ſo that he often endeavour'd to deſtroy himſelf, crying out, *How miſerable it is to ſeek Death and not to find him!* He made uſe of Gifts and Promiſes, and ſometimes Threatnings to provoke his Attendants to kill him; but ſome alledg'd Pity, ſome Piety, and others Fear, till at laſt by the Advice of his Phyſicians, he abſtain'd from all kind of Suſtenance, which brought him to an eaſie Death, often uſing the common Saying,

L. Commodus *dies.*

*A Mul-*

*A multitude of Physicians kills the King*, and at the same Time sported with some remarkable Verses, enquiring of his Soul, *Whither it design'd to go!* This was the Death of *Ælius Adrian*, the Fifteenth Emperor of *Rome*, in the Sixty second Year of his Age, after a prosperous Reign of Twenty one Years and Eleven Months; a Prince of rare Virtues and Deserts, tho' stain'd with an unhappy Mixture of many Vices and Imperfections; but in his Government and Administration he was admirable, and the Empire receiv'd vast Advantages from his exact Models, and his regular Establishments, which produc'd a Peace and Security more lasting than cou'd have been expected from such a degenerate Republick. His Death happen'd in the 891*st.* Year of the City, 163 after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 138 after our Saviour's Nativity, and 67 after the Destruction of *Jeerusalem*. *The Death of Adrian.*

II. The Death of *Adrian* was highly lamented in the Empire, but not so universally in the City, by reason of his several severe Executions in his last Sickness; but as the Wisdom of his Government was admir'd by all, so was the Wisdom of his chusing *Marcus Antonius* no less applauded. His Death was no sooner publish'd in the City, but *Antonius*, his new adopted Successor, was immediately, without any Contradiction, admitted and obey'd for Emperor, according to the Appointment of the Senate, before the Death of *Adrian*. *Marcus Antonius* was a Foreigner, and born in the City of *Nismes* in *Gaul*, though others say in *Latium*; his Grandfather being *Aurelius Fulvius*, and his Father of the same Name, both Noblemen of an ancient Family, who had been Consuls, and held other Offices and Dignities. At his arrival at the Empire he was above Fifty Years of Age, and had pass'd through several Honourable Offices, as the Quæstorship, the Prætorship, and Consulship, *A. D.* 138. Antoninus Pius *made Emperor.*

fulſhip, all which, with ſome other Offices and Magiſtracies, he worthily diſcharg'd. He afterwards ſhew'd himſelf to be one of the moſt excellent Princes in the World for Virtue and Bounty; and govern'd the Empire with the greateſt Authority, Juſtice, Moderation, and Clemency. He had a graceful Aſpect, and happy Conſtitution of Body; was very mild and temperate, a great Lover of Hunting and Husbandry; well Learn'd, and ſingularly Eloquent; and was ſo entirely free from all kinds of Vices, that in that he much exceeded *Trajan*, and the beſt of his Predeceſſors. For which Reaſon, the wiſe Men in his Time compar'd him to *Numa Pompilius*, the ſecond King of *Rome*; and upon ſeveral Accounts he had the Sirname of *Pius* given him by the Senate; and at the ſame time he was ſtil'd *Father of Virtues*. Authors have been too ſuccinct in this Reign, and ſince it was in great Meaſure free from Foreign and Domeſtick Diſturbances, they have principally treated of the perſonal Qualifications of the Emperor: For which Reaſon, in this and ſeveral other Reigns, I am obliged ſometimes to recede a little from the ſtrict Rules of Hiſtory, and comply with the Sterility and Courſeneſs of my Materials.

*Antoninus*, according to his Merciful Temper, made it his firſt Care to free thoſe Perſons whom *Adrian* had condemn'd in his laſt Sickneſs, and not executed; declaring, *That* Adrian, *if he had recovered, would have done the ſame*. Then taking his Remains to *Rome*, with great Pomp and Solemnity he bury'd them in the Gardens of *Domitia*; and notwithſtanding he was appos'd by moſt Men, he deify'd *Adrian* according to the *Roman* Cuſtom. Theſe generous Beginnings, with ſome others, gain'd him the forementioned Title of *Pius* from the Senate; who likewiſe gave the Name of *Auguſta* to his Wife *Fauſtina*, and decreed Statues in Honour of ſeveral of his Anceſtors

ceſtors and dead Relations, and alſo the Celebration of the *Circenſian* Games on his Birth-Day. In the beginning of his Reign he ſoon diſplay'd his Goodneſs and Bounty; and made it his Buſineſs to ſeek for Men able to govern the Commonwealth, always conferring great Honours upon good and deſerving Men. He impartially conſider'd the Wiſdom of his Predeceſſor, and therefore he made very few Removals in thoſe Offices and Charges that had been eſtabliſh'd by him; and ever accounted it moſt advantageous to the Publick, for good and upright Governours to continue long in their Charges and Provinces. Therefore he would not hearken to the Inſinuations which were made againſt them, declaring, *That he would not begin his Reign with Changes and odious Actions*; giving many Rewards to ſuch as merited his Favour. He moderated many Impoſts, and Tributes, and commanded that all ſhould be collected without any Severity or Oppreſſion. He exactly inform'd himſelf of the Revenues and Tributes of the Publick; but was never ſatisfy'd with the Gain that proceeded from an oppreſs'd Province; being very ready to hear the juſt Complaints that were ſometimes made againſt his Collectors and other Miniſters. He immediately ſhew'd his Liberality and Bounty to an extraordinary Degree, and ſoon gave away moſt of his former Eſtate and Goods in Favours and Acts of Charity; ſo that when his Empreſs *Fauſtina* repin'd at his Generoſity, he repreſented her as Ignorant, and told her, *That as ſoon as he was poſſeſs'd of the Empire, he quitted all private Intereſts, and had nothing of his own, but all belong'd to the Publick.* In Matters of Equity and juſt Government, he was no leſs vigilant and induſtrious than his Predeceſſor *Adrian*. But he was contrary to his Opinion as to Travels, and reſolv'd never to depart from *Rome* during his Reign, only for Hunting and ordinary Recreations: ſaying, *That the Court and Compa-*

*ny which travell'd with the Emperor were prejudicial and burdenſome to the Provinces and Cities through which they paſs'd; and that in viſiting ſome Places he was too diſtant from others; and therefore the moſt proper place for the Emperor to remain at was* Rome; *the great Metropolis of the Empire, ſeated in the Heart of it, and moſt convenient to receive Embaſſies and Meſſages from all Parts of the World.* So by ſtrictly obſerving this Rule, he had the good Fortune to ſuppreſs all the Wars and Inſurrections in his Reign by his Governours and Commanders.

Thoſe few Troubles and Inſurrections that we read of in this Reign were in *Britain*, in *Dacia*, and in *Germany*; and all were made towards the beginning of this Emperor's Reign. The firſt was in *Britain* by the more barbarous and unciviliz'd Part of that Nation, but they were ſoon quell'd by the Care and Induſtry of the Emperor's Lieutenant *Lollius Urbicus*, who after that improved *Adrian*'s Wall with larger Fortifications, or rather added another Wall to the former; for which Services he obtain'd the Sirname of *Britannicus*. Thoſe in *Dacia* and *Germany* happen'd ſhortly after, but were ſucceſsfully ſuppreſs'd by the Commandersin thoſe Parts; in which Wars the Emperor's Skill and Management gained him ſuch Reputation in all Parts, that for many Years after he rul'd the World by his own Authority, without any conſiderable War or Bloodſhed: So that *Aur. Victor*, tells us, that all Kings, Nations and People ſtood in awe of him, and at the ſame time ſo lov'd and eſteem'd him, that they accounted him rather their Father and Patron, than their Lord and Emperor; and all unanimouſly choſe him for their Judge and Arbitrator of Controverſies, looking upon him as though he had come down from Heaven. He was ſo much eſteem'd among Foreigners, that the Inhabitants of *Hyrcania*, a Province of *Aſia*, near the *Caſpian* Sea, and the *Bactrians*, a very remote and diſtant

diſtant People more Eaſtward, together with the *Indians*, all ſent their Ambaſſadors, voluntarily offering him their Alliance and Obedience. And from other Countries which were exceedingly remote, there came ſeveral Kings to pay him Homage; and particularly *Strangorus* from the *Indies*, King *Pharaſmanes*, and others. And in other Countries he ſetled Kings at his Pleaſure, the Inhabitants conſenting, though they were no ways ſubject to the Empire. King *Abgarus* out of the *Eaſt*, came to *Rome* to wait upon him, induc'd ſolely by the Authority of his Name; and the King of *Parthia* reſolving to raiſe a War againſt *Armenia*, and having with a mighty Force enter'd that Country, one Letter from this Emperor caus'd him to retire and diſcharge his Army.

*Antoninus* reigning in all Proſperity, in the third Year of his Government his Empreſs *Fauſtina* dy'd; and the Senate appointed her a Temple and Prieſteſſes, Games to her Honour, and Statues of Gold and Silver. The Emperor alſo made a charitable Eſtabliſhment for the Maintenance of certain young Children, whom he called by the Name of *Fauſtina*'s Children. Not long before which he had married his Daughter of the ſame Name to one of his deſign'd Succeſſors *Marcus Aurelius*, a Perſon of rare Accompliſhments, to whom the Emperor at the ſame time gave the Title of *Cæſar*, and raiſed him to the Honour of the Conſulſhip, and to ſeveral other Dignities. About the ſame time the *Chriſtians* began to be much oppreſs'd, and ſeverely treated in many Parts of the Empire, by vertue of the particular Edicts of former Emperors, and the general ſtanding Laws of the *Roman* Empire, which look'd upon them as a wicked and abominable Generation. To wipe away theſe Aſperſions, and to mitigate the Severities againſt them, that eminent Champion of the *Chriſtians*, *Juſtin Martyr*, publiſhed his

*The* Chriſtians *perſecuted. A. D.* 140.

first Apology, presenting it to the Emperor, to his adopted Sons, to the Senate, and by them to the whole People of *Rome*, wherein, with great Strength of Reason, He *defends the Christians from the common Objections of their Enemies, proves the Divine Authority of the* Christian *Faith, and shews how unjust and unreasonable it was to proceed against them without due Conviction and Form of Law; acquaints them with the innocent Rites and Usages of the* Christian *Assemblies*; and lastly, *put the Emperor in mind of the Methods of his Predecessor* Adrian *in this Matter; who hath commanded that* Christians *should not be needlesly and unjustly troubled, but their Causes should be travers'd and determin'd in open Judicatures*; annexing to his Apology a Copy of the Rescript which *Adrian* had sent to *Minucius Fundanus* to that purpose. The Emperor being of a mild and merciful Disposition was so far mov'd by this Apology, and by the Informations he had receiv'd from the other Parts of the Empire, as to publish a Letter in the behalf of the distressed *Christians*, in which he, among other Things, remarkably intimates, *The greatest Conquests the* Christians *gain'd over their Opposers by their laying down their Lives for the Truth of their Cause*; and concludes his Letter in these Words; *If after all, any shall still proceed to create them Trouble, meerly because they are* Christians, *let him who is indicted be discharg'd, though he appears to be a* Christian, *and let the Informer himself undergo the Punishment.* By which laudable Indulgence of the Emperor's, the *Christians* generally remain'd in great Peace and Security throughout the rest of this Reign.

*Antoninus* now became more universally belov'd by his Subjects; and as his Goodness and Equity became daily more conspicuous, so his Person became more dear to the Senate, which continually added new Honours and Titles to him, particularly stiling him, *Father of his Country*, a Title which he much

much refus'd; but at length accepted of it with great Courteſie and Humility. They likewiſe offer'd to give the Names of *Antoninus* and *Fauſtina* to the Months *September* and *October*, in Honour of him and his Empreſs, but he utterly refus'd that Offer. He always entertain'd the Senators and Noblemen with all imaginable Honour and Courteſie, and never acted any Matter of Importance without their Advice and Approbation; and he often wiſh'd, *to be ſuch an Emperor to the* Senate, *as he, if he was a depriv'd Perſon, would deſire of another Prince*, always giving Reaſons for every thing he acted, either to the Senate, or in his Edicts. He generally ſought to moderate the State and Majeſty of an Emperor, and ſhewed himſelf very affable, eaſie, and pleaſant to all Men, permitting his Friends to ſee him undreſs'd, and taking their Jeſts with an unaffected Patience and Freedom. But he was very ſtrict as to his Servants Advantages, and took a ſpecial Care that none of his Courtiers ſhou'd make any Profit of his Favours to another, nor take Bribes or Gratuities of ſuch as were Suiters to him; for which Reaſon he generally gave Audience and Anſwer to all Men himſelf in Perſon; and in this Matter he knew the Quality and Difference between Men to an extraordinary Perfection, uſing ſometimes the Advice of others when he found it neceſſary. For the ſolving all Difficulties, beſides the Aſſiſtance of his ordinary Council, and of his own Skill and Knowledge in the Laws, he had always ſome eminent Lawyers near him, particularly *Marcellus Tabolenus*, and others. By which, and other wiſe Methods, the Provinces and Cities in his Reign flouriſh'd and became richer than formerly; many of which Cities he reliev'd with his own Revenues towards their Encreaſe and Buildings, whether they were for Neceſſity and Convenience, or for Beauty and Ornament. And when any Misfortune or Calamity befel a City, he care-

fully repair'd and re-edify'd it with Money out of the Exchequer; particularly when a great Fire happen'd in *Rome*, another in *Narbone* in *Gaul*, a third in *Antioch* in *Asia*, and a fourth in *Carthage*, which consumed a great Part of these Cities. In the Time of a great Famine in *Rome*, he bountifully provided for the Peoples Wants, and maintained vast Numbers with Bread and Wine, most of the Time of its Continuance, causing Provisions to be brought from all parts, and paying for all at his own proper Charges. When the River *Tiber* had, by an Innundation greatly impair'd many private and publick Buildings in *Rome*, he was at a vast Expence in assisting the Citizens to restore the City to its former Lustre. Moreover, this was the Emperor who carried on those stupendions Works which appear to this Day, for improving the Havens of *Tarracina* and *Cajeta*. He also built famous Baths at *Ostia*, Aqueducts at *Antium*, and Temples at *Lavinium*. Further, we are told, that in the 900*th* Year of the City, and in the 9*th* of his Reign, this Emperor celebrated the Grand *Secular* Games, with great Pomp and Magnificence, exposing infinite variety of all kinds of strange Beasts, and other Animals. There were celebrated sixty three after the last under *Domitian*, and a hundred after those under *Claudius*, whose Example and Method *Antoninus* followed.

*Ludi Sæculares.* *A. D.* 147.

Among the other Vertues of this Emperor, which made his Reign happy and delightful, his Mercy and Clemency seem'd most signal; by which he mitigated the Rigour of several Laws, punishing Offenders with Pity and Commiseration, and often pardoning them, when he perceived any Prospect of their Repentance and Amendment. His mild and peaceful Temper was so remarkable, that to such who frequently discoursed with him of the Valour of *Julius Cæsar*, and other Hero's, his common Answer was with that of *Scipio*, *That he more desir'd the Preservation of*

the

*the Life of one Friend or Subject, than the Death of a thouſand Enemies.* In his Acts of Clemency he had a great Reſpect to the general and intire Love of all his Subjects; inſomuch that when the Senate earneſtly perſwaded him to puniſh ſome with Death who had conſpir'd againſt him, he made anſwer, *That it was not neceſſary too ſtrictly to ſearch out all Accomplices; for if they were found to be numerous, he well underſtood how much Hatred he ſhould contract by ſuch an Action.* Yet notwithſtanding his great Mildneſs and Lenity, he was always ſtrict and ſevere towards idle, lazy, and unactive Perſons, and turn'd all ſuch out of their Places who were uſeleſs and unſerviceable to the Publick; ſaying, *Nothing was more unjuſt and ſcandalous, than to ſuffer the Commonwealth to be devoured by ſuch People, who will contribute nothing by their labours towards the enriching of it.* He was always very induſtrious himſelf, executing all Affairs with incredible Diligence, and that without any Appearance of Vainglory or Oſtentation. He was an eminent Rewarder of Induſtry, and more particularly of Learned Men, whom he much honour'd and eſteem'd, giving them noble Preſents and Penſions, and drawing them from all Parts of the World; among the reſt he ſent for *Apollonius*, the famous *Stoick* Philoſopher from *Chalcis*, to be Maſter to his Adopted Son *Marcus Aurelius*. This Philoſopher being come to *Rome*, the Emperor ſent him word, *That his Scholar ſhould be delivered to him as ſoon as he came*; but the other rudely anſwer'd, *'Twas the Scholar's Duty to go to his Maſter, and not the Maſter to the Scholar.* Which arrogant Anſwer could not move the Emperor, who ſmilingly reply'd, *That he wondered that* Apollonius *ſhould think it a ſhorter Journey from* Chalcis *to* Rome, *than from his Lodgings to the Palace*, and immediately ſent *Marcus Aurelius* to him. Beſides, this Philoſopher, and ſome Lawyers before mention'd, there flouriſh'd ſeveral Learned Men in his Reign, particularly *Appian* of

*Alexandria*, an excellent Writer of the *Roman* History, who likewise flouriſh'd in the two laſt Reigns; *Galen* of *Pergamus*, the celebrated Phyſician, *Maximus Tyrius*, a *Platonick* Philoſopher; *Ælian*, Writer of the natural and various Hiſtories; *Juſtin* the Epitomizer of *Trogus Pompeius*, and *Diogenes Laertius*, who writ the Lives of the Philoſophers.

*Antoninus* in the midſt of his weighty Affairs and Matters of Importance, forgot not Recreations and Paſtimes, celebrating many Solemn Games and Feſtivals, according to the Cuſtom of *Rome*; and he ſeem'd never to have neglected any Thing that might contribute to the real Happineſs, or reaſonable Diverſions of his Subjects. And here it would not be unſeaſonable for the Reader to reſt a while upon the Conſiderations of the exalted Power and Grandeur of the *Roman* Empire, with the mighty Liberty and Felicity of the *Roman* People, under the good and wiſe Reigns of *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and the two *Antonines*; to reflect upon the amazing Splendor and Magnificence of the Emperor's Court, crowded with the greateſt and worthieſt Men in the World, together with the incredible Pomp and Luſtre of the vaſt City of *Rome*, beautify'd with the moſt ſtately Fabricks and nobleſt Ornaments that the World ever ſaw; and to think upon the mighty Wealth and Affluence of the ſeveral Provinces and Cities of the Empire, their profound Peace and Security in general, and the whole World, as it were, juſtly and happily govern'd by the ſame Lord, and the ſame Laws. But ſuch a general Proſperity as this was never very ſtable and durable in the *Roman* Empire, both by reaſon of ſo many ill Emperors, whoſe Heads became dizzy with the vaſtneſs of their Dominions and Authority, beſides ſome Corruptions and natural Infirmities in the particular Form of this Monarchy, and likewiſe by reaſon of the *Romans* exceeding Luxury and Degeneracy from the ſtrict Morals and Ver-

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tues of their Anceſtors. However *Antoninus* us'd the utmoſt of his Abilities to give a ſolid and laſting Happineſs to the Empire, which were likewiſe the laudable Endeavours and Practices of his three immediate Predeceſſors and Succeſſors: But in the midſt of his Cares and Concerns, he was ſeiz'd with a violent Fever at *Lorium*, where finding himſelf ſenſibly decaying, he order'd his Friends, the Captains of his Guards, and his principal Officers to repair to him, and before them all he confirm'd his Adoption of *Marcus Aurelius*, not naming *Lucius Verus*; and when the Tribune came for Orders, the Word which he gave him was *Equanimity*, intimating, That he had nothing more to deſire, ſince he had left ſo worthy a Succeſſor, and immediately commanded the Golden Image of *Fortune*, which the Emperors always had in their Chambers, to be remov'd from his Apartment to that of *Marcus Aurelius*, dying ſhortly after. Thus departed *Antoninus Pius*, the Sixteenth Emperor of *Rome*, in the 75th Year of his Age, after a proſperous Reign of Twenty two Years, and almoſt eight Months; a Prince of admirable Vertues and unſtain'd Reputation, who had juſtly gain'd the moſt honourable Title of *Pius*, a Prince who never willingly ſhed the Blood either of *Roman*, or Foreigner; and in all his acts he is ſaid *never to have done any thing raſhly in his Youth, nor negligently in his Age*; an Honour as laſting as the Memorials of Fame. His Death hapned in the 914th Year of the City, 185 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 161 after our Saviour's Nativity, and 89 after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*,

*The Death of Antoninus Pius.*

III. The Death of *Antoninus Pius*, was generally lamented throughout the Empire, but more eſpecially in the City, where with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity, Divine Honours were given him, Funeral Orations pronounc'd by his adopted Sons *Marcus Aurelius*,

*A. D.* 161.

*Aurelius*, and *Lucius Verus*, a Magnificent Pillar erected to him, and a new College of Priests instituted, call'd *Aurelians* from the Name of his Family. At the same Time *Marcus Aurelius*, the eldest and worthiest of the two, was without Contradiction admitted as Successor and Emperor by the Senate who upon his beginning to act, without any Scruple, took his adopted Brother *Lucius Verus* as his Associate and Equal in the Empire; both he and his Collegue taking upon them the Name of *Antoninus*, tho' to avoid Confusion, we shall call the first *Antoninus*, and the other *Verus*. This was the first Time that *Rome* ever saw it self govern'd by two Sovereigns at once; a surprizing Sight to a City that formerly had almost all the Blood of her Citizens shed in chusing a Master. *Antoninus* was the Son of *Annius Verus*, and of an Ancient and Illustrious Family, who by the Father's Side claim'd its Original from *Numa* the second King of *Rome*; and *Verus* was the Son of *Lucius Commodus*, whom the Emperor *Adrian* had adopted, but Death prevented his Succeeding in the Empire: The former was about forty Years of Age, and the latter about thirty three, when they first arriv'd at the Empire. *Antoninus* was a Prince of eminent Vertues and Accomplishments, a good and pious Man, and a renown'd *Stoick* Philosopher, for which he is distinguish'd from his Predecessor, by the Name of *Philosophus*: His Excellencies were so transcendent, that *Eutropius* tells us, he was more to be admir'd than commended; and it may be said, that Providence proportion'd the Wisdom of this Emperor to the Calamities design'd for this Reign. But on the other side, *Verus* had none of his good Qualifications, but was passionate and extravagant, dissolute and debauch'd in his Morals; and the greatest of his Vertues was, that he was free from those horrible Vices which make a lawful Prince degenerate into a true Tyrant. But this Disparity of Humours did not so

**Antoninus Philosophus** *made Emperor who joyns with him,* **Antoninus Verus.**

ſo much appear in the Beginning of this Reign, by reaſon of the Influence and Gravity of *Antoninus*, who enjoy'd almoſt all the Power and Authority, and the other only the Eaſe and Luxury of the Government.

Theſe two Emperors began their Reign with great Happineſs and Proſperity; and towards the latter End of the firſt Year, *Antoninus* had a Son born, whom he call'd *Commodus*. The Birth of this Prince, whoſe Life ſeems to have been a Diſhonour to Nature, was ſignaliz'd by many deplorable Diſaſters; particularly the River *Tiber*, by an Inundation overwhelm'd a conſiderable part of *Rome*, bore along with it a multitude of People and Cattle, ruin'd all the Country, and caus'd an extream Famine. This Inundation was ſeconded by Earthquakes, Burning of Cities, and a general Infection of the Air, which immediately produced an infinite Number of Inſects; who waſted all that the Floods had ſpared; all which Calamities the two Emperors remedy'd in a great Meaſure by their diligent Diſtribution of ſuch Succours as were needful. At the ſame time the whole World reſounded with the Noiſe of Wars, which almoſt at once broke out in many Parts. The *Parthians*, under the Conduct of their King *Vologeſus*, ſurpriz'd the *Roman* Legions in *Armenia*, and cut them in Pieces; then entring *Syria*, they drove out *Attilius Cornelianus*, the Governour of that Country. The *Catti* at the ſame time invaded *Germany* and *Rhætia*, deſtroying all with Fire and Sword; and likewiſe the *Britains* begun to make Revolts. *Calpurnius Agricola* was ſent againſt the *Britains*, who joyning freſh Supplies with the ordinary Legions in the Iſland, ſuppreſs'd the Inhabitants; *Aufidius Victorinus* ſoon repell'd the *Catti*; but the *Parthian* War being of greateſt Danger and Importance, one of the Emperors was judg'd moſt proper for this Enterprize, and *Verus* himſelf undertook the Expedition, and ſet forward

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in a few Days. *Antoninus* with a great Court of Friends and Officers, accompany'd this Prince as far as *Gosma*, leaving many wise and great Men to attend him in this Expedition, with Design either of securing himself of his Conduct, or of laying a Restraint upon his Vices, and by some Remains of Modesty, repel or correct those bad Inclinations which he saw in him. But this Precaution was useless to *Verus*, who weary of all Restraints, shew'd small Respect to those worthy Persons *Antoninus* had left him; and upon his Departure, soon forgot the Urgency of his Journey, and the Defeat of the *Roman* Legions, and consider'd no longer the great Danger of the Revolt of *Syria*, but plung'd himself into the most infamous Lewdness and Debaucheries, and to such Excess, that he fell dangerously ill at *Canusium* Upon News of which, *Antoninus* hastened back to see him, first making Vows in a full Senate; but he soon after understood that *Verus* was embark'd for his Expedition.

During the Absence of *Verus*, *Antoninus* apply'd himself to the Regulation of the publick Affairs, and to the correcting such Faults as he found in the Laws and Policy; in all which he shew'd a singular Respect to the Senate. He not only remitted many Causes to the Senate, which might have been determined in his own Council, but he permitted them to judge Soveraignly, and without Appeal; so that the People liv'd under his Government as in a free City. He was so careful of the Senatorian Dignity, that he receiv'd none into their Body, but after strict Enquiry, and with the Consent of the rest; and was never absent from their Assembly, when his Business would permit him to be there, tho' he had no Report to make. He was fully satisfied that the Strength and Glory of a State depended upon a wise, and honest Council, therefore he never undertook any Matter of Importance either in War or Peace,

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without conſulting the ableſt Perſons in Court, City and Senate, beſides his ordinary Council; and being free from that falſe Ambition of drawing others over to his Opinion, he gladly ſubmitted to theirs, and frequently declar'd, *That it was much more reaſonable for him to follow the Advice and Council of ſo many wiſe Men and Friends, than for ſo many wiſe Men to follow his.* And that he might remove that fatal and common Prejudice of eſteeming it a mean and ſervil Thing for a Man to recede from his Opinion, he eſtabliſh'd this important Truth for one of his Maxims, *That Man is no leſs free who ſubmits to the Opinion of others, than he who continues obſtinate in his own; ſuch a Change being often the Perfection of Wiſdom and Judgment.* As he was ready to hearken to the Councils of others, ſo he was no leſs careful and exact in their Execution; and he often ſaid, *That an Emperor ſhould never act careleſly or in haſte, and that the ſmalleſt Overſight might create a Cenſure in greater Matters.* So that he examin'd the meaneſt Affairs with as much Care and Exactneſs, as the moſt important; being perſwaded of this Truth, *That Juſtice being throughout Entire, there is nothing that regards it but what is Great*: So that he often employ'd ten Days and more about the ſame Buſineſs, frequently ſat in Council till Night, and never departed from the Senate till the *Conſul*, according to Cuſtom, diſmiſs'd the Aſſembly by pronouncing theſe Words, *We detain you no longer.*

This good Emperor was no leſs ſtrict and careful in his choice of Governours and Magiſtrates; and was perſuaded, That one of the greateſt Errors a Prince could commit, was to put the Magiſtracy into the Hands of unfit Perſons; and taking all imaginable Care leſt he ſhould fall into this Misfortune, he with great Eaſineſs and Freedom, refus'd whatever was unjuſtly requeſted of him. When he found Perſons

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ſerviceable to the Publick, he always gave them an Encouragement anſwerable to their Merits, and placed them in Stations moſt ſuitable to their Genius and Capacities; and he was wont to ſay, *That tho' it was not in a Prince's Power to make and form his Subjects as he deſired, yet it was in his Power to make good uſe of their Service, by employing them in ſuch Affairs as they underſtood.* He choſe the greateſt part of the Governours of Provinces and great Cities out of the Senators; and he was perſuaded, as well as *Auguſtus*, *That whatever a Prince does to increaſe the Honour and Dignity of his Magiſtrates, heightens his own Power, and eſtabliſhes his own Authority, which neither ought nor can be founded upon any thing but Juſtice.* What he did to the Senates did not at all withold him from extending his Bounty to the other Orders of Magiſtrates, and indeed to all private Perſons; ſo that no Perſon of any Condition whatſoever, appeared to him unworthy of his Care and Regard. In all Matters he was a religious Obſerver of his Word; and that he might never hearken to the Reaſons of thoſe falſe Polititians who maintain, *That a wiſe and able Prince is not oblig'd to keep his Word when it interferes with his Intereſt*, he eſtabliſh'd this memorable Inſtruction to all Princes: *Beware leſt you eſteem that Thing as uſeful and beneficial, which will one Day conſtrain you to break your Word.* His juſt and regular Adminiſtration, and his many worthy Actions, ſo much gain'd him the Hearts of the Senate and People, that they offer'd him many peculiar Honours; but he would never accept of thoſe lofty Titles, which had been given to ſome other Emperors, nor would he permit Temples and Altars to be erected to him, knowing, that it is Vertue alone that makes Princes equal to Gods, and not the Voices and Applauſes of the People, and that King who rules with Juſtice, has all the World for his Temple, and all good Men for his Prieſts and Miniſters.

While

While *Armenius* was moſt worthily employ'd in the publick Adminiſtration, *Verus* was purſuing his Expedition in the *Eaſt*, but neither with Diligence nor Regard to the Intereſt of the Empire. His Sickneſs at *Canuſium* did not correct his looſe Inclinations, but continuing his Debauches upon his March, he totally forgot it at *Daphne*, one of the Suburbs of *Antioch*, the Entrance of which Place was, as it were, prohibited to all honeſt Perſons, ſince the Sweetneſs of its Air, and the Beauties of its Groves, Flowers and Fountains, had occaſioned the very Throne of Impurity to be ſeated there. Yet *Verus* added to the Debauchery of this Place, by ſuch Exceſſes as were unknown to the Inhabitants, though the moſt profligate People upon Earth. In the mean time his Lieutenants ſucceſsfully carry'd on the War againſt the *Parthians*: *Statius Priſcus* took *Artaxata*; *Caſſius*, and *Martius Verus* put *Vologeſus* to flight, took *Seleucia*, burnt and plunder'd the famous Cities *Babylon* and *Cteſiphon*, and demoliſh'd the Magnificent Palace of the *Parthians*. Theſe Wars continued for four Years ſpace, with great variety of Succeſſes, much Bloodſhed, and many terrible Conflicts, till the Valour of the *Roman* Commanders ſo far prevail'd, as to become intirely victorious: but theſe who had gain'd ſuch noble Victories, and defeated Armies of 400000 Men in their Return were forc'd to encounter Sickneſs and Famine, which deſtroy'd more than half their Numbers. However this was no Impediment to the Glory of *Verus*, who being exalted with his Victories, took upon him the lofty Titles of *Parthicus* and *Armenicus*, as if he juſtly acquired them in the midſt of all his Pleaſures. During this War, *Antoninus* became ſenſible of his Collegues Enormities; but feigning himſelf ignorant, judg'd Marriage to be the moſt probable means of retrieving him: therefore without delay, he ſent his own Daughter *Lucilla*,

Ant. Verus's *Expedition in the* Eaſt.

*His Marriage with* Lucilla, *his Colleague's Daughter.*

*cilla* into *Syria*, a Princeſs of great Beauty and little Modeſty, and bore her Company as far as *Brundusium*. *Verus* believing *Antoninus* was coming with his Daughter, and fearing his Diſorder ſhould be known to him, went to receive him at *Epheſus*, from whence he return'd ſhortly after the Celebration of his Marriage at *Antioch* with his new Empreſs, whoſe Life and Converſation prov'd agreeable to her Husband's, and to the Examples her Mother *Fauſtina* had given her.

*Verus* having ſet a King over the *Armenians*, entirely ſubdued the *Parthians*, and ſettled the Affairs of *Aſia*, return'd to *Rome* to partake of the Honour of a Triumph with *Antoninus*, which was ſolemniz'd with great Pomp and Splendour. His Return was thought fatal to the Empire, for he carry'd the Plague into all the Provinces through which he paſs'd, and caus'd the Infection to ſpread through *Italy*, and almoſt all the Empire. We are told that this dreadful Peſtilence began at the taking of *Babylon*, where the Soldiers pillaging the Temple of *Apollo*, in a place under Ground, found a little Golden Coffer, which upon their opening of it, caſt forth a horrible infectious Air which ſpread it ſelf, and carried Mortality through moſt parts of the World. But it more probably proceeded from the Diſeaſes which afflicted *Caſſius*'s Army in his return from the Defeat of the *Parthians*. This Plague was followed by many other Miſeries, as Earth-quakes, Famine, Inundations, and Caterpillars in *Italy*, and other Provinces; all which had ſuch deplorable Effects, that the beſt Authors aſſure us, that if the extraordinary Vigilance and Wiſdom of *Antoninus* had not prevented it, the *Roman* Empire had been torn aſunder, and barbarous Nations had ſubdued the greateſt part of it. For the *Germans*, *Sarmatians*, *Quadi*, *Marcomanni*, and others, taking Advantage from theſe various Calamities, furiouſly invaded the Empire,

Empire, and made Irruptions even into *Italy*. The *Germans* were ſoon repuls'd by *Antoninus*, and his two Lieutenants *Pertinax* and *Pompeianus*; but in the following Year, when the Plague rag'd ſtill more, the united Powers of many barbarous Nations, became an exceeding Terror to the City. In order to put a ſtop to ſo many Miſeries that threatned the Empire, *Antoninus* us'd all Kinds of Methods Humane and Divine, eſpecially the latter, which he purſu'd with infinite Zeal and Superſtition. He ſent for Prieſts from all Parts to diſpatch the innumerable Company of Sacrifices, vow'd and offer'd upon this Occaſion; Celebrated all the Sacred Foreign Rites that were ever known in *Rome*, purg'd the City all manner of ways; and exhibited the Solemnities called *Lectiſternia* ſeven Days together. This Superſtitious Zeal is by the moſt Judicious believ'd to be the Cauſe of the ſevere Perſecution of the *Chriſtians*, which rag'd about this Time, and was the fourth General Perſecution of the Catholick Church. This began about the ſecond Year of this Reign, when *Juſtin Martyr* preſented his ſecond Apology, ſhortly after which this great Man ſuffer'd *Martyrdom* in *Rome*; but ſince it became not hot, nor general till this Time, the fourth Perſecution is juſtly plac'd here by many, which was in the ſeventh Year of this Reign, about ſixty Years after the Beginning of the third Perſecution by *Trajan* and forty nine after the Beginning of that by *Adrian*, which by ſome is reckon'd the fourth Perſecution. The Edicts againſt the *Chriſtians*, are by ſome Admirers of *Antoninus*, charg'd wholly upon *Verus*; tho' others who had a venerable Eſteem for the extraordinary Vertues and Excellencies of *Antoninus*, have nevertheleſs attributed it in great meaſure to his Superſtitious Zeal to *Paganiſm*. This Perſecution was very

*The fourth General Perſecution A. D. 167.*

ry ſevere, and rag'd in many Parts of the Empire, deſtroying beſides *Juſtin Martyr*, St. *Polycarp*, Biſhop of *Smyrna*, and an infinite Number of others; and was not relax'd till about ſeven Years after this great Irruption.

*Antoninus* having us'd all Kinds of Sacrifices, Proceſſions, and Superſtitious Rites, march'd againſt the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*, taking *Verus* along with him, who had rather have ſtaid behind at *Rome* to continue his Debaucheries, which *Antoninus* endeavour'd to prevent. The two Emperors therefore took the Way of *Aquileia*, where they advanc'd towards the *Marcomanni*, who were encamp'd not far diſtant, beat them out of their Trenches, and made a great Slaughter of them. *Furius Victorinus*, Captain of the Guards, was ſlain in the Battel, with a great Number of his beſt Troops; but this did not hinder the two Emperors from purſuing their Advantage, preſſing ſo forcibly upon the Enemy, that at laſt they broke through their Army; which occaſion'd the greateſt Part of their Allies to ſlay the Authors of the Revolt, draw off their Forces, and deſire a Truce. *Verus* ſatisfy'd with theſe Conditions, and ſighing after the Delights and Pleaſures of *Rome*, urg'd *Antonius* to agree to their Propoſals, and return back: But *Antonius* urg'd the Perfidiouſneſs of theſe barbarous People, who ſtill wanted not Strength to diſturb the Empire, and immediately order'd his Troops to march. The two Emperors therefore paſs'd the *Alps*, purſu'd the Enemy, overcame them in ſeveral Conteſts, defeated them entirely, and return'd into *Italy* without any conſiderable Loſs. Winter was now far advanc'd, and they had made a Reſolution of ſtaying at *Aquileia* till it was paſt, but the Plague oblig'd them to part from thence with ſome of their Forces; in which

which Journey *Verus* was ſeiz'd with an Apoplexy near *Altinum*, and dy'd ſhortly after at that Place, in the forty ſecond Year of his Age, after he had Reigned about nine Years with *Antoninus*, tho' ſome ſay eleven. It is almoſt generally agreed, that Poyſon was the Cauſe of his Death, which ſome attribute to the Empreſs *Fauſtina*, but moſt to his own Wife *Lucilla*, being violently jealous of him for the Paſſion he bore to his own Siſter *Fabia*; a Death anſwerable to the Looſeneſs and Debaucheries of his Life. Yet notwithſtanding his infamous Life, *Antoninus*, out of a peculiar Kind of Goodneſs, and Reſpect to his own Family, caus'd him to be conſecrated, tho' with no great Satisfaction either to the Senate or People.

*The Death of Ant. Verus.*

IV. *Antoninus*, who before governed both an Empire and an Emperor, had now the former alone left to his Charge; and firſt taking Care of his Family, he in a ſhort time marry'd his Daughter *Lucilla* to *Claudius Pompeianus*, a Perſon in Years, and only the Son of a plain Knight, but eminent for his Fidelity, Honeſty, Courage and Wiſdom; which Qualifications, together with his unſtained Reputation, the Emperor infinitely preferred before Birth and Riches. Being freed from this Care, he left *Rome* to finiſh the War with the *Marcomanni*, who joining with the *Quadi*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Vandals*, and other barbarous Nations, were become fiercer and more formidable than before; ſo that the Wars againſt *Hannibal* and the *Cimbri*, ſcarce ever appeared more terrible. In the firſt general Battel near the *Danube*, the *Romans* were ſo ſeverely treated, that they loſt more than 20000 Men, and the *Barbarians* purſued them even to the Walls of *Aquileia*, which they had taken, had not the Emperor rallied his

*A. D.* 170. Antonin. Philoſophus *Reigns alone.*

Troops with great Skill and Conduct. But this Affront ſo rouz'd the Fury and Courages of the *Romans*, that in a ſhort time they repuls'd theſe formidable People, and drove them into *Pannonia*. About which time the *Moors* ravaged *Spain* with Fire and Sword, and the Shepherds in *Ægypt*, who were a kind of *Banditti*, took up Arms, and made a dangerous Inſurrection in thoſe Parts. The former were ſoon quell'd in *Spain* by the Emperor's Lieutenants; and the latter happily diſpers'd by the Courage and Policy of *Caſſius*. Theſe Succeſſes were ſeconded with further Advantages over the *Northern* Nations by the Emperor *Antoninus*, who ſo weary'd and harraſs'd them by his repeated Attacks and Skirmiſhes, that he conſtrain'd them to receive ſuch Articles as he thought convenient to impoſe upon them. After which Succeſſes, *Antoninus* returned to *Rome* with great Honour, where he celebrated his *Decennalia* according to Cuſtom, and made ſuch Vows as were uſual on thoſe Occaſions.

During the Peace, *Antoninus* imployed himſelf in a further Reformation of the Laws and Policy: And firſt he wiſely prohibited, That no Enquiry ſhould be made after the State and Condition of deceas'd Perſons after five Years; and leſt Crimes ſhould go unpuniſhed, and private Perſons ſuffer by Delays in Proceſſes, after the Example of *Auguſtus*, he increas'd the Number of Court Days, ſo that there were two hundred and thirty in all. That thoſe who were free-born, might the more eaſily prove it, he ordained, that each *Roman* Citizen ſhould go to the Treaſury in the Temple of *Saturn*, where the publick Records were kept, to enter what Children they had born; and he eſtabliſh'd Notaries to keep Regiſters of all Births in the Provinces. He provided for the Security of

Minors

Minors and Pupils, by conſtituting a particular *Prætor* call'd *Tutelaris*, becauſe his Office was to appoint Tutors, and becauſe all Buſineſs concerning Guardianſhip came under his Cognizance. He reformed that Law which ordered thoſe Curators call'd *Lætoriæ*, to be given to Minors only, in caſe of Madneſs or Extravagancy (which by the *Romans* were reckoned a moral Madneſs) and had them given to all Minors without Exception. He moderated the publick Expences, and leſſened the Number of Shows and Sports; but maintained the Streets and High-ways at the publick Charge; and reformed all the Abuſes of Sales and Uſury. He made ſevere Laws to hinder any Violence that might be done to the Sanctity of Sepulchres; and likewiſe ordain'd, That the Poor ſhould be bury'd at the Charge of the Publick. The Poor had never recourſe to him in vain; and he took ſuch Pleaſure in relieving them, that he looked upon it as one of the greateſt Happineſſes of his Life, that he never wanted Means to perform it. To put a Reſtraint upon the Luxury of the City, he prohibited the Uſe of Litters and Chariots to all inferior Perſons; and endeavour'd by all Methods to correct the Looſeneſs and Diſorders of Women and Young People, without knowing it was his own private Intereſt; for he was in great Meaſure ignorant of the Wantonneſs and Irregularities of his Empreſs *Fauſtina*: But being once adviſ'd to divorce her for her ill Conduct, we are told, that he made Anſwer, *If we put her away, we are oblig'd in Juſtice to quit the Empire, which was her Dowry*: But this is diſbelieved by ſome, as diſagreeable to the Temper and Character of *Antoninus*.

*Prætor Tutelaris.*

*Lætoriæ.*

In the mean time the *Marcomanni*, who only deſigned to lay the Emperor aſleep by their Submiſſion, and remove him further from them, to

make Advantage of his Abſence, all took up Arms with greater Fury than before. They were ſo much the more formidable, becauſe they had drawn over to their Side all the Nations from *Illyricum*, to the furtheſt Parts of *Gaul*. The Emperor who ſaw his Army waſted by the Plague, and ſuch Loſſes they had ſuſtained in ſeveral Encounters, and the Treaſure entirely exhauſted by ſo many Wars and Charges, found himſelf ſurrounded with ſuch Difficulties, as he had never experienced till that time. He was conſtrained to remedy the firſt of theſe Misfortunes by liſting the Gladiators, the *Banditti* of *Dalmatia* and *Dardania*, and the Slaves, which had never been practis'd, but in the ſecond *Punick* War; and the latter, by following the Examples of *Nerva* and *Trajan*, and ſelling the Moveables belonging to the Empire. The *Romans*, who had no Money to ſuccour their Prince, and ſecure themſelves in a juſt War, did not want it to purchaſe the rich Furniture of the Palace, ſuch as the Emperor's Jewels, his Pictures, his Tapeſtry, his Veſſels, and gold and ſilver Plate, his Chryſtals, the Empreſs's rich Clothes, and the Pearls, of which were vaſt quantities in *Adrian*'s Cabinet; the Sale of all which continued two Months, and raiſed ſo conſiderable a Fund, that *Antoninus* had ſufficient Sums to defray all the Expences of the War. At his Return he ſignify'd it was his Pleaſure, that all ſhould reſtore them at the ſame Price they had bought them, but us'd no Conſtraint to thoſe who deſired to keep them. Before his Departure he loſt his ſecond Son *Verus Cæſar*, who dy'd of an Impoſthume, when he was ſeven Years of Age. He bore the Loſs with much Patience, and forbad that the Feaſts of *Jupiter*, then a ſolemnizing ſhould be deferred by publick Mourning; contenting himſelf with raiſing

ſing Statues to his Son, and ordering his Image of Gold to be carry'd in State into the *Circus* during the Sports there, and to have his Name inſerted into the Order of *Salians*. After which he diligently apply'd himſelf to the Affairs of the Publick, haſtned his Recruits, begg'd the Gods Aſſiſtance by Prayers and Sacrifices and march'd againſt the Enemy.

This Expedition was longer and more dangerous than any preceding; being attended with numerous Perils and various Succeſſes. The Emperor paſs'd the *Danube* by a Bridge of Boats; at the Head of his Army attack'd the Enemy, gain'd the Advantages in ſeveral Encounters, burnt their Barns and Houſes, and receiv'd ſeveral of the chief of their Allies, who aſtoniſh'd with the ſuddenneſs of his Victories, came in to ſubmit themſelves. But the moſt memorable Battel was towards the latter end of this War, which might have prov'd fatal to the *Roman* Empire, had not ſome miraculous Accidents interpos'd. It was begun by the Enemies Slingers croſs a River, who brought *Antoninus* himſelf into ſome Danger; but the *Romans* being rouz'd by this Affront, furiouſly paſs'd the River, fell in with the Enemy, and made a great Slaughter. The Enemy timely retir'd with great Policy, and rightly judging they ſhould be purſu'd, left ſeveral Companies of Archers cover'd with ſome Horſe, to skirmiſh with the *Romans*, as tho' they deſign'd to ſtop their Progreſs. Whereupon the *Romans* advanc'd with more Bravery than Conduct, an uſual Thing after Succeſs, and briskly attack'd theſe Archers; who according to Orders, immediatly fled, and cunningly drew the whole *Roman* Army among deſperate barren Mountains, where they were ſuddenly block'd up on every ſide. But they not knowing their Dan-

ger, and believing their Courage cou'd overcome all Things, continu'd fighting valliantly notwithstanding the Disadvantage of the Place; which caus'd more of them to be slain than the Enemy, who wou'd not leave that to Chance which they expected from Delay, standing only upon the Defensive. The *Romans* cou'd not comprehend the Reason of this Conduct, till the excessive Heats between the Mountains, great Wearinefs, Wounds, and a violent Thirst had entirely disheartned and confounded them; at which time they found, that they could neither fight nor retreat, and that they must either suffer themselves to be cut in Pieces, or become a Prey to their barbarous Enemies. In this deplorable Extremity, where Rage and Despair were their chief Companions, *Antoninus*, more concern'd at his Soldiers Miseries than his own, ran through all their Ranks, and in vain endeavour'd to raise their Hopes by performing Sacrifices, in which they no longer now confided. When the Sun had exhausted all their Strength, they perceiv'd their Enemies ready to attack them; and having no Expectation either from their own Courages, from Fortune or their Gods, nothing was heard but Groans and Lamentations, nor nothing seen but the blackest Marks of the most horrible Desolation. But just as the Army was ready to be destroy'd, we are assur'd by the faithfullest Writers, that the solemn Prayers of the *Christians*, which compos'd the chief of the *Melytene* Legion, prevail'd for their Deliverance, which was effected by a sudden Fall of great Quantities of Rain, with which the fainting Soldiers were reliev'd by holding their Mouths, Helmets and Bucklers up to Heaven. And while the *Barbarians* attack'd them in that Posture, making them swallow their own Blood mingled with the Water, the same

*A Miraculous Victory.*

*A. D.* 417.

ſame Clouds that had ſent ſo kind a Shower upon the *Romans*, at the ſame time diſcharg'd a terrible Storm of Hail, accompany'd with Fire and Thunder againſt the Enemy. So that while the former refreſh'd themſelves, and quench'd their Thirſt, the latter were exceedingly ſcorch'd, and confounded with the amazing Flames from Heaven, which no Water could extinguiſh. The *Romans* recovering Strength and Courage, and being now rather enrag'd at the Affront they had receiv'd, than remembring the Danger they had eſcap'd, unanimouſly cut in Pieces all that reſiſted them, put the reſt to flight, and took great Numbers of Priſoners.

The Subſtance of this memorable Story is univerſally acknowledg'd by the *Pagan* Writers; but out of Malice to the *Chriſtians*, they either aſcribe it to the Power of Magick, or to the Prevalency of the Emperor's own Prayers. However *Antoninus* became ſo ſenſible of a miraculous Aſſiſtance, that he immediately relax'd the Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*, which had been very ſevere for about ſeven Years, and wrote to the Senate in favour of their Religion, and acknowledging the greatneſs of the Deliverance, order'd thoſe to be puniſh'd with Death who accus'd the *Chriſtians*. The *Roman* Army upon this happy Victory, gave the Title of *Emperator* to *Antoninus*, which was now the ſeventh Time; and the Empreſs *Fauſtina* was likewiſe honour'd with the particular Title of *Mater Caſtrorum*, or *Mother of Armies*. Notwithſtanding this great Advantage, the *Barbarians* continu'd the War above a Year longer, with many violent Struggles and Conflicts; till finding themſelves unable any longer to reſiſt a Commander who had conquer'd them as much by his merciful Behaviour, as his valiant Acts, ſent to offer him Hoſtages,

and

and to beg a Peace. For a good Space he was buſily employ'd in this Negotiation, in anſwering their Ambaſſadors, and receiving ſeveral Kings that came to pay him Homage. The King of the *Sarmatians* alone reſtor'd him 100000 Captives that he had taken from the *Roman* Dominions; and deliver'd up 8000 of his Soldiers, the greateſt Part of whom were ſent againſt the *Britains*. The Emperor impos'd Conditions upon theſe People more or leſs ſevere, as he found their Inclinations to revolt, and all were ready to ſubmit to what he was pleas'd to command; ſo that the Lands of the *Marcomanni*, the *Quadi*, and the *Sarmatians* had been reduc'd into Provinces of the Empire, had not the News of the Rebellion of *Caſſius*, who proclaim'd himſelf Emperor in *Syria*, came juſt in that Moment. The Treaſon of ſo great a Commander as *Caſſius*, much ſurpriz'd the Emperor, and no leſs rais'd the Courages of the *Barbarians*, who being always more concern'd for their Liberties than their Words, oblig'd *Antoninus* to remit a great Part of the Impoſitions he had laid upon them, and to make new Treaties of Peace far leſs advantageous to the Empire than the former.

*Caſſius's Rebellion.*

The Revolt and Progreſs of *Caſſius* daily fill'd the Ears of the Citizens of *Rome*, which caus'd the Emperor to quicken his Preparations againſt him. *Caſſius* was an eminent Commander in the Eaſt, a Perſon of great Valour and Courage, and of a moſt regular and ſtrict Diſcipline; and finding his Soldiers inclinable to ſupport his Pretenſions, he reſolv'd to paſs for a Deſcendent of the ancient *Caſſius*, who conſpir'd againſt *Julius Cæſar*; and like him firſt pretended to re-eſtabliſh the Commonwealth, ſaying, *Let the Gods but favour the right Side, and the* Caſſii *ſhall ſtill reſtore the Commonwealth*

*wealth to all its Authority.* Afterwards, partly by a feign'd pretence of the Emperor's Death, and partly by his ſubtle Inſinuations, he gathered ſo much ſtrength, as in a ſhort time he brought under his Subjection all the Countries from *Syria* to Mount *Taurus.* Theſe Advantages and Succeſſes appeared very dangerous to the Emperor, who haſtning his March towards him, told his Soldiers, among many other Things, *That he could freely yield up his Empire to* Caſſius, *if it ſhould be judged a Thing neceſſary for the Publick Good; for it was for that alone that he ſuſtained ſo many daily Toils and inceſſant Labours.* In the mean time *Caſſius*, who well knew that heinous Crimes muſt have a bold and ſpeedy Execution, endeavoured to draw *Greece* over to his Side; but here he met with a deſerved Repulſe, which firſt turned the Scale of all his good Fortune. The Emperor being ſo univerſally belov'd, after this he could not bring over any conſiderable City, or gain any to his Party, but ſuch as were already ruined by their Debts and Vices. This bad Succeſs brought him into diſcredit with his own Soldiers, and at laſt having rather been Emperor in Imagination than Reality, he was ſlain three Months and ſix Days after his Revolt. His Head was ſent to the Emperor, then at *Formiæ*, who commanded it to be honourably bury'd, and ſorrowfully declar'd, *That they had deprived him of his greateſt Pleaſure, which was to have given* Caſſius *his Life, and to have conquered his Ingratitude by his Generoſity.* This Clemency was admired by ſome, and condemned by others; and one took the Liberty of blaming him openly, telling him, *That* Caſſius *would not have been ſo generous had he been Conqueror.* The Emperor immediately reply'd, *We never ſerved the Gods ſo ill, or reigned ſo irregularly, as to fear* Caſſius *could ever be Conqueror.* After which he recounted

*His Death.*

counted those Emperors who had been depos'd or slain by their Subjects, and shewed, *That their Misfortunes proceeded wholly from their own Cruelties and ill Conduct*; Nero, *and* Caligula, *and* Domitian, *were the sole Authors of their own Miseries*; Otho *and* Vitellius, *had not the Courage to reign, and* Galba *was ruined by his Avarice, And it is hard to find a good Prince, that met with such Fortune, as appears from the Examples of* Augustus, Trajan, Adrian, *and others, who always reigned in the Hearts of their Subjects, and continually triumphed over their Domestick Enemies.*

*Antoninus* having caus'd the Head of *Cassius* to be bury'd, and testify'd his Grief for his Death, continued his Journey to compleat the Suppression of this Revolt, and to cause the People and Army in the *East* to return to their Duty. He began with *Ægypt*, and pardoned all the Cities that had joined with *Cassius*, and left one of his Daughters at *Alexandria*, as a Pledge of his Friendship. Coming to *Pelusium* he there corrected many Excesses and Debaucheries; and where-ever he pass'd, he entered the Temples, the Schools, and all publick Places, and instructed the People, conversing familiarly with them, and explaining to them the greatest Difficulties in Philosophy, leaving the Marks of his Wisdom in all Places. Arriving at *Syria* he was met at *Antioch* with many Kings and Potentates of the *East*; and the first thing he did was the burning of all the Letters found in *Cassius*'s Closet, lest he should be constrained against his Inclinations to hate any Person. The Children and Relations of *Cassius* were treated with great Clemency and Kindness; *Antoninus* preserved to them all their Rights, and had always such regard to them, that in a great Tryal which they had before the Senate, he strictly forbad the adverse Party any ways to reproach

proach them with the Misfortunes of their Family. The better to prevent ſuch Revolts for the Future, he ordain'd, That no Perſon ſhould ever after command in the Province where he was born. In this great Journey the Empreſs *Fauſtina* was unexpectedly ſeized with a violent Diſtemper, and dy'd at the Foot of Mount *Taurus*; a Woman whoſe looſe and wanton Life was an exceeding Scandal to her high Place and Dignity, and has been juſtly branded by the *Roman* Hiſtorians. Yet *Antoninus*, either from his Ignorance of her Crimes, or his Paſſion to her Perſon, willingly admitted of thoſe great and unreaſonable Honours which the Senate, out of Complaiſance and Flattery, decreed to her Memory. And after the Example of his Predeceſſor *Antoninus Pius*, he founded a Society of young Maids, whom he bred at his own Expence, and call'd them *Fauſtinians*; and likewiſe built a Temple to his Wife in the Town where ſhe dy'd. Which Temple had afterwards a remarkable Chance which became the Divinity that preſided there; it being conſecrated to *Heliogabulus*, who was the true God of Impurity.

*The Death of Fauſtina.* *A. D.* 176.

After a full re-eſtabliſhment of Peace in the *Eaſt*, *Antoninus* began his Journey towards *Rome*; and arriving at *Smyrna* he made ſome conſiderable ſtay, and there conferr'd many Favours. From thence he went to *Athens* in *Greece*, and being a Zealot in his Religion, was there initiated in the grand Myſteries of *Ceres*, call'd the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries, which was the moſt ſacred and ſolemn of all the *Pagan* Devotions. Here he did many Honours to the Inhabitants, and eſtabliſhed in their City Profeſſors of all ſorts of Sciences, with munificent Penſions; making them noble Preſents, and granting them large Privileges and Immunities. Here he took Sea, and landing at *Brunduſium* in *Italy*, he

he quitted his Soldier's Habit, and cauſed all his Soldiers to do the like, who, during his Reign, never appeared in *Italy* but in their Gowns. He was received at *Rome* with all imaginable Teſtimonies of Joy: And becauſe he had been abſent almoſt eight Years, he diſtributed to each Citizen eight pieces of Gold, remitted all their Debts due to the Treaſury for ſixty Years paſt, and burnt all their Bills in the midſt of the *Forum*; In Imitation of the renowned *Trajan* he erected many Statue to ſuch valiant Men as periſhed in the late Wars. At the ſame Time he gave his Son *Commodus* the Habit of a Man, made him *Princeps Juventutis*, nominated him for his Succeſſor, made him Conſul for the enſuing Year, triumphed with him, and to honour his Conſulſhip, followed his Chariot on Foot, when he went to the *Circus*. He afterwards retired for ſome Space to *Lavinium* into the Arms of Philoſophy, his great Delight, which he called *His Mother*, oppoſing it to the Court, which he called *His Step-Mother*. And for that Reaſon he frequently made uſe of this Expreſſion of *Plato*'s, *That People was happy whoſe Philoſophers were Kings, or whoſe Kings were Philoſophers.* He was a great Maſter in Philoſophy, and wrote ſeveral excellent Pieces himſelf, ſome of which remain to this Day. He was of that Tranquility of Mind, that he is obſerved never to have chang'd his Countenance either with Sorrow or Joy; following exactly the Precepts of the *Stoick* Philoſophy. His chief Maſters were *Apollonius* of *Chalcis*, formerly mention'd, *Sextus Cheronenſis*, Grandſon to the Famous *Plutarch*; and *Fronto*, an excellent Orator in that declining Age of Learning; of all whom, and of other Learned Men, he was a great Incourager. Beſides theſe, in his Reign, there flouriſhed ſome other noted Writers, particularly *Apuleius*,

*leius*, an *African*, who ſufficiently diſcovers his Country by the Harſhneſs of his Stile; *Philoſtratus* a Sophiſt, who write that bold Legend of *Apollonius*'s Life; *Hermogenes* the *Rhetorician*; and *Herodes Atticus* and *Athenæus*, whoſe learned Writings are ſo highly valu'd by the Criticks.

While *Rome* enjoy'd the Preſence of her Emperor, and the Delights of that Peace which her Labours had procur'd her, *Smyrna* was deſtroy'd by Fire, and an Earthquake, which bury'd the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants under the Ruines of the Houſes. Upon which *Ariſtides*, a noted Orator in that City; wrote ſo moving a Letter to the Emperor, as the Sight of it drew Tears from him; and immediately he iſſu'd forth his Orders, eſtabliſh'd ſuch Funds as were neceſſary, and committed it to a Senator's Care to ſee it rebuilt according to its former Magnificence. What the Emperor did for *Smyrna*, he had already done in *Italy*, and likewiſe ſeveral other Cities which had felt the ſame Misfortune, as *Carthage*, *Epheſus*, and *Nicomedia*. His Expences upon theſe Occaſions, the Preſents he beſtow'd on the People, and the many Taxes he remitted in his moſt preſſing Neceſſities, are ſufficient to take away that pretended Accuſation of his Avarice. He was indeed a provident Man in his ordinary Expences, after the Example of his Father *Antoninus*, and manag'd his Revenues with great Care and Wiſdom; but when the Glory of the State, or the Benefit of the People were concern'd, his Largeſſes went even to Prodigality, being perſwaded, that thoſe were the only Occaſions on which a Prince might be profuſe, and that Covetouſneſs then is a dangerous Miſchief. He uſually ſaid, *That when Subjects ſee a Prince liberal in Publick, and a careful Manager in Private, they pay their Duties with more Satisfaction.*

*becauſe*

*because they are then convinc'd, that his Riches are the Source of their Plenty and Happiness.* It is certain, that *Rome* had scarce ever an Emperor so assisting in the Times of Necessity as *Antoninus*, and he was the first that built a Temple to the Goddess that presides over Benefits, which perhaps was the only Vertue which the *Romans* did not then adore. But the Introducing of this new Worship pertain'd only to him who so perfectly knew all the Ceremonies and Customs of it, and practis'd them continually.

The Emperor now declining in Years, was in hopes of resting from all his Toils and Labours, When News was brought him of the *Scythians* and Northern Nations taking up Arms again, and invading the Empire with great Success. This oblig'd *Antoninus* to make speedy Preparations to oppose them in Person, as he always did; and going to the Senate, this was the first Time he desir'd of them to have Money out of the Publick Treasury. Tho' this Money was in his own Power, if he would have us'd his Authority, yet he openly declar'd to the Senate and People, *That Emperors had no private Propriety to any thing, not so much as to the Palace in which they dwelt.* After this he marry'd his Son *Commodus* to *Crispina*, the Daughter of *Bertius Valens*, a Man of Consular Dignity; and then went to the Temple of *Bellona*, and perform'd the ancient Ceremony of the Javalin. The *Romans*, whose love to this Emperor daily encreas'd, finding him ready to expose himself in a dangerous War, assembled themselves before his Palace, beseeching him, *Not to leave them till he had given them some Precepts for their Conduct, that if the Gods should take him to themselves, they might by his Assistance continue in the same Paths of Vertue, into which he had led them by his Example.* The Emperor mov'd to see their

their good Diſpoſitions, ſpent three whole days in explaining to them the greateſt Difficulties in Morality, and in giving them ſhort Maxims, by which they might regulate their Actions. Shortly after he march'd his Army towards the Enemy, with his Son *Commodus*, and gain'd great Advantages; but the Particulars of theſe laſt Campaigns are in a great meaſure loſt. We can only ſay, That this War had not fewer Difficulties than the former; That *Antoninus* fought ſeveral bloody Battels, where the Victories were always owing to his Prudence, and his Example of Bravery; That he was always at the Head of his Men, in Places moſt expos'd to Danger; That he built ſeveral Forts, which he ſtrongly Garriſon'd, and kept their Country in Awe; and that going to open the third Campaign, in which he expected to compleat the War, he was ſeiz'd at *Vienna* with a Fever, which put a Period to all his Attempts.

In this laſt Sickneſs this wiſe Emperor made it appear, that thoſe Truths of which he always made Profeſſion, were ſo deeply engraven on his Heart, that nothing could efface them. But tho' his Submiſſion to the Orders of Providence made him eaſie and willing to meet Death; yet the tender Love and Care he had for his People, fill'd his Mind with Fear and Bitterneſs. He ſaw his Conqueſts in the *North* unſettled, his Enemies ſtill with their Swords in their Hands, and the People inclinable to revolt; but above all, the Youth and Unſteadineſs of his Son and Succeſſor, which laid him open to the Infinite Temptations, and fatal Charms of boundleſs Authority, prov'd a ſevere Rack to his Thoughts. This was his greateſt concern, for he began to perceive his Inclinations, and told ſome of his Friends, *That he fear'd, that the* Roman *Empire would not be large enough to contain his Vices.* Struggling with theſe Difficulties, and

fluctuating between Hope and Fear, as his Death approach'd, he commanded that his principal Friends and Officers ſhould be brought to him; and upon their gathering about his Bed, he took his Son *Commodus* by the Hand, then faintly riſing up, ſpoke to the Company to this effect: *You ſee before your Eyes my Son and Succeſſor, who having ſcarce enter'd the World, as in a tempeſtuous Ocean, wants the Directions of wiſe Governours to ſecure him from the Violence of Youthful Paſſions, which, like furious Storms may drive him into the moſt fatal Calamities. Therefore inſtead of one Father, whom he muſt ſhortly loſe, let him find many in you, to ſupport his Youth, and to add ſuch Inſtructions as are moſt beneficial to Him and the Publick. But more particularly make him ſenſible, 'That not all the Riches and Honours in the 'Univerſe, are ſufficient to ſatisfie the Luxury and Am-'bition of Tyrants; nor are the ſtrongeſt Guards and 'Armies able to defend them from the Hatred and 'Inſults of their Subjects. Let him be aſſur'd, 'That 'no cruel and tyrannical Princes ever enjoy long and 'peaceable Reigns, but only ſuch who by their Mild-'neſs and Clemency gain the Hearts of their People. Tell him continually, 'That it is not they who ſerve 'out of Conſtraint, but ſuch as obey voluntarily, who 'continue faithful in all Tryals, and are free from 'either Flattery or Treachery; and let him know, 'That* Theſe *are the only Perſons who never fall into Diſ-'obedience, at leaſt till they are forc'd to it by ſevere 'Uſage. At the ſame time do not fail to ſet before him, 'How* exceeding Difficult, *and yet how* highly Neceſſary *it is for thoſe Princes to ſet Bounds to their 'Paſſions, that have none to their Powers, If you inſtruct him in theſe Truths, and inceſſantly cauſe him to recollect what he has heard; beſides the Satisfaction of forming a good Prince for your ſelves and the whole Empire, you will have the Comfort of paying to my Memory the nobleſt of all your Service, ſince by that means*

*means you will render it Immortal.* As he was ſpeaking theſe laſt Words, he was ſeiz'd with a Weakneſs, which took away the Uſe of his Voice, and brought him to his End the next Day. *The Death of Antoninus Philoſophus.*

Thus dy'd *Antoninus Philoſophus*, or *Marcus Aurelius*, the Seventeenth Emperor of *Rome*, in the fifty ninth Year of his Age, after a laborious and triumphant Reign of nineteen Years, nine with his Brother, and ten by himſelf; a Prince of a moſt ſolid Underſtanding, and profound Wiſdom, of moſt ſtrict Virtues, and rigid Morals; yet not free from ſuch a Superſtition as caus'd great Injuſtice to *Chriſtianity*, which is above the Reach of the moſt ſublime *Pagan* Philoſopher. But his Name will ever be plac'd in the Records of Fame, among the beſt of the *Heathen* Princes, for his numerous Vertues, and worthy Acts he did for the good of his Country and Subjects; moſt of which may ſerve for noble Patterns to *Chriſtian* Princes. His Death was infinitely regretted according to his Merits; and there was a general Affliction throughout the Army and all the Provinces; and it ſeem'd as though the whole Glory and Proſperity of the Empire all dy'd with *Antoninus*. The Senate and People adored him before the Solemnization of his Funeral; and as if it had been an inconſiderable Thing to erect him a Golden Statue in the *Julian* Chamber, and to decree him all divine Honours, they declared ſuch Perſons to be Sacrilegious who had not in their Houſes ſome Picture or Statue of *Antoninus*. His Death happen'd in the 932 Year of the City, 204 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 180 after our Saviour's Nativity, 109 after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and 84 after the laſt of the Twelve *Cæſars*.

## CHAP. III.

*From the Death of* ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS, *to the Death of* PERTINAX *the Nineteenth Emperor; when the Empire became expos'd to Sale by the Soldiers.*

*Containing the Space of above* 13 *YEARS.*

*A. D.* 180. I. ROME for the ſpace of Eighty four Years had the great Happineſs of enjoying five good Emperors ſucceſſively, who made it their main Concern to ſupport its Grandeur, to encreaſe its Riches, and to eſtabliſh its future Felicity; but Providence now thought fit to alter this long Courſe of Proſperity, and permit that exalted City which had ſo often triumphed over the reſt of the World, to be again inſulted by its own Princes, which, together with ſome other Accidents, produc'd ſuch Corruptions and Diſtractions as ſoon caus'd the Declination, and afterwards the Ruine of the *Roman* Empire. Some of theſe Miſchiefs appeared not long after the Death of *Antoninus Philoſophus*, for whoſe ſake his Son *Commodus* was without Contradiction received and acknowledged as Emperor, firſt by the Army, then by the Senate and People, and ſhortly after by all the Provinces. *Commodus* was more noble by Deſcent than any of the former Emperors, being the firſt Emperor that was born in his Father's Reign, and the ſecond that ſucceeded his own Father in the Government; though ſome Authors believe him to have been a ſpurious Iſſue, and begotten by a Gladiator, being confirm'd in this Opinion by the wanton Practices of

*Commodus made Emperor.*

of his Mother *Fauſtina*. He was about 19 Years of Age when he entered upon the Empire; being a Prince of great Comelineſs and Perfections of Body, and for his Father's ſake intirely beloved, tho' he had already given ſome remarkable Inſtances of his Vices and Cruelty.

Some few Days after his Father's Death, *Commodus* came to the Camp where the Army lay, accompany'd with the principal of the *Roman* Nobility; and made a plauſible and popular Speech to the Soldiers, giving them great Hopes of his juſt and regular Government, and likewiſe beſtowing ſuch Donatives as was uſual for new-created Emperors. He continued for ſome ſpace, according to the Promiſes he had made, and was willingly governed by the wiſe Directions of his Father's Friends; but being obnoxious to all kinds of Flatteries, by reaſon of his Youth, he ſoon hearkened to their infectious Diſcourſes, agreed to their deſigning Counſels, and reſolved to leave the Wars and return to the Pleaſures of *Rome*, notwithſtanding all the juſt Arguments and Perſuaſions of his Brother-in-law *Pompeianus*, and other worthy Men, who unanimouſly adviſed him to ſee an end of this War himſelf. With this Reſolution the young Emperor wrote to *Rome* ſhortly after, advertizing the Senate of his coming; and for a preſent Eaſe and Security, he made a very diſhonourable Peace with the Enemy, which his Father had almoſt reduced to an intire Obedience, purchaſing it with Money, as *Herodian*, aſſures us, tho' *Eutropius* intimates ſome Advantages firſt gained. Then leaving a conſiderable Force on the Frontiers, he ſet forwards towards *Rome*; and in all the Cities through which he paſſed, he was received with incredible Joy and Solemnity, upon the Account of his Father's Worth, and the Hopes they had conceived of his happy Reign,

not knowing his vicious Temper and Inclinations. At his Entrance into *Rome* he was received with exceeding Tranſports, Applauſes, and Bleſſings by all Men, who ſtrewed the Ways where he paſſed with all kinds of Flowers and Ornaments, ſhewing all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy, and aſſuring themſelves of a good and worthy Prince from the Son and Grandſon of two ſuch Emperors as *Antoninus Philoſophus* and *Antoninus Pius*. But he ſoon gave them an Occaſion to change their good Opinions of him, by his abominable Life and Practices; and of his whole Reign, Authors have given us an Account of ſcarce any thing but a black Train of horrid Enormities and Extravagancies, many of which cannot well be related, without receding from the juſt Method and Rules of *Hiſtory*.

*Commodus* for ſome Space hearkened to his Father's Friends; but being excited by the Levity of his Temper, and corrupted by the Example of his Companions, he in a ſhort time gave himſelf over to all kinds of mean and extravagant Practices; regarding neither the Honour of his Family nor the Dignity of his Office. He openly manifeſted his Lewdneſs and Incontinence, and ſpent a conſiderable part of his Time in going with his Aſſociates to publick Taverns and Infamous Houſes, waſting whole Days and Nights in Feaſtings, Banquetings, Bathings, and moſt abominable Luxury. His natural Incontinence was incredibly inflamed with divers kinds of Oyntments, which he firſt us'd to preſerve himſelf againſt a Peſtilence in *Italy*; and theſe, together with his boundleſs Inclinations, raiſed ſuch Inſatiable Heats, that he kept three Hundred Females, and as many Males for deteſtable Uſes; and, like *Caligula*, commanded Women to be Enjoy'd in his ſight, and committed Inceſt, as he did,

did, with all his Siſters; exceeding him in polluting the Temples with Whoredoms and Blood: Lewdneſſes which ought to be cautiouſly recited, yet not wholly paſs'd over. He ſometimes went about the Markets with ſmall Wares like a Pedlar; ſometimes he was a Horſe-Courſer, and othertimes he drove his own Chariot in his Servant's Habit. He eat and drank with Gladiators, pimp'd to common Strumpets, and appear'd to be born rather for the moſt vile and infamous Uſes, than for the Government of the World. His moſt innocent Recreation and Diverſion, was his Shooting and Hurling of Darts; in which and the like Exerciſes he was expert almoſt beyond all Example and Belief; and of theſe Qualities all Writers have taken notice, as well as thoſe of *Domitian*. At a particular Feſtival, when great Numbers of wild Beaſts were appointed to be baited and encounter'd, he commanded a Gallery to be made round the Amphitheatre, where he could move freely and ſecurely; and running with extraordinary Agility and Dexterity, he kill'd moſt of the Staggs and Harts that were let looſe, never miſſing his Aim, whether it was in the Hart, Head, or any other part, his Darts always carrying Death along with them. At another Feſtival he kill'd a Hundred Lions that were let looſe in the Amphitheatre; and frequently did the ſame to Tigers, Panthers, Ounces, and other fierce Beaſts, ſometimes by that means delivering the condemn'd Aſſailants, who were ready to be torn in pieces. His admirable Skill in his Bow appear'd from his killing ſuch Numbers of Birds flying in the Air; and more particularly having order'd a Hundred *Moreſco* Oſtriches to be ſet free, he cut off all their Heads in the midſt of their ſwifteſt Motion, by his Arrows headed in the ſhape of an Half-Moon. Which Inſtances

many ſhew, that this Emperor wanted neither Parts nor Abilities to have produced the greateſt and nobleſt Actions, and to have made his Subjects as happy as any of his Predeceſſors. But he was wholly regardleſs of his People's Good; and was ſo careleſs and trifling in the moſt ſerious Matters, that he wrote nothing more than *Vale* in many of his Letters; at the ſame time was ſo ſerious in ſlight and ſhameful Matters, that he caus'd to be regiſtred how often he frequented the Fencing-School, with all his Cruelties and Impurities. As to his Exerciſes, *Lampridius* tells us, That he encounter'd the Gladiators 735 times, whereof 365 were in his Father's Reign

As corrupt Princes generally promote ſuch as are moſt conformable to their Tempers, ſo did *Commodus*, who generally choſe thoſe for his Governors of Provinces and Cities as were Companions in his Vices and Extravagancies; only he obſerved this piece of Policy, that he uſually retain'd their Children as Pledges of their Allegiance and Fidelity. He frequently ſold the Governments of Provinces, part of the Money going to thoſe who procur'd him Purchaſers, and the other part to himſelf. He was ſo much addicted to Voluptuouſneſs, that he ſcarce took any Care about the Government, leaving all to the Diſpoſal of a particular Favourite call'd *Perennius*, whom he afterwards made Captain of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, a Perſon no leſs notorious for his Avarice and Cruelty, than eminent for his Valour and Hardineſs. During the Time of this Man's Authority, many unjuſt Confiſcations and Seizures were made, and many horrible Cruelties committed; which gave an occaſion to many conſiderable Perſons to form a Conſpiracy againſt *Commodus*, among whom his Siſter *Lucilla*, who envying the Greatneſs of the Empreſs *Criſpina*, became Aſſociate, together with her

her Husband *Pompeianus*. The manner of this Conſpiracy being determin'd, the Charge of the Execution was given to a Perſon call'd *Quintianus*, tho' ſome ſay to *Pompeianus* himſelf, who was firſt to ſtrike the Emperor, and the reſt of the Conſpirators to ſecond and aſſiſt him. But this open and audacious manner of Proceeding fruſtrated the Deſign; for having had ſufficient Opportunity of diſpatching him, he inſultingly held up his Dagger towards *Commodus*, ſaying, *The Senate ſends thee this*, which gave ſome of the Guards time to ſeize him, before he could ſtrike the fatal Blow. This caus'd the Diſcovery of all his Accomplices, and *Lucilla*, *Pompeianus*, *Quintianus*, *Quadratus*, and the reſt of the Conſpirators were executed, beſides many other Perſons wholly innocent. For thoſe Words concerning the Senate, ſo indiſcreetly utter'd, caus'd *Commodus* to have an exceeding Jealouſie and Suſpicion of all the Fathers, which advantage *Perennius* took, and caus'd many Senators, and a great Number of the Nobility to be put to Death, and their Eſtates ſeiz'd on, by procuring Falſe-witneſſes to accuſe them. By which Practices *Perennius* became exceeding rich and powerful; and well knowing the exceſſive Luxury and Neglect of *Commodus*, he began to endeavour to gain the Empire to himſelf, and had made ſome ſucceſsful Progreſs in that great Attempt: But his Deſigns ſoon became apparent to all Men, and the multitude of Accuſations againſt him at laſt, rouz'd the Emperor from his Lethargy and Blindneſs, ſo that both he and his Sons, whom he had ſent into *Illyricum*, to draw the Legions to revolt, receiv'd the juſt Reward for their numerous Villanies.

After the Death of *Perennius*, the Emperor undertook to repeal many Things that were done by him; but continu'd not long in that Regulation,

on, purſuing his Pleaſures, and ſuffering himſelf to be govern'd by another Favourite call'd *Cleander*, a Perſon who for Cruelties, Rapines and Briberies, exceeded *Perennius*. He nominated twenty five Conſuls for one Year, a thing wholly new and ſurprizing to the City, and chang'd the *Prætorian* Prefects daily and hourly; *Martius Quartius* holding the Place only five Days, *Niger* but ſix Hours. Theſe and many other Irregularities, occaſion'd new Plots and Conſpiracies againſt the Emperor's Perſon, particularly one *Maternus*, who practiſing all kinds of Robberies, gather'd together great Numbers of *Banditti* and Strangers, and making himſelf Commander of a conſiderable Army, waſted *Gaul* and *Spain*, and being thence repell'd, reſolv'd to attempt the Empire it ſelf. But having no hopes of attaining it by Force, becauſe of the People and the *Prætorian* Cohorts, he betook himſelf to Stratagems; and taking advantage from the annual Solemnity kept in Honour of the Mother of their Gods, wherein it was lawful for Soldiers or any others to imitate Magiſtrates or their Officers, he ſent ſome of his Soldiers privately arm'd to mix themſelves with the Emperor's Guards, and there to aſſaſſinate him. But his own Party, in hopes of advantage, betray'd him, and he and many others were executed. Not long after ſucceeded a dreadful Peſtilence, accompany'd with a Famine; in which, and at many other times, *Cleander*'s Carriage and Behaviour became ſo inſupportable to the People of *Rome*, that they unanimouſly took up Arms, and in a Tumult march'd to a Houſe of Pleaſure in *Rome*, where the Emperor was, and requir'd to have *Cleander*'s Head. And notwithſtanding the Emperor's Guards began to make ſome Reſiſtance, yet at length the Torrent became ſo violent and outragious, that *Commodus* was conſtrain'd to deliver

liver him up, though extreamly againſt his Inclinations; and thus *Cleander* and his two Sons were ſlain. This Tumult being appeas'd, which *Commodus* durſt not puniſh he was ſo incenſed, and withal ſo ſuſpicious of all Men, that he caſt off all Care of State-Affairs, giving ear to every Malicious Informer, to the Deſtruction of many innocent Perſons. Within a while, according to his accuſtomed manner, he ſuffered himſelf to be abus'd by another Favourite, whoſe Name was *Julian*, and afterwards another call'd *Regilius*. both whom he caus'd to be put to Death, and likewiſe many others that ſucceeded them. No Perſons of Worth were admitted into his Preſence, but being ruled by looſe and diſſolute Perſons, he fell into the practice of all kinds of Vices and Cruelties.

In Cruelties this Emperor was as exorbitant as any of his Predeceſſors, as appears from the Death of his Wife *Criſpina*, his Father's Couſin German *Fauſtina*, and great Numbers of the moſt illuſtrious of the *Roman* Nobility. He executed many innocent Perſons inſtead of others who were guilty, permitting Offenders and Criminals to eſcape for Money; and if any Perſon deſired to be revenged of an Enemy, by bargaining with *Commodus* for a certain Sum of Money, he was allowed to inflict Death, or any other Puniſhment. He commanded a Perſon to be caſt to wild Beaſts, only for reading the Life of *Caligula* in *Suetonius*, becauſe he had the ſame Birth-Day himſelf; and commanded another to be thrown into a burning Furnace, for accidentally heating his Bath too warm. We are told ſeveral Inſtances of his Cruelties very odd and monſtrous; particularly he cut a fat Man off at the middle of his Belly, only that he might ſee his Entrails drop out ſuddenly; and he jokingly call'd thoſe Perſons *Monopodii* and *Luſcinii*,

*Luſcinii*, whom he had deprived of a Foot or an Eye. He cauſed the Prieſts of *Iſis* to beat their Breaſts with Pine-Apples, to the Danger of their Bodies; charged *Bellona*'s Worſhippers to cut off their Arm in reality; and ſtained the Service of *Mithras* with real Homicide. He imitated Chyrurgions in letting Blood, and Barbers in Trimming, under which Pretence he cut off Ears and Noſes: Wherefore his Jealouſie of all Men was ſuch, that he was obliged to be his own Barber. Thus can monſtrous Tyrants play with the Torments and Blood of their Fellow-Creatures: But in the midſt of all his various Cruelties, the *Chriſtians* happily eſcaped Perſecution, and had a greater breathing-time than in any of the latter Reigns; and *Dion* tells us this was by the Mediation of this Emperor's beloved Concubine *Marcia*, who favoured their Doctrine. We hear of ſcarce any Martyrs in his Reign, beſides *Apollonius* a Noble Man of *Rome* and a Senator, who pleading his own and the *Chriſtians* Cauſe in open Senate, was executed, and likewiſe his Accuſer. This happen'd in the eighth Year of this Reign; in the following Year the Capitol was burnt by Lightning, which likewiſe deſtroyed the adjacent Buildings, and particularly the famous Libraries, which had coſt the Antients ſo much care to collect. Not long after another Fire broke out, in which the Temple of *Veſta*, the Palace, and a conſiderable Part of the City were unhappily burnt to the Ground, which Accident as the People accounted it an ill Omen, ſo they laid the Guilt upon him, well knowing his ill Practices, which he ſeldom ſtrove to conceal.

*A. D.* 188.

This Emperor now wallowing in all Kinds of Exceſs and Luxury, and all Kinds of ſenſeleſs Fooleries, he fell into new and unheard of Extravagancies, ſo as to reject his Father's Name, and inſtead

inſtead of *Commodus* the Son of *Antoninus*, he commanded himſelf to be ſtiled *Hercules the Son of Jupiter*; and accordingly he forſook the *Roman* and *Imperial* Habit, and in a ridiculous manner clad himſelf in a Lion's Skin, and carry'd about a great Club in his Hand. With this ſtrange Habit he appear'd in all Places, ſo that he became the Deriſion of ſome, and caus'd the Indignation of others: And that he might throughly imitate *Heroules* in deſtroying of Giants and Monſters, he gathered together all the poor ſick Men and Cripples of *Rome*; then ordering ſomewhat to be ty'd to their Knees, like the Feet of Dragons, ſuch as the Poets feigned the Giants to have had, he gave them Sponges to throw at him inſtead of Stones, and fell furiouſly among 'em, and killed them all with his Club, as *Dion* aſſures us. He not only aſſumed the Habit of *Hercules*, but afterwards he took upon him that of an *Amazon* Woman, which was moſt correſpondent to that of his Life and Actions; and this he did in Honour of his principal Concubine *Marcia*, whoſe Picture he publickly wore upon that Habit. So to the former Title of *Hercules*, he added *Amazonian* and *Conqueror*; *Rome* he ſtiled *Immortal* and *Fortunate*; and the World, his *Colony*. He commanded many Statues of himſelf to be erected throughout the City, and one before the Senate-Houſe, in form of an Archer ready to ſhoot; that his very Images might ſtrike Terror into the Beholders. He likewiſe cauſed the Head of a vaſt *Coloſſus* to be taken off, and that of his own Statue, which bore no Proportion to it, to be placed in the room of it; and as his Pride was without Bounds, ſo he cauſed the Months *Auguſt* and *September*, to be called *Commodus* and *Hercules*; and gave Names to the other Months, which were obſerved no longer than he reigned. He ſo much affected Applauſes and magnificent Titles, that he

he ſent a Letter to the Senate with this Stile. *Imperator Cæſar, Lucius, Ælius, Aurelius, Commodus, Antoninus, Auguſtus, Pius, Fælix, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Maiminus, Britannicus, Pacator Orbis Terrarum, Invictus, Romanus Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia Poteſtate* XVII. *Imperator*, VIII. *Conſul* VII. *Pater Patriæ*, &c.

During the time of theſe numerous Irregularities in the City, *Ulpius Marcellus* the Emperor's Lieutenant in *Britain*, was very ſucceſsful in compoſing the Diſturbances in thoſe Parts; and after many excellent Services, was ungratefully removed and diſcharged by this Tyrant. Some other Lieutenants were fortunate againſt the *Moors* and *Dacians*, and in ſaving *Pannonia* and *Germany* from being torn from the Empire by their own Inhabitants; But of theſe Actions we have no particular Account in the *Roman* Authors; we have only an immethodical Narration of the Enormities and Extravagancies of this Emperor, which continually encreas'd and abounded with his Years. One Day at a publick Solemnity, fancying himſelf derided by the People, his impious Rage ſo far tranſported him as he gave Orders to maſſacre all the Multitude then preſent, and to burn the City; which had been executed, but his Captain of the Guards deterred him from it. He became now ſo mad, as he reſolved to forſake his Palace, and live in a Fencing-School; and being at laſt weary of the Name of *Hercules*, he aſſumed the Name of a famous Gladiator deceas'd. His Actions now render'd him odious and inſupportable to the State, and likewiſe ridiculous and contemptible to the People. At length at the Feaſt of *Janus*, reſolving to iſſue out of the Fencing-School, not as Emperor, but as a common Gladiator to fence naked before the People, it haſtened and procured his End. For this ſtrange Reſolution being known to his Friends,

Friends, his beloved *Marcia*, his General *Lætus*, and his Chamberlain *Electus*, endeavour'd by all Arguments and Entreaties, to divert him from so mean and dishonourable a Design. But being incens'd with them, he commanded them to depart, and retiring into his Bed-chamber at Noon, to repose himself according to his Custom, where in a Roll or Book, he wrote down the Names of these three Persons, dooming them to Death that Night. After these follow'd the Names of a great number of Senators, the Estates of whom he design'd to distribute among the Gladiators and Soldiers, to purchase Mirth and Jollity from the former, and Defence and Security from the latter. Being thus finish'd, he laid the Writing upon his Bed, not suspecting any durst enter his Chamber; but a little Boy, whom he passionately lov'd, while he was bathing himself, innocently took up the Writing to play with; and going forth, was met by *Marcia*, who took it from him, believing it a Matter of another Nature. Viewing of it, and finding the fatal Contents, she immediately discover'd to *Lætus* and *Electus* the greatness of their Danger, who readily resolv'd to purchase their own Security by the Tyrant's Death, and concluded it most proper to dispatch him by Poyson, which was speedily administred by the Hands of *Marcia* her self. This immediately cast him into a heavy Slumber; and *Marcia* to conceal the Fact, caus'd the Company to retire, under pretence of allowing him Rest; but finding him awake soon after, and taken with a violent Vomiting, she and the rest of the Conspirators, greatly fearing he should cast up his Poyson, hastily call'd in a stout young Man, call'd *Narcissus*, shewing him the Writing, and his own Name among the rest, making also large Promises of Rewards if he would immediately dispatch him. *Narcissus* boldly undertook

*The Death of Commodus.*

took it, and ſo this wretched Monſter vomiting, and grievouſly tormented with Poyſon, was ſtrangled and ſlain by his neareſt Friends. This was the miſerable End of *Commodus* the eighteenth Emperor of *Rome*, in the thirty firſt Year of his Age, after an impious Reign of twelve Years, nine Months, and fourteen Days; a Prince, as *Lampridius* ſays, *who liv'd only for his Subjects Miſchief, and his own Shame*; and as he moſt reſembled *Domitian* in his Life and Actions, ſo likewiſe in his violent Death, which a bloody Tyrant ſeldom or never miſſes. In him the *Ælian* together with the *Aurelian* Family were extinguiſhed, as the *Julian* was in *Nero*, and the *Veſpaſian* in *Domitian*; and all three by Monſters of Mankind. His Death happen'd *U. C.* 945. *A. D.* 192. And after this the *Roman* Empire, through his means, was involv'd in greater Miſeries and Afflictions than ever it was before.

II. The Conſpirators perform'd their fatal Buſineſs with all imaginable Secrecy and Expedition; and immediately convey'd the dead Body confuſedly wrapt up in mean Clothes through the Guards, moſt of which were either ſleeping or drunk. And tho' they aim'd only at their own Safety, not Sovereignty, yet they took care to provide a Succeſſor before his Death ſhould be reveal'd, therefore the ſame Night they all ſpeedily repair'd to the Houſe of *Helvius Pertinax*, a renown'd Perſon, who by his Merits alone had rais'd himſelf to the higheſt Dignities; but had now retir'd himſelf, every Day expecting to fall a Sacrifice to the Tyrant's Humours. This valiant Man being aſleep in his Bed, at Midnight was rous'd with the haſty Entrance of *Lætus* and others, with ſeveral Soldiers, which confirm'd his former Suſpicions, and now aſſur'd himſelf of nothing but Death by the Commands of *Commodus*; and reſolving

ſolving to ſuffer all Misfortunes with the Patience and Courage of a *Roman*, he laid unmoved, and without any ſhew of Fear, told *Lætus*, *That for many Days he had expected to end his Life in this Manner, marvelling that the Emperor had deferr'd it ſo long*; therefore he bad him, *Strike without any further Delays*. *Lætus*, almoſt as much ſurpriz'd as *Pertinax*, perſwaded him to *Lay aſide all Fear and Suſpicion, ſince the Tyrant* Commodus *was dead, and they came purpoſely to offer the Empire to Him, as the only Perſon in the City, that was worthy of ſo high a Dignity*. *Pertinax*, ſtill more confounded, was in fear of ſome further Treachery; but the Matter being declar'd to him as large, and the real Inducements they had to aſſaſſinate the Emperor, he accepted of their Offer; and was immediately carry'd by them to the Camp of the *Prætorian* Cohorts: Where the Soldiers being aſſembled, *Lætus* their Captain made a ſet Speech to them, *Manifeſting the horrible Vices and Enormities of* Commodus, *who by reaſon of his Luxury and Exceſs, was now dead of an Apoplexy; and enumerating the many Vertues and Excellencies of* Pertinax, *incited them to make him Emperor, as the moſt worthy ſurviving Perſon*. The Soldiers, believing the Death of *Commodus* to be natural and accidental, readily comply'd, made *Pertinax* Emperor, call'd him *Auguſtus*, and took their Oaths to him as the Cuſtom was. But *Pertinax* accepted of all theſe Honours with Unwillingneſs and Concern; for he found he was to ſucceed a Tyrant, who by his Diſorders had ſo impoveriſhed the State, and render'd the *Prætorian* Soldiers ſo extreamly licentious, that he could not poſſibly uſe neceſſary Remedies without incurring a publick *Odium*.

Theſe Ceremonies being ſpeedily finiſh'd, and the Day approaching, the Soldiers brought him into the City, where they found the People tumul-

tuously running about the Streets, crying and calling to one another, with all the imaginable Tokens of Joy and Satisfaction; some hastning to the Temples to return Thanks to their Gods for the great Benefit of removing such a Tyrant as *Commodus*, and others to the Palace to be assured of the Truth, and to view his dead Carcass. The Senate likewise was immediately assembled, where appear'd greater Transports than among the People, and accompany'd with such an infinite number of Curses and Maledictions, as are scarce credible. They likewise pronounced him a *Parricide, a Traytor, that ought to be scourged to death, an Hangman, an Enemy to the Gods, an Enemy to his Country, an Enemy to all Mankind, and a Pest of the World, worse than* Domitian *and* Nero; commanded, *That he should rot on the Dunghil*; and also destroy'd his Statues, abolished his very Memory, and offer'd all imaginable Indignities to his Fame. In the mean time the Soldiers repar'd with their new Emperor *Pertinax* to the Senate-House, who unwillingly permitted them to bear the Imperial Ensigns before him, till the Senate had agreed, and given their Consent. Upon his first Entrance into the House, the Senators unanimously saluted Him *Emperor*, and *Cæsar Augustus*; and with numerous Acclamations and Blessings, swore and yielded him Obedience: Which he with great Modesty withstood, *urging his Insufficiency and Unworthiness, alledging his declining Years, and nominating several others whom he judged more proper for so high an Office and Dignity.* But at length being vanquish'd by their Importunities, he yielded, and sitting down on the Imperial Chair, he there made a solemn Oration to the Senate; which being finished, he went forth from the Senate-House, accompany'd with the whole Body of the Senate and *Roman* Nobility, with infinite Numbers of others, and went

Pertinax *made Emperr.*

went to the Temples, according to the uſual Cuſtom, and from thence to the Imperial Palace. The ſame Day his Wife *Flavia Titiana* was declared Empreſs; and *Capitolinus* obſerves, that he was the firſt Emperor that ever received the Title of *Pater Patriæ*, the *Proconſular*, and *Tribunitian* Powers, with the Right of a fourth Reference in the firſt Day of his Reign. He was ſhortly after acknowledged as Emperor in all the ſeveral Provinces, where his Merits were well known; and began his Reign to the univerſal Satisfaction of the whole Empire.

*Pertinax* was now in the *68th* or *69th* Year of his Age, when he arrived at the Empire, and before this Advancement had paſſed through many ſtrange Changes of Fortune. He was of very mean Extraction, being but the Son of an infranchis'd Slave called *Ælius*, who only gave him ſo much Learning as qualify'd him for his poor Mercery-Shop, which ſoon after improved him ſo far as to become a School-Maſter in the City. After which he ſtudy'd the Law, and by the Aſſiſtance of *Avitus*, a Conſular Perſon, he obtained Liberty to plead in publick; but being a Man of Courage, and inſpired with a martial Warmth, in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, he took Arms; in which his Behaviour was ſuch, that in a few Days he was made Captain of a Cohort in *Syria* againſt the *Parthians*: And increaſing in Reputation, he was ſent into *Britain*, and after that into *Mœſia*. In the Reign of *Antoninus Philoſophus*, he was made a Captain of Horſe againſt the *Germans*, and after that Admiral of a Fleet in the *German* Ocean, from whence he was removed to the Wars in *Dacia*, where through ſiniſter Informations, *Antoninus* deprived him of his Charge, but through the Interceſſion of that Emperor's Son-in-Law *Pompeianus*, he afterwards was made a Senator, and likewiſe

Colonel of a Legion to recompence his former Disgrace. After which he performed such excellent Services against the Barbarous Nations, and against *Cassius* in his Rebellion, that *Antoninus* openly applauded him, and made him Consul; and likewise gave him the Governments of both the *Mæsia*'s and *Dacia*, removing him afterwards to the Governments of *Syria* and *Asia*, the most advantageous Charges in the Empire. In the Reign of *Commodus*, by the Instigation of a Favourite, he was banish'd by that wicked Prince; but being afterwards recalled, he was sent into *Britain* to reform the Abuses of the Army, where by the Mutinies of the Legions, he was left for Dead among many others that were slain; but escaping that Danger, he severely punished the Offenders, and happily establish'd Regularity and good Order. From thence he was removed to the Province of *Africk*, where he was likewise in great Danger by the Mutinies and Seditions of the Ordinary Legions; for in this Reign all things were in Disorder; and had not the extraordinary Care and Diligence of *Pertinax* and some few others preserved the Provinces, the Empire had been exposed to the greatest Hazards. Removing from *Africk*, *Pertinax* declining in Years, betook himself to a retired Life, though *Commodus* made him *Præfect* of the City; and in this Condition he was unexpectedly made Emperor; being a Prince not branded for any remarkable Vice, but Avarice, which was one Cause of his Ruin.

The first Thing he attempted in the Government of the State, was the Restraining of the Licentiousness of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, and putting a Stop to the Insolencies and Injuries they committed against the People and Citizens of *Rome*; in which they were encouraged by the loose Life and Protection of *Commodus*, whom they assisted

ſiſted in all Emergencies. He baniſhed Promoters and Informers, who again had crept into the State, and regulated many other Abuſes and Diſorders, which were tolerated in this time; ſeeking to reduce all Things to that Form and Manner of Government, which was uſed in the Reigns of the two *Antonines*. He expos'd to Sale all the valuable Goods and Furniture that *Commodus* left behind him in the Palace; but all ſuch as that Tyrant had unjuſtly taken away from others, he commanded to be reſtor'd to the legal Owners, for which they were to pay ſome ſmall Conſideration in Exchange. He permitted his Name not to be ſtamp'd on the peculiar Goods of the Emperor's, ſaying *That their Propriety belonged to the State in general*; and ſo he accounted all ſuch as were called by the Name of *Crown Lands*. He enacted, That all the waſte Ground in *Italy*, and other Provinces, tho' of the Emperor's Demeſn, ſhould be improved, and freely given to ſuch as would manure and cultivate it; to which Purpoſe, he granted to Husband-men ten Years immunity from all Taxes, and Security from all further Moleſtation during his Reign. He remitted all Tolls and Impoſts laid upon Banks of Rivers, Harbours and publick Ways, to raiſe Funds to ſupport the Extravagancies of Tyrants, and reſtored them to their ancient Freedom. He ſold moſt of the Buffoons and Jeſters of *Commodus*, eſpecially ſuch as had obſcene Names, and raiſed conſiderable Sums; and alſo exacted a ſtrict Account of all thoſe Servants to whom that Emperor had been profuſe in his Donatives. He entertained all Men honourably and courteouſly; who had any Affairs to negotiate with him; with which and many other laudable Actions this good Prince ſo gained the Hearts and Affections of the Senate and Citizens, that they all accounted themſelves happy in having ſo worthy an

Emperor: Upon which Account, beſides the honourable Titles given to Him in particular, the Senate intituled his Son *Cæſar*, and to his Empreſs *Titiana* was added the Name of *Auguſta*. He accepted of the latter upon the Account of his Wife's Merits; but refuſed the former, leſt he ſhould be corrupted, deferring that Honour till he might deſerve it; and by reaſon of his Youth he would not admit him into the Court, he cauſed him to lead a private Life. He continually frequented the Senate as often as it ſate; and in his Palace he never refuſed to give Audience to any Perſon, and at any Time. His great Error was Covetouſneſs, which was moſt apparent in his Table; and there, according to the Inſtances which *Capitolinus* brings, he was penurious to a moſt ſordid Degree; which was almoſt the only abhorred Vice in theſe licentious and degenerate Times. And That that was the greateſt Reflection upon him, was his ſinking nine Years Arrears which were due from the Exchequer to the Alms-Children of *Trajan*'s Eſtabliſhment.

In this ſhort Reign *Pertinax* was very ſucceſsful and proſperous in his Affairs abroad; for as ſoon as the barbarous Nations and Enemies to the *Roman* Empire had certain Intelligence that he was made Emperor, they immediately laid down their Arms, well knowing the Difference of this and the former Emperor; and many ſent Ambaſſadors to him to treat of Peace and Alliance, though ſeveral of them came after his Death. So that his Adminiſtration, as aforeſaid, was to the general Satisfaction of all Men, except the *Prætorian* Soldiers, who had been ſo abominably corrupted in the laſt Reign, as they could not ſuffer any Appearance of Vertue: Therefore they ſoon began to hate him for his ſtrict Diſcipline and Regulations, his Reſtraining of their former Riots,

Riots, Abuſes, and Outrages, and particularly for his ſhort Donatives and Diſtributions; for which Reaſons he was likewiſe diſliked by the Officers and Miniſters of the Imperial Palace, who were no leſs corrupted than the other. The Impudence and Audaciouſneſs of the Soldiers encreaſed to that Degree, that they ſeiz'd upon a Senator of a noble and ancient Houſe call'd *Maternus*, and endeavoured to carry him to the Camp and make him Emperor in Oppoſition to *Pertinax*; but *Maternus* being a faithful and loyal Subject, eſcaping out of their Hands, fled firſt to the Emperor, and then from the City. This bold Action of the Soldiers drove *Pertinax* into great Straits; but at preſent to quiet and pacify them, he made ſome new Diſtributions amongſt them; but all was inſufficient to remove the unjuſt Prejudices they had taken againſt him. *Pertinax* had proceeded ſo in many kinds of Regulations, that in a ſhort Time the State of the Empire ſeem'd to be changed; but he wanted a ſufficient Force to ſuppreſs the Inſolencies of the Soldiers, who now having a Suſpicion, if not a certain Knowledge of the Murder of their beloved Maſter *Commodus*, became more inveterate againſt the preſent Government. And, not long after their Diſappointment by *Maternus*, by their Incouragement, a Senator call'd *Fulco* aſpir'd to the Empire, but was ſoon diſcovered to the Senate, who offered to ſentence him to Death; but notwithſtanding the Offence was apparent, and the Evidences indiſputable, the Emperor pardoned him, ſaying, *God forbid, that during my Reign any Senator ſhould be put to Death, tho' deſervedly:* But Juſtice was done upon ſome of the chief Abettors, which ſo exaſperated the reſt of the Soldiers, whoſe Hatred and Preſumption daily encreaſed, that they unanimouſly reſolved, not to uſe any ſecret Conſpira-

cies and private Contrivances for the future, but in an open hoſtile Manner to attack the Emperor in his Palace. In order to which, a conſiderable Body of them was drawn out, who, in a tumultuous March paſs'd the Streets of *Rome* with drawn Swords, Halberts, and other Weapons; and as their Motion was ſudden and impetuous, they entered the very Palace without any Oppoſition or Reſiſtance.

The Emperor being advertis'd of this, in great Haſte ſent *Lætus* to ſtem this furious Torrent, who, forgetting that he had made *Pertinax* Emperor, was very negligent in performing his Commands; but being, according to ſome, a Promoter of the Sedition, ſpeedily retir'd to his own Lodging, juſt as the Soldiers entered the Palace, were, by reaſon of the Confuſion of the Emperor's Servants, and the Suddenneſs of the Storm, no Reſiſtance could be made. It ſtrook ſo great a Terror in all Perſons, that the greateſt part of the Attendants abandon'd the Emperor and fled; and thoſe who remain'd, earneſtly preſs'd the Emperor to fly, ſhewing him, *How eaſy it was to eſcape to the Body of the People, who would undoubtedly defend him.* But notwithſtanding he was ſatisfy'd of the Reaſon and Truth of their Perſwaſions, he wholly refuſed to follow their Counſel, alledging, *That to ſave his Life by Flight, was unworthy of his Imperial Dignity, and all his paſt Actions;* and thereupon reſolv'd to go forth, and face the Rebels in Perſon, conceiving, that his Preſence alone would ſhame and confound them, and cauſe them to return. And this Opinion prov'd not wholly groundleſs; for coming unconcernedly as it were, and approaching them in the Court, they all made a ſtand, and gave him time to ſpeak to them, which he did with great Courage, without any Shew of Alteration; firſt asking them, *What might be the Occaſion of their coming in ſuch a tumultuous*

*tumultuous and diſreſpectful Manner?* Then without any Appearance of Fear or Affectation, and with a Gravity and Authority anſwerable to the Dignity of his Perſon, he ſpoke to them after this Manner. Soldiers *and* Companions, *if you come to aſſaſſinate me, and put thoſe fatal Purpoſes in Execution, you will perform an Act neither valiant or honourable on your Part, nor grievous or unwelcome on mine; having been ſufficiently ripen'd for Death, both by my Age and Troubles, as well as by my Fame and Renown. But as for you, whoſe Charge it is to guard and defend your Emperor from all Perills and Treaſons; for you to offer Violence to him, as it is moſt dangerous to your Perſons, ſo it is no leſs fatal to your Memories, which will become ſo odious, that no Time can wear off the Stains; eſpecially ſince your Prince's Actions have been ſo juſt and equitable. If the Death of* Commodus *offend you, why do you repine at the Laws of Nature? If you ſuſpect him murder'd, you all can teſtify my Innocence; ſo if there be any Treachery, it concerns the Actors not me. But I aſſure you, that by reaſon of his Death nothing juſt and neceſſary ſhall be taken from you, nor nothing reaſonable and practicable ſhall be deny'd you; provided you require it without Force and Violence.*

This Speech exacted a kind of Reverence from his Hearers, and many of the Company, being mov'd by his Words and Majeſty, began to change their Intentions, and to depart; but the Fury and Violence of thoſe behind forc'd them forwards, ſo that they could neither retreat, nor defend the Emperor. In the midſt of this Confuſion. *Thauſius*, a *Tungrian*, wounded *Pertinax* on the Breaſt with a Launce, ſaying, *The Soldiers ſend you this. Pertinax* perceiving their Deſign, he pray'd to *Jupiter Ultor*, cover'd his Head with his Robe, and ſunk with the Wounds he received from ſeveral. *Electus*, and ſome other of his Servants, who endeavour'd

*The Death of* Pertinax.

deavour'd to defend him, were likewiſe ſlain, after they had caus'd ſome Bloodſhed themſelves; only a Son and a Daughter of the Emperor's eſcap'd, who were not lodged in the Palace. This was the unfortunate and much lamented Death of *Helvius Pertinax*, the nineteenth Emperor of *Rome*, after a ſhort Reign of only three Months and one Day: One who from the Meaneſt became the Greateſt; and from the uncommon Variety of his Succeſſes, was termed the *Tennis-Ball of Fortune*; and One who did many worthy Acts in his ſhort Reign; but was deſtroyed by his Avarice, and his too haſty a Reformation of a corrupted State. But theſe, and many ſucceeding Calamities, are by Writers juſtly attributed to the ill Conduct of the former Emperor *Commodus*, who had introduc'd ſuch numerous Corruptions, as were ſufficient to ſet the World on Flames, and to produce the worſt kinds of Diſſentions and Diſtractions; and in that Tyrant's Reign alone we are aſſured, that the whole State of the *Roman* Empire was changed from the golden to the iron Age: Which may ſerve for a Confirmation of that important Truth, "That Princes can cauſe "greater Miſchiefs after their Deaths, than they "can poſſibly do while they live. *Pertinax* dy'd in the 946*th* Year of the City, 217 after the Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 193 after our Saviour's Nativity, 122 after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*, and 97 after the laſt of the Twelve *Cæſars*, which preceded the moſt remarkable Change that ever before happened in the *Roman* Empire.

CHAP.

## CHAP. IV.

*From the Death of* PERTINAX, *to the Death of* ALEXANDER, *the Twenty fifth Emperor; when the Empire was firſt transferr'd without the Conſent of the Senate.*

*Containing the Space of about* 42 *YEARS.*

I. THE ſtrange and ſudden Death of *Pertinax* was a Matter of great Concern and Wonder to all Men; and was ſo much the more ſurprizing to find a *Roman* Emperor of greater Power and Authority than any other Prince in the World, who peaceably commanded ſo many Kingdoms, Provinces and Armies, to be in the midſt of his own Metropolitan City and Palace in a Hoſtile Manner, deſtroy'd by a few Soldiers, not exceeding the number of three hundred. The Citizens were all in a great Confuſion, running armed about the Streets with the moſt imaginable Wrath and Fury, but came too late either to ſave the Emperor, or to revenge his Death: For the Soldiers, who committed this Villany, retired with great Precipitation, and getting out of the City to the reſt of their Companions, they expeditiouſly fortify'd the Camp with Ramparts and Trenches, expecting to be attacked in a ſhort time. But the Citizens wanted either the Courage or Conduct to purſue them; and the Senators and Noblemen were ſo far from effecting any thing, that ſome fortify'd themſelves in their Houſes, and others haſtily rid to their Caſtles and Eſtates in the Country, not judging themſelves ſafe in the City. *A. D.* 193.

Two

Two Days having pass'd in this manner, the *Prætorian* Soldiers finding no Person dare attack them, became more and more insolent, and proceeded to an unheard of Piece of Impudence: For some of them standing upon the Ramparts of the Camp, with a loud Voice made Proclamation, *That they would dispose of the Empire to whomsoever would purchase it, and give most for it.* This Sale was immediately published in all Parts of the City; but partly by reason of the Scandal and Odium of this Proclamation, and partly by reason of the few rich Persons left in *Rome* by *Commodus*, there were but two Merchants found to attempt this Purchase, who were *Sulpician* and *Julian*. The former was a Consular Person, Præfect of the City, and Son-in-law to the late Emperor *Pertinax*; and the latter was likewise a Consular Person, a great Lawyer, and the wealthiest Man in the City.

When the Proclamation was first published in the City, *Julian*, with his Wife and Daughter, were then entertaining some Friends at a Dinner, and in the Height of their Mirth and Jollity, he was counselled by the rest, since he had more ready Money than any other in *Rome*, *Not to lose the Opportunity of so noble a Purchase, and so valuable a Jewel as the* Roman *Empire was, but to go immediately to the Camp, and bargain with the Soldiers to chuse him Emperor.* *Julian* being ravished with the dazling Prospects of Rule and Empire, immediately arose from the Table, and hastned to the Camp, where he found *Sulpician* arrived before him, solliciting the Soldiers to make him Emperor, promising them a large Sum of Money, with many other Favours and Rewards: And the only Impediment was his being Son-in-Law to *Pertinax*, whom they had slain, therefore they stood in some Fear of him. Their Suspicions were increased by the Insinuations of *Julian*, who with great Earnestness

advis'd

advis'd them, *To beware of chuſing One, who when he had Opportunity, would undoubtedly revenge the Death of* Pertinax; and further promis'd them *an immenſe Sum of Money, which he had in readineſs, which ſhould be immediately produced, and divided amongſt them; and that he would reſtore all things to the ſame Order and Form that they were in when* Commodus *was murder'd.* Theſe infamous Propoſals were at laſt accepted by the Soldiers, and *Julian* with Ladders received into the Fortifications, where they ſwore Obedience to him, and acknowledged him as Emperor. Then performing the ordinary Ceremonies and Sacrifices, he entered the City, accompanied with the whole Body of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, which conſiſted of about Ten Thouſand, all rang'd in ſuch Order, as if they were going to Battle; for they much ſuſpected the People. As *Julian* enter'd the City, the Soldiers with their drawn Swords, and many Acclamations, proclaim'd him Emperor; but the Citizens, though they durſt make no Reſiſtance, refus'd to approve of the Election, according to Cuſtom, and curſed him, and threw Stones at him. Being conducted to the Senate-Houſe, to the Senators then preſent, he made a remarkable Speech to this Effect, *You want an Emperor, and I am the fitteſt Perſon you can chuſe.* Which Speech being back'd with ſo many Soldiers, caus'd the Senate to admit and acknowledge him for Emperor, and likewiſe to diſplace *Sulpician* and to make *Julian*'s Son-in-Law, *Repantinus*, Præfect of the City, Thus was the greateſt and moſt glorious Empire on this ſide Heaven, which had coſt the beſt Blood in the World to eſtabliſh, ſhamefully expos'd to publick Sale, and purchas'd by a Sum leſs than a Million of our Money.

Julian *made Emperor.*

*Didius Julian* was Grandſon to the famous Lawyer of that Name, who compos'd the perpetual Edict in the Reign of *Adrian*, and had paſs'd through

through many conſiderable Offices, both Military and Civil; and now declining in Years, in the 57th Year of his Age, he had lived retiredly in *Rome* to enjoy the Benefit of his former Toils, and make the beſt of his great Riches which he had ſcraped together. In theſe Circumſtances he began his Reign; and as though the Empire had deſcended to him by right of Inheritance, and he had gained the Hearts of all his Subjects, he gave himſelf up to Eaſe and Inactivity, and ſhewed himſelf extreamly negligent and regardleſs of the troubleſome Affairs of the Publick. And notwithſtanding he was mild and affable, and did no Injury, or ſhewed any Cruelty while he reigned, yet he ſoon contracted the Hatred of the Soldiers by his backwardneſs in performing his ſeveral Promiſes. The Money promis'd proved exceeding prejudicial to the Empire; for from this Occaſion and Beginning, the Soldiers grew daily more audacious and regardleſs of their Prince; ſo that their Covetouſneſs and Contempt of their Emperor's encreaſing, frequently ended in ſhedding of their Blood, in hopes of a greater Advantage from the next Succeſſor. But what added to their Hatred of the Emperor, was his own particular Avarice and Penurioufneſs, which *Spartian* tells us was ſo remarkable, that he often ſupped only of Pulſe and Herbs; and if any had ſent him a Pig or Hare, he made it ſerve for three Days. The People of *Rome* continually hated him, becauſe he was choſen and made Emperor by the very Murderers of *Pertinax*, whom all loved and admired; and they were of Opinion that he was acceſſary to his Death, often declaring, *That he had ſtole the Empire.* So that whenever he went out of his Palace, the People openly poured out their Imprecations againſt him, which he patiently endur'd, ſometimes with Smiles, beckoning with his Hand for them to come to him,

him, and making ſhew of great Love and Affection towards them. But theſe Acts of Courteſie would avail nothing, but rather increaſed their Hatred; ſo that ſtanding at a publick Time to behold certain Games and Sports, the People unanimouſly proclaimed *Precennius Niger*, Emperor, who was then Governour of *Syria*, imploring his diſtant Aſſiſtance to procure them Liberty; for all which Inſolencies *Julian* ſhewed no great Concern.

The Peoples Hatred of *Julian*, and their exceeding Deſire of a Change, gave *Niger* then in *Syria*, a fair Opportunity of promoting his own Intereſt, which he did not doubt to effect, being a Perſon of Years and Reputation, and one who had held great Offices and Governments, as well as performed many noble and memorable Exploits. He was beloved by the People for the Fame of his Wiſdom and Clemency, and the Report of his imitating *Pertinax* in his Life and Government. Being thus ſtrengthened in his Intereſts, he eaſily perſuaded his Army in *Syria* to proclaim him Emperor againſt *Julian*; and taking upon him the Arms and Enſigns of the Empire, he was acknowledged by the Kings and Potentates of *Aſia*, who ſent him Ambaſſadors as to a lawful Prince. About the ſame time, and with almoſt the ſame Pretences, *Septimius Severus*, a valiant Warrior and Commander of the *German* Legions, ſeeing the Empire thus obnoxius to every Man's Power and Ambition, reſolv'd to attempt it againſt the reſt of the Pretenders, eſpecially ſince of the two who had already ſeized on it, *Niger* was negligent and ſecure, and *Julian* hated and deſpis'd. Being alſo encouraged in this Attempt by ſome Dreams, he for a while conceal'd his Deſigns, but in the Preſence of his Army ſeverely inveigh'd againſt the *Prætorian* Cohorts, for murdering their lawful Prince

Niger *proclaimed Emperor in* Syria.

Prince *Pertinax*, who he knew was much belov'd by his Soldiers; therefore he extoll'd him to the utmoſt, and eaſily perſwaded them *to revenge the Death of him who was once their ſucceſsful General in Illyrium.* Whereupon the Army immediately proclaim'd him Emperor, which he ſeem'd unwilling to accept; but at laſt aſſuming the Imperial Enſigns, he publiſh'd, *That he would revenge the Death of* Pertinax, and thereupon took upon himſelf the Name of *Pertinax*, which much ſtrengthned his Intereſt, both in his Army and among the People of *Rome.* So that at one and the ſame time there were no leſs than three Emperors in the *Roman* Empire, or rather three Uſurpers; the former having only the conſtrain'd Authority of the Senate, and the other two the Power of their own Armies.

*And* Severus *in* Germany.

The News of *Niger*'s Revolt and Pretenſions arriv'd firſt at *Rome*; but *Julian* ſhew'd no great Concern for that, ſatisfying himſelf with ſending to have him executed; but underſtanding the ſucceſsful Progreſs of ſo formidable a Rival as *Severus*, he was exceedingly terrify'd; and with many Sollicitations procured the Senate to proclaim him a Rebel, and that the Fathers ſhould ſend certain Ambaſſadors, to cauſe the Army to abandon *Severus*, and ſtand by him whom the Senate had already confirm'd; ſending at the ſame time *Catulinus* to remove *Severus*, and ſucceed him in his Office. But *Severus* by his great Policy and Induſtry had ſecured himſelf from all ſuch Attempts; and had ſufficiently aſſur'd himſelf of the Love of his Friends, and the Fidelity of all the ſtrong Places in his Province; reſolving with the utmoſt Expedition to march with his Forces directly to *Rome*, where he knew how little *Julian* was belov'd. At the ſame time *Niger* in *Syria*, not knowing or regarding theſe Progreſſes of *Se-*

*ver⁹*

*verus* became negligent in his Affairs; and ſeeing himſelf attended and ſerv'd by Kings, rich in Gold and Silver, mighty in Power and Arms, wholly confided in the Love of the People of *Rome*, and gave himſelf to Feaſtings and Luxury in *Antioch*. In the mean time the March of *Severus* with his Army began to rouze *Julian* from his drowſie Slumber; who putting himſelf in Arms, apply'd himſelf wholly to make all neceſſary Proviſions for a War; in which he found many diſcouraging Proſpects. The *Prætorian* Soldiers wanted Experience and Diſcipline, and were enervated and diſſolv'd in Eaſe and Luxury: The People of *Rome* and the *Equites* repair'd to him very ſlowly and unwillingly, by reaſon of his infamous Title to the Empire: And the *Italian* Cities and Towns, being for ſo many Ages cover'd with the Ruſt of Peace and Plenty, would make no conſiderable Oppoſition or Reſiſtance. The chief Friends of *Julian* advis'd him with all poſſible Expedition to meet *Severus* in his March, and ſtop his Paſſage over the *Alps*, but *Julian* being confounded with Multiplicity of Buſineſs, and wanting either the Courage or the Conduct for ſo vigorous an Attempt, made the beſt Proviſion for his own Defence in *Rome*. But in theſe Preparations he was ſuddenly ſurpriz'd with the News of *Severus*'s Entrance into *Italy*; and that the greateſt part of the Cities had receiv'd him, and yielded him Obedience. The People of *Rome* ſeeing the ſucceſsful Progreſs of *Severus*, and finding *Niger* very negligent in *Aſia*, began to approve of his Deſigns, and more earneſtly wiſh'd for the Ruin of *Julian*.

*Julian* finding himſelf reduc'd to theſe Straits, obtain'd the Conſent of the Senate to write and ſend Ambaſſadors to *Severus*, offering to make him his Equal and Companion in the Empire;

but *Severus* not ſatisfy'd with a Part, rejected his Propoſals, knowing himſelf to be of greater Power than *Julian*, though ſupported by the Authority of the Senate, who now perceiving his little Conduct and leſs Strength, began to abandon him. And though he only deſired that Veſtal Virgins (which were never ſent but in the laſt Extremity) might be ſent to appeaſe *Severus*, and beg an Accommodation; yet the Senate would not yield, alledging, *That he was unworthy to govern who could not defend the Empire by his Arms.* Whereupon *Julian* reſolving to make one vigorous Puſh, in a great Rage ſent for Soldiers out of the Camp, to force the Senate into a Compliance, or deſtroy them in the Houſe, but all without Effect. So that the Matter came to that Iſſue, that *Julian* confounded with ill Succeſs, and void of all Relief and Aſſiſtance, was conſtrain'd to retire to his Palace, generally abandon'd, except by a few Soldiers. The Senate thereupon was aſſembled according to the ancient Cuſtom by the *Conſuls*, where the Fathers unanimouſly decreed, *That* Julian *ſhould be depriv'd of the Empire, and* Severus *be proclaim'd Emperor*; and ſome of the principal Senators were ſent to *Severus*, to yield him Obedience, and offer him the Arms and Enſigns of the Empire. Then ſpreading a Report that *Julian* had Poiſon'd himſelf, they commanded him to be ſlain in his Palace, where the unfortunate Emperor was found diſarm'd, with ſome few of his Friends, ſervilely weeping like a Child. While the Meſſengers ſeiz'd on him, he thus expoſtulated with them, *What Crime have I committed? What Man have I ſlain?* But all in vain; for they leading him into the ſecret Baths of the Palace, his Neck being ſtretched forth after the manner of condemn'd Criminals, his Head was ſtruck off, as *Au. Victor* relates it, and afterwards ſet up in the Court,

*The Death of Julian*

Court, where the Cauſes were pleaded. This was the miſerable End of *Didius Julian* the Twentieth Emperor of *Rome*, after a ſhort Reign of only two Months and eight Days, though ſome ſay more; a Perſon who being rich, honourable and ancient, by his fooliſh and ſhameful purchaſing the Empire, entirely waſted his Eſtate, irreparably ruin'd his Reputation, and ignominiouſly loſt his Life.

II. The Death of *Julian* gave a general Satisfaction to the City; and the nearer *Severus* approached, the more forward was each Perſon in teſtifying his Submiſſion. The Ambaſſadors from the Senate met him on his March, and in the Name of the Senate and People of *Rome* yielded him Obedience, gave him the Enſigns of the Empire, and the Title of *Auguſtus*, and certify'd him of the Death of *Julian*. He received the Embaſſy in the Preſence of his Army rang'd in Order, making Preſents to the Ambaſſadors; and entertaining them honourably, continued his March towards *Rome*, where his coming was dreaded both by the Soldiers and Citizens; the former for murdering his Friend *Pertinax*, and the latter for making Choice of *Niger* for their Emperor. *Severus* as he came near to the City, ſent Orders to all the *Prætorian* Soldiers to come forth and receive him peaceably, leaving their Arms in their Camp; all which was readily obey'd, in hopes of pleaſing and appeaſing him by their joyful Obſervance of his Commands. But concealing his Deſigns from all but a few of his chief Commanders, he attended their coming in a particular Place choſen for that Purpoſe; where upon their coming forwards with Branches of Laurel to pay him Homage, they were ſuddenly ſurrounded by his Army: And making a ſhort Speech to them, he reproach'd them with their barbarous and infamous Practices towards the

*A. D.* 193.

**Severus** *made Emperor.*

Emperor and Empire, commanded them to be immediately ſtript of all their Military Habiliments, depriv'd them of the very Name and Honour of Soldiers, and baniſh'd them a Hundred Miles from *Rome:* A Puniſhment, tho' ſignal and exemplary, yet not equal to the Heighnouſneſs of their Crimes; particularly their villanous Murder of their Sovereign Maſter, and their ſhameful degrading of the Honour of the *Roman* Empire. Shortly after, *Severus* made his Entry into *Rome* with his whole Army, where the Number and Order of his Soldiers was both a noble and formidable Sight. He was met at the Gates by the Senate, who ſaluted him after the uſual manner, and the People receiv'd him with great Bleſſings and Applauſes, notwithſtanding nothing was more odious to the *Romans* than ſuch an armed and war-like Entrance. Having perform'd the accuſtom'd Solemnities, and viſited the Temples, he enter'd the Imperial Palace; and the next Day aſſembling the Senate, he repair'd to the Houſe with ſeveral Armed Men. He there made a ſmooth and ingenious Speech, *profeſſing his Intention was to govern with true Juſtice and Clemency, and according to the Preſcription of* Antoninus Philoſophus; *excuſing himſelf for aſſuming the venerable Name and Authority of Emperor, without their Conſents firſt obtain'd; alledging he did it purely to revenge the Death of* Pertinax, *and to free them from the Tyranny of* Julian, *a Perſon wholly unworthy to govern that Empire, which he had purchas'd with Money, and not Merits.* Which fair Speeches and Promiſes gave a general Satisfaction to the Fathers, though ſome of them were not ignorant of the Subtilty of his Temper, as well as the worthineſs of his Actions.

*Septimius Severus* was by Birth an *African*, in the City of *Leptis*, and was the only legal Emperor of that Country; His Father's Name was *Geta*, and his

his Mother's *Fulvia Pia*, who had two Brothers that were both *Conſuls*. He was about 47 Years of Age when he enter'd upon the Empire, and had before attain'd by his Induſtry to be Quæſtor, Tribune, Prætor, Proconſul, and Conſul, holding ſeveral Commands and Charges, wherein he purchas'd the Name and Reputation of a valiant, wiſe and excellent Commander. He was likewiſe truly commended for his Wit and Learning, his Prudence and Policy, and his Vigour and Hardineſs; but at the ſame time juſtly condemn'd for his *Punick* Craft and Diſſimulation, his Treachery and Infidelity, and his Severity and Cruelty; for which he is obſerved by *Spartian* truly to anſwer his Name, *Vere Pertinax, Vere Severus:* In ſum, his Temper and Circumſtances diſpos'd him to the Performance both of the greateſt Acts, and the bloodieſt Severities. He had no ſooner enter'd upon the Empire, but he vigorouſly ſet about the Reformation of Abuſes in the City; and ſpeedily made choice of new Men for the *Prætorian* Cohorts and Guards, in the room of thoſe already caſhier'd, He ſeiz'd upon all the Children of ſuch Men as had Commands, or were in Authority in the Eaſt, or in *Aſia*, and detained them as Pledges of their Fathers Loyalty. And making a ſolemn Funeral for the Emperor *Pertinax*; in memory of the good old Man, he more publickly took upon him the Sirname of *Pertinax*, declaring, *That he would not only aſſume his Name, but alſo imitate his Vertues.* He gave many Gifts and Rewards to the Soldiers, and alſo to the People of *Rome*; and according to the Cuſtom of New-created Emperors, made large Diſtributions and Donatives. He alſo marry'd two Daughters he had, to two principal Men of *Rome*, call'd *Probus* and *Ætius*; and having beſtowed large Dowries on them, he us'd ſuch Methods that they were

both made Conſuls. And whereas at that time there was a great Scarcity of Corn in *Rome*, he took ſuch prudent Care, and with ſuch Expedition, that the City in ſhort time was ſufficiently provided and ſupply'd; which provident Courſe was always ſo carefully obſerv'd, that during all the times of his Abſence and his whole Reign, there never was any Want. All theſe and many other Eſtabliſhments he made in the ſpace of only thirty Days; reſolving with all poſſible Expedition to march againſt *Niger* in the Eaſt, a formidable Rival, who wanted neither Forces nor Valour to ſupport his Intereſt and Pretenſions.

Before the Emperor began his March, being a Man of great Wiſdom and Foreſight, he took particular Care to ſecure all the Provinces behind him, and ſent a new Governor and Legions into *Africk*, to guard that Province from any Invaſion of *Niger*'s by Way of *Ægypt* and *Lybia*. But his greateſt fear was from *Clodius Albinus*, Commander of the Legions in *Britain*, a Perſon of an illuſtrious Family, and generally belov'd; therefore to ſecure his Intereſt and Amity, he politically gave him the Title of *Cæſar* and his Succeſſor, beſeeching him by Letters, *as the worthieſt Perſon, to take care of the Empire of* Rome, *ſince himſelf was grown aged and declining, and his Children in a manner Infants.* And further to deceive him, he wrote in the ſame Stile to the Senate, order'd Money to be coin'd with his Image, erected him Statues, and gave him other Honours. Theſe ſubtle Artifices almoſt tranſported *Albinus*; who vainly believing he ſhou'd gain that with Eaſe, which he deſign'd to attempt by Force, loſt his moſt advantageous Opportunities, and made no conſiderable Attempts till *Severus* was in full Capacity of reſiſting him. *Severus* with the greateſt Force he cou'd raiſe, and the utmoſt Expedition march'd towards the Eaſt to oppoſe

**Albinus *made* Cæſar.**

**Severus's *Expedition againſt* Niger.**

poſe *Niger*; who underſtanding the Succeſs of *Severus*, rouz'd himſelf from his ſoft and luxurious Delights, and with great Diligence and Expedition made Preparations to reſiſt him: he ſent a conſiderable Force to ſecure the Paſſages between *Europe* and *Aſia*, and to take in the great City *Byzantium*; and alſo ſent for Succours from the Kings of *Armenia*, *Parthi*, and other Kings and Potentates of the Eaſt; from whom, and from the Provinces under his Subjection, he gather'd a powerful and numerous Army. Thus the World was divided into two Factions, and there began a War as ſevere as any in the former Ages of the *Roman* State, being carry'd on in many Parts both by Sea and Land, and highly remarkable both for the Valour of the Commanders, and the Power and Number of the Forces. *Severus* in his Paſſage from *Europe* into *Aſia* was extreamly incommoded and moleſted by the Forces of *Niger*, under the Command of a valiant General call'd *Æmilian*; who having drawn together all the Forces that *Niger* had given him, and likewiſe what he cou'd levy out of the Provinces of *Aſia Minor*, advantageouſly attack'd *Severus* in his Paſſage; but after many Skirmiſhes, being forc'd to a general Battel, *Æmilian* was with much Bloodſhed overthrown, and all his Troops diſpers'd.

After this Battel, the vanquiſh'd Troops which eſcap'd, retired all to *Niger*, who with all his Forces was then at the City of *Antioch*; from whence he remov'd to meet with *Severus* upon his March; and advancing towards him, after ſome Skirmiſhes, and ſmaller Encounters, both Armies drew up, according to *Herodian*, in a ſpacious Plain near the Bay of *Iſſus*, where *Alexander the Great* firſt vanquiſh'd *Darius*. Here infinite Numbers of all ſorts of People were gather'd together upon the Tops of the adjacent Mountains to view

this important Battel, which in this Place was agreed to be fought by the braveſt Generals, the greateſt Forces, and the beſt Soldiers then in the World. The Battel began with exceeding Sharpneſs and Fury on both ſides, and continu'd the greateſt part of the Day without any apparent Advantage; by which means the Number of the Slain and Wounded was ſo great, that the Streams of Water which ran through the Fields were ſo diſtain'd with the Blood of Men and Horſes, that they ſeem'd to have loſt their Nature, as well as their Colour, In fine, after a moſt obſtinate Fight, the Experience and Diſcipline of *Severus*'s Troops prevail'd againſt the numerous Forces of *Niger*, who though he had fail'd in no Point which a good Commander ought to obſerve, was totally overthrown, and in this flight was taken by the Soldiers of *Severus*, who ſtruck off his Head, and inſultingly carry'd it through the Camp upon the Point of a Launce. Thus fell *Peſcennius Niger*, who is noted to have been a valiant and applauded Tribune, an excellent and expert Colonel, a ſevere and upright General, a wiſe and faithful Conſul, and in all things happy and ſucceſsful; but only unfortunate in being Emperor, not knowing how to govern himſelf in ſo exalted a Station. *Severus* immediately advertis'd the Senate of this great Victory, commanding that the Wife and Children of *Niger* ſhou'd be baniſh'd from *Rome*, and as a Conqueror perform'd his Pleaſure upon the Vanquiſh'd, deſtroying without Mercy great Numbers of thoſe who had join'd with *Niger*, and particularly demoliſh'd the great City *Antioch*, which in a ſpecial manner had aided and aſſiſted his Adverſary. On the contrary he gave large Gifts and Rewards to ſuch as had been ſerviceable to him, ſpeedily repairing the Damages which ſeveral Cities of his Party had ſuſtain'd from the

*The Overthrow and Death of* Niger.

the Forces of *Niger*; and in all these Actions, as no Man cou'd shew himself more severe in punishing Offences, and persecuting Enemies, so no Man more grateful and bountiful in rewarding of Friends and Assistants. After this Victory he found no Resistance in the *Eastern* Provinces of the Empire, but the *Parthians*, and *Persians*, and the *Adiabenians*, (very powerful Nations) out of Love to *Niger*, and Hatred to the *Roman* Name, immediately took up Arms against *Severus*, who expeditiously march'd against them in Person, had many Battels and Incounters with them, and obtain'd such signal Victories over them, that he both enlarg'd the *Roman* Name and Empire, and establish'd Peace in the *East*.

After these several Successes, *Severus* now consulted how he might best secure the Empire to his Family, which could not be throughly effected while *Albinus* continu'd *Cæsar*, and had so good a Title to it; having besides gain'd the Affections of many of the Nobility, who judg'd him more worthy of the Empire than him who now possess'd it. For which Reasons *Severus* resolv'd to remove him; but judging open War not so expedient at this Juncture, he first attempted his Design by Treachery, sending some Messengers, who, under Colour of bringing Letters, were design'd to dispatch him. *Albinus* being advertis'd of the Designs of *Severus* against him, prevented the Attempt, betook himself to open Force, and proclaim'd himself Emperor; having a very great Force, and a powerful Interest to support his Pretensions. The News of this being carry'd to *Severus* in the *East*, he being of a haughty and ambitious Temper, shew'd but a small Concern for these Difficulties; and setting all things in order in these Parts, with his Army he set forwards towards *Rome*, with design to march against *Albinus*, as against an Usurper

*Albinus proclaim'd Emperor by his Soldiers.*

per and a Rebel. He continu'd his Marches without intermiſſion, equally regardleſs of the moſt parching Heats, and the moſt rigorous Colds; often marching bare over the higheſt Mountains in the midſt of Snow, to excite his Soldiers by his Perſonal Deportment. And paſſing from *Aſia* into *Europe*, over the Streight at *Bizantium*, ſince call'd *Conſtantinople*, he wholly deſtroy'd that mighty City, and levell'd it with the Ground, becauſe it had vigorouſly reſiſted his Forces when he march'd againſt *Niger*; and ſo that famous City continu'd deſolate for above 130 Years, till the Reign of *Conſtantine the Great*. In the mean time, *Albinus* being advertis'd of *Severus*'s March towards *Rome*, he remov'd out of *Britain* into *Gaul*, where with his new-rais'd Forces he had a very powerful Army; part of which he ſent to Guard the difficult Paſſes of the *Alps*, to hinder the March of *Severus*, who he underſtood was arriv'd at *Rome*, and was now upon the March to meet him. Before which time *Severus* had put *Niger*'s Children to Death, to extinguiſh the very Memory of his Enemy; and going to the Wars, he appointed his Eldeſt Son *Baſſianus Caracalla* for his Succeſſor, and entitled him *Cæſar*, changing his Name to *Aurelius Antoninus*, and diſperſing large Donatives and Diſtributions to the People and Soldiers; this was done about the Sixth Year of his Reign, *A. D.* 199.

**Caracalla made Cæſar.**

*Severus* drawing near to his Enemies, the Wars began with great Vigour and Severity on both Sides, and about the *Alps*, *Severus*'s Captains were overthrown in ſeveral Skirmiſhes and Encounters. After he had with great Difficulty paſs'd theſe Mountains, the War was kindled in ſeveral Parts, and in many Conflicts and Skirmiſhes Fortune ſhew'd her ſelf very variable, giving Victories and Advantages to either Party: Till at laſt, near the City *Lugdunum* or *Lians*, where *Albinus* was lodg'd, both

**Severus's Expedition againſt Albinus.**

both Commanders drawing together their whole Force and Power, they fought one of the moſt ſharp and bloody Battels that was ever recorded in the *Roman* Story; which continued the greateſt part of the Day without any Appearance of Diſproportion or Advantage on either ſide. At length the Victory ſeemed to incline to *Albinus*, whoſe Troops fought with that Rage and Obſtinacy, that they forc'd *Severus*'s Men to retire, ſo as they began to fly: And at the ſame time *Severus*'s Horſe fell with him, every Man giving him for loſt; ſo that *Albinus*'s Soldiers began to cry *Victory, Victory*: without obſerving any Regularity in purſuing their Advantage. But the Battel was ſoon reſtored by *Lætus*, one of *Severus*'s Commanders, who till then with a conſiderable Party had kept himſelf in Reſerve, deſigning to deſtroy both Parties, and to ſet up himſelf. His unexpected coming in, chang'd the Face of Affairs, and reſcued *Severus*, who charged with that Fury and Exactneſs, that he ſoon plucked the Victory out of the Hands of *Albinus*'s Soldiers, who accounting themſelves Conquerors, had obſerv'd no exact Order: And this was ſo well ſeconded, that ſhortly after the *Albinians* were put to Flight; and *Severus* vigorouſly purſuing the Advantage, cut off great Numbers even to the Gates of the City of *Lugdunum*. The City was ſoon entered, and *Albinus* taken Priſoner, whoſe Head was ſtruck off, and brought to *Severus*, who received it with exceeding Satisfaction; and writing to the Senate and People of *Rome* he ſent it thither, commanding it to be ſet upon a Pole in the publick *Forum*. We are told that he barbarouſly inſulted over the dead Body of *Albinus*, riding many times over it upon a furious Horſe, and caſt it all diſmally mangled into the River *Rhoſne*, together with the Carcaſſes of his Wife and Children, whom he commanded

*The Overthrow and Death of* Albinus.

to

to be ſlain. All Senators on the contrary Party who were ſlain in Battel, he commanded to be quarter'd; and ſuch as were taken alive, were immediately executed; as likewiſe were the Kinſmen and Friends of *Albinus*, together with many of the principal Noblemen of *Gaul* and *Spain*. An infinite Number of Sacrifices were made to his Fury and Revenge, which rendered this Emperor extremely odious to ſome, and no leſs terrible to many others.

After this Victory, all the Cities and Places which aſſiſted *Albinus* were ſoon ſubdu'd and reduc'd to Obedience; and *Severus* leaving *Gaul* and *Germany* in Peace, and ſending the ordinary Legions into *Britain*, to keep the Inhabitants in ſubjection, he returned to *Rome*, his Breaſt ſtill glowing with a Malignant Heat againſt the Remains of *Albinus*'s Faction. He entered the City in a triumphant Manner with his whole Army, where he was received with great Appearance of Joy and Satisfaction, though the People ſtood in great Fear of him. He firſt beſtowed greater Rewards than ordinary upon his Soldiers, giving them not only Money, but alſo ſuch Privileges as accidentally ſtrengthned his own Authority, but proved extremely prejudicial to the Publick. For the Soldiers having formerly through the Looſeneſs and Neglect of ill Emperors contracted Sloth and Avarice, were, by theſe Incouragements ſtill more incited to violate the Sovereignty, to depoſe, deſtroy, and ſet up whom they pleas'd. Now *Severus* added more Fuel to the Flame, augmented their Allowance of Corn, gave them Licence to wear Gold Rings, as *Equites* or Knights, and to marry and maintain Wives; which broke in pieces the Relicts of the Ancient Diſcipline, and caus'd innumerable Miſchiefs and Bloodſheds in the State. After theſe Rewards *Severus* entered the Senate, and in

Diſ-

Diſgrace of that venerable Aſſembly, he renew'd the Titles and Memory of the Tyrant *Commodus*, deſtroy'd his Murtherers, call'd himſelf his Brother, and made him to be canoniz'd and ador'd as a God. He alſo condemn'd to Death a great Number of the Nobility of *Rome*, who had been either the Friends of *Albinus*, or of his Party; producing Letters which he ſaid were written by them, wherein they had offer'd their Perſons and Eſtates to the Service of *Albinus*; alledging other Reaſons and Proofs, of which ſome are ſuppos'd to have been forg'd. He us'd the like Severity to many Eminent Perſons of *Niger*'s Party; and in this many conſiderable Matrons and *Roman* Ladies could not eſcape his Fury. He pretended to act in this Affair by the Dictate of Juſtice and Revenge; but *Herodian* tells us, he was urged on by a more prevailing Paſſion which he had for Money, to which none of the Emperors, he ſays, was ſo totally enſlav'd. By all which Executions he extreamly inrich'd himſelf by the Eſtates and Goods of the condemn'd Perſons, of which ſome was diſtributed to others; but he principally enriched and advanc'd a Favourite of his call'd *Plautian*, an *African* by Birth, and his Country-man, whom he made Præfect of the *Prætorian* Soldiers, and afterwards marry'd his eldeſt Son *Caracalla* to his Daughter *Plautina*. He likewiſe ſhewed himſelf very liberal and bountiful, beſtowing great Favours upon many others, and endeavouring to become popular and acceptable to all Men; and to that End he made the nobleſt Entertainments, and the moſt ſolemn Games that ever were made in *Rome*, and diſtributed large Quantities of Money among the People.

*Severus* ſtaid not long in *Rome*; for underſtanding that Affairs were unſettled in *Aſia*, particularly that the *Parthians* had invaded the Frontiers of the Em-

Severus's Expedition in the East.

Empire, and being desirous of Honour, and to be reveng'd of some Kings who had assisted his Enemy *Niger*; he with his accustom'd Vigour and Celerity departed towards the *East*, tho' Aged and Gouty. Being arrived in *Asia* sooner than any could expect him, he immediately began the War in *Armenia*, marching against *Barsenius* King of the *Arteni*, who had been a particular Friend to *Niger*: The King of *Armenia* durst make no Resistance, but sent the Emperor Presents, sued for Peace, and gave such Hostages as he required. Whereupon this valiant Emperor turn'd his Forces against *Arabia Fœlix*, where there was then a Mutiny, and took and plunder'd several Cities; and from thence return'd against the Frontiers of the *Atreni*, and invested the City of *Atræ*, the Metropolis of that Country. But being unable to take it soon, by reason of its Strength and Provision, and the excessive Heats, he immediately put to Sea, and successfully landed upon the Coasts of the *Parthians* and the *Persians*; and with a wonderful Expedition besieged the famous City *Ctisiphon*, where King *Artabanus* lay with all his Family and Riches. After many vigorous Attacks and Encounters, and much Bloodshed on both sides, he enter'd the City by Force of Arms; and the King escaping by Flight, his Children and Treasure fell all into the Hands of *Severus*; which was accounted the more signal Conquest, because the *Romans* stood in greater Fear of the *Parthians*, than of any other Nation in the World. *Severus* immediately wrote to the Senate, advertising the Fathers of the Victories and Successes, and sent them a particular Description of the Countries, Cities, Rivers and Mountains he had pass'd, and what Battels and Skermishes he had fought, all drawn and painted upon Tables, for which he obtain'd the Sirnames of *Arabicus*, *Parthicus* and *Adiabenicus*. After these Advantages, he

he bountifully rewarded his Soldiers; and coming into *Paleſtine*, he there forbid any under the ſevereſt Penalties to become *Jews*. From thence he went into *Egypt*, being deſirous to view the famous Pyramids, and other ancient Monuments of that Country; deſigning ſhortly after to return to *Rome* in Triumph.

During the Emperor's Abſence, his Favourite *Plautian*, whom he had made Governor of the City, put to Death great Numbers of the Nobility and Common People, among which the *Chriſtians* bore a conſiderable. if not the greateſt Share; which caus'd *Severus* afterwards to apologize for himſelf; declaring, that he had no Hand in theſe Executions. The cruel and barbarous Uſage ſo generally practis'd againſt the *Chriſtians*, caus'd *Tertullian*, that eminent Champion of *Chriſtianity*, to publiſh his famous Apology, which he dedicated to the Senate, and the Magiſtrates of the *Roman* Empire, wherein, with incomparable Eloquence, Evidence and Strength of Reaſon he pleaded the Cauſe of the *Chriſtians*; *Complaining of the Unreaſonableneſs and Injuſtice of their Enemies, and the irregular Methods of their Proceedings; clearly demonſtrating the Vanity and Falſhood of the Crimes commonly charg'd upon the* Chriſtians, *manifeſting their Meekneſs and Innocency, their Temperance and Sobriety, their Piety to God, their Obedience to their Prince, the Soundneſs of their Principle, and the Sanctity of their Lives, beyond all poſſible Exceptions.* This Apology much contributed towards the cooling and qualifying this Calenture, eſpecially at the Return of the Emperor, who had never countenanc'd theſe Severities. But not long after he turn'd his Cruelty againſt the *Chriſtians*, publiſh'd Edicts againſt them as well as the *Jews*, and rais'd a moſt ſharp Perſecution, which was the 5th General Perſecution of the Church. This broke out in the 10th Year of this Emperor's

*The fifth General Perſecution A. D.* 220.

peror's Reign, 35 Years after the Beginning, or the Rage of the 4th Perſecution under *Antoninus Philoſophus*; and the *Chriſtians* were perſecuted under the Notions of impious and infamous Perſons, who deſign'd nothing but Treaſon and Rebellion againſt the State. The Emperor's Edicts were executed with that Rigour and Inhumanity, that the *Chriſtians* in thoſe Days really believ'd that the Times of *Antichriſt* did then take Place. Among the Multitude of Martyrs that ſuffer'd under this Perſecution, were *Victor*, Biſhop of *Rome*; St. *Irenæus*, Biſhop of *Lugdunum* or *Lyons*; *Leonidas* the Father of *Origen*, who was beheaded at *Alexandria*; *Potamiæna*, an Illuſtrious Virgin, and her Mother *Marcella*, who after various Torments were committed to the Flames; and *Baſilides*, one of the Officers, who led them to Execution.

Caracalla *marry'd to* Plautian's *Daughter.*

Not long after *Severus*'s triumphant Return from his *Parthian* Expedition, laden with the Spoils and Riches of the *Eaſt*, he marry'd his eldeſt Son *Caracalla* to *Plautina*, the Daughter of his principal Favourite *Plautian*, having before made his Son Partner with him in his Tribunitial, and ſome ſay Imperial Power. This Marriage was ſolemniz'd wholly againſt the Inclinations of *Caracalla*, who much neglected her Society and Converſation; which caus'd a great Hatred and Diſſention between him and his Father-in-law *Plautian*. This Favourite finding himſelf rais'd to the greateſt Height, and that he was the richeſt and mightieſt Man in the Empire; and likewiſe perceiving that *Severus* was aged and declining, and dreading the Conſequence of his Son's Succeſſion, he reſolv'd to deſtroy both Father and Son, in order to make himſelf Emperor; and to effect this Deſign, he made choice of a Tribune of the *Prætorian* Cohorts of which he himſelf was Commander. But this Treaſon was ſoon diſcover'd by the ſame Tribune

bune to *Severus*, who received it as an incredible Story, conceiving it only to be ſome Practice of his Son's who ſo much hated *Plautian*. But being fully aſſur'd of the Truth of this Matter, it was determined that this Tribune ſhould go and bring *Plautian* into the Emperor's Chamber. The Tribune coming to *Plautian*, told him a formal Relation of his killing *Severus* and *Caracalla*; *and if he pleas'd to accompany him, he ſhould ſee them both dead together:* Upon the delivery of which Meſſage he ſaluted him as Emperor. As *Plautian* eagerly deſired their Deaths, he readily gave Credit to his Words, and haſtily went with the Tribune, who late at Night brought him into the Emperor's Chamber; where he found the Emperor and his Son amongſt ſeveral of their principal Friends, and the Chamber full of lighted Torches. This unexpected Sight much confounded *Plautian*, who being demanded of the Emperor, *What Buſineſs brought him thither at that unſeaſonable Time*; not knowing what to Anſwer, confeſs'd his Error, and craved his Pardon; but the Fury of *Caracalla* was ſo great, that no Supplications could be heard, but his Sword put an End to his Treaſon and Villany, which had been notorious to the utmoſt Degree. *The Death of* Plautian.

*Severus* having eſcaped this Danger, ſpent a conſiderable Time in viſiting ſome Cities in *Italy*, in hearing Complaints, and doing of Juſtice; in which he is deſervedly applauded by all Writers, being particularly ſo exact as to Places of Truſt, that he permitted no Man in his Dominions to ſell his Honours and Dignities. Returning to *Rome*, he celebrated the grand Secular Games, which were the moſt ſolemn and magnificent of all others among the *Romans*, it being in the twelfth Year of his Reign, and fifty ſeven Years ſince they were laſt ſolemnized by the Emperor *Antoni-* Ludi Seculares. *A. D.* 204.

*nus Pius*, 120 ſince thoſe under *Domitian*. Theſe are believ'd to have given occaſion to *Tertullian* to write his Book, *de Spectaculis*, and likewiſe that, *de Idololatria*. The Emperor likewiſe erected many noble Works and Buildings in *Rome*, and other Cities, took great care of the Publick; and notwithſtanding his Cruelty and Avarice, he perform'd many Parts of a wiſe Governour, and a worthy Prince. He took ſuch an exact Order in the Preſervation of his Treaſury, and was ſo covetous in gathering it together, that notwithſtanding his large Expences, and his infinite Gifts and Rewards, he left behind him more Money and Treaſure in his Exchequer than any of his Predeceſſors. He kept and maintain'd ſo many Legions of Soldiers, that there was no cauſe to fear any Foreign King or Nation in the World; and was ſo careful of Proviſions, that he left in *Rome* ſuch Quantities of Wheat, Wine, and Oyl, as were ſufficient to maintain and ſupply the City for five Years. But his greateſt Care and Concern was for his two Sons, *Caracalla* and *Geta*, to educate them according to their Quality and Dignity in all worthy and virtuous Exerciſes, and to eſtabliſh a laſting Amity between them, for they had often violent Heats and Diſſentions. And deſigning the Empire for them both, he declared them his Succeſſors conjointly, and in a manner inveſted them in the Empire; whence in ſome Ancient Inſcriptions, *Severus* and his two Sons are put together, under the Title of *Auguſti* and Emperors. This was done about the 16th Year of his Reign, *A. D.* 208.

*Caracalla and Geta ſecur'd in the Empire.*

About the ſame time the Emperor received Advice, that the *Northern* Inhabitants of *Britain* were up in Arms, and had been ſo ſucceſsful, that the ſtanding Legions were in danger of being deſtroy'd, or conſtrain'd to fly the Province, which gave

gave him great Uneaſineſs. But that the Empire in his Reign ſhould not be diminiſhed by the loſs of an Iſland of ſuch great Importance, he reſolved to go thither in Perſon, though aged and gouty; and the better to prevent the Enmity and Irregularities of his Sons, he took them along with him. The *Britains* underſtanding the Emperor's Approach, and dreading his Power, offered him an honourable Peace; but the old Emperor had ſuch an inſatiable deſire to obtain the Glorious Title of *Britannicus*, that he refus'd their Propoſals. Upon his Entrance into the Country, he left his Son *Geta* in the *Southern* Parts of the Province, which had continued in Obedience; and marched with his Son *Caracalla* againſt the *Northern Britains* and *Caledonians*, where with the cutting down Woods, making of Bridges, draining of Meers, the Enemies Ambuſcades, and Sickneſs, he loſt fifty thouſand Men, according to *Dion*. The old Emperor encountred theſe Miſeries and Difficulties with exceeding Bravery, and proſecuted his Attempts with ſuch a vigorous Reſolution, that he forced them to a Peace, with the Delivery of a conſiderable Part of their Country, with all their Arms and Weapons. And for the better Security of *Britain*, he built, or rather much improved that famous Wall begun by the Emperor *Adrian*, which he made anſwerable to the Power and Grandeur of the *Roman* Empire. At the End of each Mile was a Tower, and between each Tower, Pipes of Braſs in the Wall convey'd the leaſt Sound from Garriſon to Garriſon without Interruption; ſo that the News of approaching Enemies was immediately ſpread over the Borders, and occaſion'd Proviſion to be made for Reſiſtance. For this, and his Victories he aſſum'd the Title of *Britannicus Maximus*, cauſing that Inſcription to be ſtamp'd upon his own, and his Sons Coins. The

*Severus's Expedition into Britain.*

Emperor after this retir'd to *Eboracum* or *York*, leaving the Work to be finish'd by his Son *Caracalla*, who by his Popularity to the Soldiers, and his exceſſive Looſeneſs, gave an Occaſion to the *Caledonians* to break their Articles, and revolt; which ſo enrag'd the old diſtemper'd Emperor, that he gave Commands to make a general Maſſacre without Diſtinction, which was executed with exceeding Severity.

*Severus* having been nigh two Years in *Britain*, at *Eboracum*, he grew weak, partly with Age and Travel, and partly with Grief for the irreclaimable Life of his eldeſt Son; and daily declining, he underſtood that the Soldiers had declared him Emperor. This ſo rouz'd him, that he got himſelf immediately into his Litter, and commanded the new Emperor, with the Tribunes and Centurions, to be forthwith brought before him, who were all ſo confounded with the Majeſty of his Looks that they implor'd Pardon upon their Knees. Whereupon he laid his Hands upon his own Head, crying, *Know, that it is the Head that governs, and not the Feet*, and ſo diſmiſs'd them. His Diſtemper encreaſing, and perceiving his Death approaching, he cry'd out, *I have been all that a Man can be, but it is of no Uſe or Service to me now.* And ordering his Urn to be brought, wherein his Aſhes were to be inclos'd, and taking it in his Hands, *Little Urn*, ſaid he, *thou ſhalt now contain what the whole World could not before.* After this calling his Sons and his Friends about him, he made this remarkable Speech to them, *When I took the Empire upon me, I found it declining and languiſhing; and now being aged and decrepid, I leave it in a State firm and laſting to my Sons, if they prove Good; if otherwiſe feeble and ſinking.* His Pains increaſing, eſpecially in his Feet, he in vain call'd for Poiſon, according to *Au. Victor*, and then glutted himſelf with

with groſs Meats, which for want of Digeſtion ſoon ended his Life. Thus died *Septimius Severus*, the twenty firſt Emperor of *Rome*, near the 66th Year of his Age, after a turbulent, but ſucceſsful Reign of about Eighteen Years; a Prince of extraordinary Excellencies and Imperfections, who perform'd many noble as well as notorious Acts; ſo that what was formerly ſaid of *Auguſtus*, was ſaid of him, *That it had been better for the Publick if he had never been born, or had never dy'd*; and likewiſe the ſame that was ſaid of *Antoninus Philoſophus*, *That he had been happy, if he had had no Children.* He was certainly highly ſerviceable to the Reeſtabliſhing, and the Strengthening of a tottering Empire; but at the ſame time, by his unreaſonable Encouragement of the Soldiery, and his Advice to his Sons to that purpoſe, he opened a Gap to greater Inconveniencies than ever happened before. He dy'd in the 964th Year of the City, 235 after the Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 211 after our Saviour's Nativity, and 115 after the laſt of the Twelve *Cæſars*; in which time, we are told, that the World was ſo looſe, that three thouſand were indicted for Adultery in his Reign.

*The Death of Severus*

III. Upon the Death of *Severus*, his eldeſt Son *Caracalla* immediately ſolicited the Army to chuſe him Emperor alone, and to exclude his Brother *Geta*: But the Soldiers having formerly caus'd his Brother's Advancement, rejected his Suit, and proclaim'd them both Emperors, and ſo they were acknowledg'd by the Senate. They were both young Men, and born of two Mothers, the eldeſt of *Mertia*, and the other of *Julia*. *Caracalla* was ſo call'd from a new-faſhion'd Caſſock he wore, reaching down to his Ancles, and was about twenty three Years of Age when he arriv'd at the

*A. D.* 211.

*Caracalla and Geta made Emperors.*

Empire. In his Youth, when any Criminal was caſt to the Wild Beaſts, he was generally obſerved to turn away his Eyes and Weep; but this Pity and Tenderneſs ſoon forſook him, and he became one of the cruelleſt Monſters in the World. His Brother *Geta* was naturally of a milder and ſofter Temper, and liv'd more the Life of a Philoſopher; and therefore the more hated by him. The two Brothers being eſtabliſhed in the Empire, agreed to leave *Britain* with their Mother *Julia*, who was then with them, and return to *Rome* bearing the Aſhes of their Father *Severus*. But in their Journey there aroſe ſuch Jealouſies and Conteſts between the two Emperors, that it was daily fear'd one ſhould deſtroy the other; notwithſtanding *Julia*, as though ſhe had been Mother to both, us'd all poſſible Methods to reconcile them, and to bring them to an amicable Accommodation. But all her Endeavours prov'd ineffectual, and their Animoſities encreaſing upon the Road, either of them lodg'd and eat ſeparately, and each ſtood upon his Guard for fear of the other. Being arriv'd at *Rome*, they were receiv'd with great Joy and Solemnity for their Father's ſake, whoſe Death was much lamented, notwithſtanding his many Crimes; but in the main Palace they took their Lodgings apart, and each had his particular Guard and Officers for himſelf; and they never viſited, ſaw, or ſpake to one another, but when they went to the Senate-Houſe, ſo inveterate was their Hatred to one another.

**Apotheoſis.** The firſt thing the two Emperors did after their Arrival at *Rome*, was the *Apotheoſis*, Deification of their Father, which was performed according to the ancient and uſual Cuſtom; and becauſe it ſo well ſhews the Religion and Superſtition of the *Romans*, we ſhall here briefly recite the Particulars of this pompous Solemnity. Firſt, the whole City

City was commanded to go into a general Mourning, peing mix'd with ſome feſtival Solemnity: Next a pale Image was made of Wax, exactly reſembling the deceas'd Emperor, which was plac'd on a ſtately Ivory Bed, magnificently adorn'd with Cloth of Gold, and plac'd at the Entrance of the Palace: On the left Hand were ſeated the whole Body of the Senators in Black; on the Right, the Ladies of the higheſt Quality in plain White Habits, without Jewels or other Ornaments. This laſted for ſeven Days, during which Time the Phyſicians reſorted to the Image, as though it was a real Patent, ſtill ſignifying, *That they had leſs and leſs Hopes of the Emperor's Life*; at which Words the Mourners always give a Groan. At laſt, when they had declar'd his Death, the nobleſt and youngeſt of the Senators and *Roman* Knights carry'd the Bed upon their Shoulders through the *Via Sacra* into the old *Forum*, where the Magiſtrates were wont to lay down their Offices. On each ſide of the Place were erected two large Scaffold, one fill'd with young Boys, and the other with young Maids, all Children of the higheſt Quality, who ſung Hymns and Songs in Honour to the Dead, in the moſt ſolemn and mournful Manner immaginable. Theſe being finiſhed, the Senators and Knights again took up the Bed, and carry'd it out of the City into the *Campus Martius*, where was erected a beautiful Structure of Wood, almoſt in the Form of a Pyramid, with ſeveral Stories. The Firſt Story was Square, and was a ſort of a Chamber fill'd with all ſorts of combuſtible Matter, and richly adorn'd on the out ſide with Cloth of Gold, Ivory-Statues, and fine Pictures: The Second was of the ſame Figure, though ſomewhat leſs, having the ſame Ornaments, with this only difference, that the four Sides of it were open: Upon this was a Third ſtill leſs, and upon

that a Fourth, and ſo a great many other Stories, ſtill growing leſs in proportion, till the laſt ended in a Point. The Bed and Statue were placed in the ſecond Story, which was filled with the richeſt Flowers, Plants, Odours, Gums and Spices; all Cities, Nations, and private Perſons ſtriving by their Preſents who ſhould do moſt Honour to their deceaſed Emperor. After this the *Roman* Knights rode on Horſe-back round this Pile in a certain Order and Meaſure, according to the Sound of ſeveral Warlike Inſtruments; to this there followed certain Perſons in Chariots, in Purple Robe, with Masks on, repreſenting to the Life the Faces of the moſt famous Commanders and Emperors among the *Romans*. Theſe being ended, his Succeſſors in the Empire ſet fire to the Pile with Torches; the Conſuls, Senators, and Knights did the ſame each to their own appointed ſide. All was in a Flame in a Moment, and at the ſame time from the Top of the Pile an Eagle was let fly, which was immediately out of ſight. This was accompany'd with infinite Shouts and Applauſes; and the People being made to believe that it was that Eagle which carry'd the Emperor's Soul to Heaven, from that Moment they paid him the ſame Worſhip that they did to the Immortal Gods.

The Two Emperors had reign'd but a ſhort time before *Caracalla*, envying the Love and Reputation that his Brother *Geta* had gain'd by his Mildneſs and Courteſy, ſought means to deſtroy him by Poiſon, or any other private Way; and alſo ſought to gain the Affections of the *Prætorian* Soldiers, making them many Preſents, and doing them many Favours, withal giving them leave to live according to their Pleaſure. So that the City ſoon found the dangerous Effects of a State being govern'd by Two Princes of equal Power and Au-

thority,

thority, and ſo contrary in their Tempers, that they continually practis'd each other's Death; in Matters of Juſtice and Adminiſtration were ever contrary in Opinion; and in chuſing of Commanders and Governours, each ſought to prefer his own particular Friends and Favourites, as likewiſe they did in the Elections of Conſuls and other Magiſtrates, which caus'd all Affairs to ſucceed according to Favour and Contention. By which means inſupportable Injuries and Diſorders were daily committed, either of them perſecuting the contrary Faction, without daring to puniſh thoſe of their own Party, leſt they ſhould make them their Enemies; whence grew an univerſal Prejudice to the City and Provinces, and indeed the whole Empire. Wherefore to avoid theſe dangerous Inconveniencies, ſome propoſed to them to make a Diviſion of the Empire, particularly that *Caracalla* ſhould remain in *Rome*, and govern the *Weſt*, and that *Geta* ſhould govern *Aſia* and all the *Eaſt*. But this hopeful Project prov'd altogether ineffectual; for *Julia*, the Mother of *Geta*, prevented it, not doubting but to draw them to ſome Compoſition, and eſtabliſh a mutual Friendſhip between them. But when ſhe had almoſt aſſured herſelf of a laſting Concord and Agreement, *Caracalla*, who deſpis'd his Brother for his Inclination to Books more than Arms, reſoved in a more open manner to aſſault his Brother, thinking that he himſelf was and ought in Juſtice to be ſole Emperor, purpoſing no longer to endure a Rival and Companion in Authority, And with this impious Determination, as they were lodg'd both in one Palace, *Geta* being in the Preſence of his Mother, not ſuſpecting open Violence, though fearing ſecret Treachery; *Caracalla*, when the Attendants were at Dinner, ſuddenly and furiouſly enter'd his Brother's

ther's Lodging, and with the Aſſiſtance of ſome with him, ſet upon his Brother, and ſlew him in his Mother's Arms, before he was able to put himſelf in any manner of Defence, or could be reliev'd by others. This was the unfortunate End of *Geta*, after a jaint and uneaſie Reign of one Year and twenty two Days; being deſtroy'd by a Monſter, who obſerv'd no Laws but thoſe of his own Luſts.

**Geta *ſlain by* Caracalla.**

*A. D.* 212. IV. *Caracalla* having committed this deteſtable Murther, with great Haſte and Precipitation left the Palace, ſurrounded with his Friends and Servants, and with a great Shew of Amazement cry'd out, *That his Brother would have ſlain him; that nothing but his Innocence had preſerv'd him from the extreameſt Danger.* And calling to his Guard, he commanded them to convey him immediately to the *Prætorian* Cohorts, where he might remain in ſafety; for while he continu'd in the City, he was in great danger of his Life. They who heard him, not knowing what had paſt, believ'd his Words; and both they and many others follow'd him, all People beginning to be much concern'd to ſee their Emperor retire in ſuch Confuſion and Diſorder out of the City. Upon his Arrival at the Camp, where, by reaſon of his former Indulgences, he was better belov'd than his Brother, he immediately ran to the Place where the Enſigns and Banners were fix'd, which they always held for Things ſacred; and beginning with loud Acclamations, cry'd out, *That he gave infinite Thanks to the Gods for delivering him from ſo great and imminent a Danger.* The Soldiers gathering about him, amaz'd at this unſeaſonable Coming, he put himſelf in the midſt of them, and with a loud and pathetick Tone began to implore their Aid and Aſſiſtance, telling them, *That his Brother deſigning to have murther'd him had*

**Caracalla *ſole Emperor.***

*had assaulted and fought with him; but the Gods had given him the Victory, though with great Hazard and Difficulty; and that he was fled to them from the Fury of such as would have slain him.* He spoke with that Artifice and Insinuation, that the Soldiers believ'd him; and though he did not expresly mention his Brother's Death, yet they soon perceiv'd that he had slain his Brother. Therefore the better to secure their Interest, he immediately promis'd to bestow upon them the same Gifts and Rewards that were usually given upon the new Election of an Emperor: And immediately he sent for an infinite Mass of Money, and was so profuse and extravagant in his Distributions, that in one Day he gave to the Soldiers almost all that Treasure his Father had been scraping together for eighteen Years. By which means he gain'd the Affections of the Soldiers; and though he met with Opposition from some, yet at length they proclaim'd him sole Emperor, approved of the Death of his Brother *Geta*, and pronounced him a Traitor, and an Enemy to the Commonwealth. The next Day *Caracalla* surrounded with Soldiers, removed to *Rome*, and assembling the Senate, with his Guard about him, he made a formal Oration, *excusing his own, and condemning his Brother's Practices; affirming, that to chastise an unlawful Agressor was not only just, but approved by the general Practice of Mankind: Of which here was a memorable Instance of* Romulus *the Founder of the City, who could not bear the Affront of his Brother, who only reflected upon his Buildings.* These and some other Pretences caused the Senators, some out of Favour, and others out of Fear, to approve of his Death, and to justify the Murther. However he gave his Brother an honourable Funeral, bury'd him in a stately Monument built by *Severus*, wept as often as he saw his Picture, and heard his Name mention'd;

mention'd; and being told that his Fratricide might in ſome degree be expiated by calling his Brother a God, he anſwer'd, *Let him be a God, ſince he's not alive.*

After this, to ſecond his Wickedneſs with the greater Cruelty, he proceeded againſt Men of all Ranks, as though they had been guilty of conſpiring againſt his Perſon, committing infinite Murthers and Barbarities. He commanded all his Brother's Servants to be ſlain without Mercy, together with many Senators and *Equites*, who were Friends to his Brother; and caus'd his own Wife *Plautina* and *Pompeianus*, Grandſon to *Antoninus Philoſophus*, to be put to Death. He ſent Poiſon to *Lætus*, and obliged him to take it; who, as he was the firſt of thoſe who perſuaded him to the Murther of *Geta*, was the firſt that fell a Sacrifice to his Ghoſt. He caus'd the Head of *Papinian*, the renowned *Civilian*, to be ſtrucken off, for refuſing to write a Vindication of his Brother's Death, and telling of him, *That it was much eaſier to commit a Parricide, than to juſtify it.* He caus'd all Governors and Commanders to be ſlain which his Brother had plac'd in the Provinces, and likewiſe the *Veſtal* Virgins, and above two thouſand others, who adhered to his Brother's Party. No Man eſcap'd that had the leaſt Acquaintance with *Geta*: All Wreſtlers, Charioteers, Players, Singers or Dancers that had any ways contributed to his Diverſion, were all ſacrific'd to his preſent Fury. Whole Nights were ſpent in the Execution of his bloody Decrees; and the dead Bodies of People of all Ranks and Ages were contemptuouſly thrown into Carts, and hurry'd out of the City, where they were burnt in Heaps, without the Decency of common Ceremonies.

The Emperor took a peculiar Delight in all Acts of Cruelty, for that reaſon alone preferring *Hannibal*,

*nibal*, *Sylla*, and *Tiberius*, before any other Commanders; and knowing well that he could not make himſelf more beautiful, he took the Advantage of making himſelf appear more terrible, and like *Caligula*, affected a cruel and furious Countenance. The People were likewiſe miſerably oppreſs'd by his Cruelties, and the Inſolence of his Soldiers; more particularly at a ſolemn Time, when the Emperor was preſent at the *Circenſian* Games, the People having derided a certain Charioteer whom he favour'd, in a great Rage he commanded his Soldiers to ruſh in among the Multitude, and kill all who had affronted his Judgment. But it being impoſſible to find out the Delinquents in ſo great a Throng, the Soldiers ſet furiouſly upon all that ſtood in their way, and cut great Numbers in Pieces. So that he began to be hated and abhorr'd by all People, but the *Prætorian* Soldiers, whom he allow'd and countenanc'd in all kinds of Outrages; and to encourage their Inſolencies, and his own prodigious Extravagancies, he miſerably harraſs'd and impoveriſh'd his Subjects in all Parts of the Empire, by his exceſſive Impoſts and Taxes: And he frequently maintain'd, *That Money ought not to be lodg'd in private Hands, but all ought to go to the Exchequer, to be diſtributed among the Soldiers.* When his Mother took the liberty to blame him for his ſevere Impoſts, he like a true Tyrant ſhew'd her his naked Sword, and reply'd, *As long as I have this, I will never want.* He delighted more in the Companies of Magicians and Juglers than in Men of Worth; for perceiving himſelf hated by the People, he ſaid publickly, *That he could command his own Security, though not their Love; therefore he neither valued their Reproaches, nor fear'd their Hatred.*

But

But afterwards, when this Emperor found himſelf generally deteſted in the City, he reſolved to depart from thence, and take a Journey through all the Provinces of the Empire, giving out, *That he went to reform the Legions, and eſtabliſh the Peace of the Empire.* And taking his way towards *Germany* and the River *Danube*, there, to win the Hearts of the Country People, he followed the Faſhions uſed in that Country, hunted and kill'd wild Beaſts, took upon him the *German* Habit, which he prais'd and eſteem'd above the *Roman* Dreſs, and choſe ſuch of the *German* Soldiers as were moſt ſtrong and active for his Guard. He ſought alſo to gain the Affections of the other Soldiers, by ſhewing himſelf very affable and ſociable, perſonably aſſiſting them in their bodily Exerciſes, eating and drinking with them, and doing many other things like a hardy Man and a Soldier, by which means he became popular in the main; but could not with-hold himſelf from many Extravagancies and Cruelties, putting certain Eminent Men among the *Germans* to Death. Having ſettled Affairs in *Germany* as he thought fit, he took his Way towards *Thrace*, and entered *Macedonia*, where an extravagant piece of Folly poſſeſs'd him: For here he pretended to be an exceeding Admirer of *Alexander the Great*; and to publiſh his noble Exploits, ſent Commandment to erect his Statue in many Parts of *Rome*; among which he had one ſet up with two Faces, one reſembling *Alexander*, and the other himſelf. He likewiſe commanded his Followers to call him by the Name of *Alexander*, and *Antoninus Magnus*; and by the Suggeſtions of his Flatterers, he was brought to ſuch a fond Conceit, that he continually walked like *Alexander*, with an awful and threatning Countenance, and like him bent his Head to his Shoulders; and whatſoever he obſerv'd

ſerv'd in the Countenance of *Alexander*, he imitated to the Life, and perſuaded himſelf that he had the ſame Lineaments and Proportions. So that within a few Days, from a *German*, he became a *Macedonian* in Habit, Faſhion, and Behaviour; and commanded one Squadron of his Army to be call'd a *Phalanx*, according to the *Macedonian* Cuſtom, and many of his Commanders to be call'd by the Names of thoſe of *Alexander*. Shortly after arriving at the *Leſſer Aſia*, and the Ruins of *Troy*, viewing the Sepulchre of *Achilles*, he took up with another ſenſeleſs Humour, which was in all Things to reſemble *Achilles*; and his Freed Man *Feſtus* dying at that Time, he ridiculouſly us'd the ſame Ceremonies that *Achilles* did at the Funerals of his Friend *Patroclus*. So that in all Countries he travell'd more like a Player than an Emperor, which Levity and Inconſtancy caus'd the Deriſion and Contempt of ſome, and the Shame and Indignation of others. And he was ſo extravagant, that in all Places where he winter'd, or intended to winter, he caus'd Amphitheatres and Cirques for publick Games, with vaſt Charge to be erected, and within a ſhort time after to be taken down again.

Travelling in this manner through the *Leſſer Aſia*, and from thence into *Syria*, he paſs'd over into *Egypt*, declaring his deſire to ſee the City of *Alexandria*, becauſe its renowned Founder *Alexander*, though with deſign to be reveng'd on the Inhabitants for their Jeſts and contemptible Names they had given him, conformable to his Perſon and Vices. At his Arrival he was ſolemnly receiv'd, and with great Joy. the Air being ſweetned with the richeſt Perfumes and Gums, the Ways ſtrew'd with Flowers, and a mighty Concourſe of People gather'd together from many Parts, Here he offer'd ſeveral Sacrifices, and ſhew'd many great Favours

vours to the Inhabitants; but ſoon after aſſembli n them to ſee ſome publick Games, he cauſed them to be ſuddenly ſurrounded by the Soldiers; and infinite Numbers of all Ages, Ranks, and Degrees, were cut in pieces, to the incredible Aſtoniſhment and Terror of the whole City and Country. Many of the Soldiers were likewiſe kill'd, and the ſlaughter was ſo great, that *Herodian* tells us, that all the Plain flowed with Blood, which diſcharging it ſelf into the Sea and the *Nile*, diſcoloured the Mouth of that mighty River, and all the Neighbouring Shore.

After this barbarous Inhumanity at *Alexandria*, he return'd through *Paleſtine* into *Syria*; and being deſirous to ſignalize himſelf by ſome memorable Exploit, he ſent an Embaſſy to *Artabanus*, King of *Parthia*, to deſire his Daughter in Marriage, declaring, *That he was coming to ſolemnize the Nuptials*; and that King being perſuaded to meet the Emperor in a ſpacious Plain with a ſplendid Concourſe of Nobility, unarmed Soldiers and People, he ſuddenly ſet upon them with his Army, and made a moſt terrible Slaughter, *Artabanus* himſelf with great difficulty eſcaping. *Spartian* tells us, that in the midſt of this tumultuary Engagement *Caracalla* let looſe wild Beaſts among them, which ſtill added to the Miſchief and Confuſion. Gaining by this Exploit much Booty, and as he thought, much Glory, he writ long and boaſting Letters to the Senate, as if he had made an entire Conqueſt of the Eaſt, aſſuming the Title of *Parthicus* for this piece of Treachery, as he had before that of *Germanicus*, for killing ſome of the *German* Nobility. He ſeemed now to regard neither true Honour nor Virtue, but gave himſelf up to all kinds of Luxury and Extravagancy; and proceeded ſo far, as to attempt his Mother-in-Law, *Julia*. For one Day ſeeing her by chance, or rather purpoſely,

let

let fall her Veil, which discloſ'd her naked Breaſts and Beauty, which was great; he with a wanton Look told her, *That were it lawful, he would poſſeſs that Beauty he ſaw.* To whom ſhe made anſwer, without any ſhew of Decency or Modeſty, *That all things were lawful to Him, who made Laws for others, and was ſubject to none.* Whereupon ſetting aſide all Duty and Reſpect to his dead Father and Brother, he reſolv'd to marry her, and accordingly celebrated the Nuptials in publick, ſhortly after, with the Mother of his Brother, whom he had before murther'd.

**Caracalla *marries his Mother-in-law* Julia.**

After this, *Caracalla* enjoy'd but little Reſt and Quiet in his Thoughts, being tormented with infinite Jealouſies and Suſpicions of Conſpiracies; and dealing much with Magicians and Aſtrologers, and diving into the Secrets of Gods and Demonds, he ſent from *Meſopotamia* to *Maternianus*, his great Confident in *Rome*, and Governor of the City, ſecretly to aſſemble the beſt Aſtrologers, and demand of them what Death he was to expect, and likewiſe to know of them whether any at preſent conſpir'd or practis'd his Death. Theſe Commands were ſpeedily perform'd by *Maternianus*, who writing to the Emperor, either by the Advice of the Aſtrologers, or his own Suggeſtions, told him, *That* Macrinus, *who was now one of his principal Commanders with him in* Meſopotamia, *had a Deſign againſt his Life, therefore the Aſtrologers adviſ'd him immediately to diſpatch Him:* Which Letter was ſent ſeal'd and made up among others, to be convey'd with the greater Secrecy. The whole Packet was deliver'd to the Emperor as he was entering his Chariot, in order to a publick Race with other Chariots; and not being willing to be interrupted, gave his Letters to *Macrius* to read over, and to give him an Account of the Contents afterwards. *Macrinus* peruſing the Letters, met with that

which aim'd at his Deſtruction; wherefore finding his own Danger, he reſerv'd that Letter to himſelf, and acquainted the Emperor with the reſt. But not doubting but *Maternianus* would write again upon the ſame Subject, he reſolv'd to ſecure himſelf by the Emperor's Deſtruction: And fixing upon one *Martical*, a ſtout and ſtrong Centurion of the Guards, who hated the Emperor for his Brother's Death, and his own Diſgrace, he perſuaded him to *revenge his Brother's Murther by the Tyrant's Death, which he might eaſily effect, being continually ſo nigh his Perſon*; promiſing him not only Protection, but likewiſe great Promotion after the Fact. *Martial* readily agreed to his Propoſals; and a few Days after *Caracalla* coming from a Temple near a City call'd *Carræ*, and riding with a ſmall Retinue towards the City, withdrew himſelf privately to diſburthen Nature, with only one Page to hold his Horſe. *Martial* perceiving this fair Opportunity, and pretending that the Emperor call'd him, ran haſtily to him, and ſtabb'd him behind, ſo that he died immediately. Though *Spartian* tells us, that he did it while he pretended to help the Emperor to his Horſe. After which he unconcernedly return'd to his own Horſe, and by little and little retir'd from his Company; but his Flight being perceiv'd and the Emperor's Death related by the Page, he was purſued by the *German* Horſe, and hew'd in Pieces.

*The Death of* Caracalla.

This was the deſerved Death of *Baſſianus Caracalla*, the Twenty ſecond Emperor of *Rome*, in the 19th Year of his Age; after an odious Reign of about ſix Years, above one with his Brother *Geta*, and five by himſelf: who by by his execrable Vices and monſtrous Enormities, made himſelf deteſted by all Mankind, except his Soldiers, who for their own ſakes preſerved him for a while in his

his Throne, and at laſt brought him to a violent and unnatural Death, which Tyrants ſeldom or never eſcape; which ſhews there is no Security in unjuſt Force and Authority. After the Death of this Monſter, it appear'd, that he had procured as much Poiſon from the Inhabitants of the *Upper Aſia*, as coſt him 220000 Crowns, that he might poiſon as many ways as he pleas'd. In all things he moſt reſembled *Caligula*, and likewiſe in his Death, which was the greater Puniſhment and Judgment from Heaven, by being followed by that of his Infamous Wife and Mother-in-Law, *Julia*, who being at *Antioch*, upon the News of his Death, in a great Rage and Deſpair poiſon'd her ſelf, and ſo ended her impious Life. *Caracalla*, died in the 970th Year of the City, 241 after the Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 217 after our Saviour's Nativity, 121 after the laſt of the Twelve *Cæſars*, and 24 of the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

*And of* Julia.

V. The ſudden Death of *Caracalla* caus'd ſome Tumults and Confuſions among the Soldiers; and not knowing whom to condemn for this Murther, they gathered about the Body; and the firſt that came to have aſſiſted the Emperor was *Macrinus*, who by his Tears and Lamentations prevented all Suſpicion: For all People conceiv'd that *Martial* had committed this Murther ſolely out of private Paſſion and Revenge. Soon after the Army proceeded to an Election of a new Emperor; for they had no reſpect to young *Baſſianus* or *Heliogabalus*, whom *Caracalla* is ſaid to have had by a Concubine, call'd *Soæmias* or *Semiamira*, Niece to *Julia*, both by Reaſon of his Youth, and the looſe Carriage of his Mother, which made all People doubt whether he was the Son of *Caracalla* or no. For two Days the Soldiers were in ſuſpence, whether

*A. D.* 217.

they ſhould fix upon *Audentius* or *Macrinus*; but knowing the former to be eminent for his Wiſdom and Diſcretion, and likewiſe his Experience in War, they at length choſe him. But *Audentius* wiſely conſidering the numerous Perils and Diſorders in the Empire, refus'd to accept of it, alledging his Age, and his Inabilities of governing the Empire as he ought; whereupon they immediately choſe *Macrinus*, who readily accepted of it, and making a flattering Oration to the Soldiers, he diſtributed great Quantities of Money among them to purchaſe their Favour and Fidelity. He alſo nominated his Son *Diadumenus* for his Companion and equal in the Empire, to whom he gave the Name of *Antoninus*, both to take away the Suſpicion of the Murther of *Caracalla*, who was called *Antoninus*, and becauſe that Name was highly acceptable to the *Romans*, upon the Account of the excellent Reigns of *Antoninus Pius*, and *Antoninus Philoſophus*. He likewiſe wrote long Letters to the Senate and People of *Rome*, reciting the Manner of his Election, and deſiring their Approbation of it, uſing likewiſe many ſolemn Oaths, *That he was not guilty of the Death of* Caracalla. The Senate being certify'd of the Death of *Caracalla*, without much conſideration of the Deſerts of *Macrinus*, confirm'd the Election; and likewiſe that of his Son and Companion *Diadumenus*. They order'd alſo all common Informers, and Servants who had accus'd their Maſters, to be publickly Gibbetted; and what by Proſcriptions, and what by Capital Puniſhments inflicted on profligate Villains, the City and Empire was tolerably well purg'd, and the People had ſome kind of Security and Dawn of Liberty.

**Macrinus and his Son Diadumenus, made Emperors.**

*Opilius Macrinus* at his Entrance upon the Empire, was about fifty three Years of Age, being of an obſcure Parentage, ſome ſay a *Moor* by Birth, who

who with ſmall Deſerts, and by way of Favour, attain'd to the Office of *Prætorian* Præfect, and now by Treaſon and Chance arriv'd at the Empire. Shortly after his Election he receiv'd Intelligence, that *Artabanus*, King of *Parthia*, was coming down with a mighty Power to be revenged of the Injury and Barbarity of *Caracalla*, knowing nothing of his Death. This cauſed *Macrinus* and *Diadumenus* to uſe all poſſible Expedition to ſtop the Progreſs of the *Parthians*, who came very ſtrong both in Horſe and Foot, and brought many Camels with them. In a ſhort time the two Armies met, and came to a moſt bloody Battel, which continued two ſeveral Days, wherein both *Romans* and *Parthians* fought ſo obſtinately, that at both times the Night only parted the Conteſt, and either Party cry'd, *Victory, Victory!* though both were miſerably harraſs'd and ſlaughter'd, without any apparent Difference or Advantage. *Macrinus* well knowing that *Artabanus* came highly inrag'd with *Caracalla* in particular, ſent him Heralds and Ambaſſadors, certifying him of his Death before the Battel; *And if he deſired the Amity and Alliance of the* Romans *he was ready to grant it.* *Artabanus* underſtanding that his great Enemy was dead, of which he had no Intelligence till then, readily embrac'd his Propoſals of Peace and Amity, upon Condition that all ſuch Priſoners as were taken by the Treachery of *Caracalla* ſhould be immediately reſtor'd, which was accordingly performed, and a Peace concluded; *Artabanus* returning home to *Parthia*, and the two Emperors to *Antioch* in *Syria*.

Being at *Antioch*, *Macrinus* principally followed the Pleaſures of the Place, neglecting the Government of the Empire, delaying his Journey to *Rome*, though he was often urg'd by his own Soldiers, and ſolicited by Letters from thence to come to

the City; And in this he committed a great Error; for his ſtaying at *Antioch* was the firſt ſtep to his Ruin, where neglecting his principal Concerns, he gave himſelf up to Riot and Luxury. Whereupon the *Roman* Soldiers, being deſirous of returning to the City, began to murmur and repine at his Delays, and way of Living, and likewiſe to contemn and deſpiſe him. But that which caus'd the Soldiers greateſt Hatred, was his extreme Severity in puniſhing them, which in theſe licentious Times was inſupportable, eſpecially to thoſe who made and deſtroy'd Emperor's as they pleas'd. His Severity was ſuch, that inſtead of *Macrinus*, he was by his own Servants termed *Macelinus*, as much as to ſay Butcher; becauſe he made his Houſe as it were a Shamble of murther'd Men. He was likewiſe named *Mezentius*, becauſe, like him, he ſometimes join'd Living Bodies to Dead. He condemned his Soldiers to the Croſs, and always inflicted upon them the Puniſhment of Slaves. He commanded two Soldiers, who had raviſhed their Hoſteſs's Maid, to be ſewed up in the Bellies of two great Oxen open'd alive, with their Heads only left out, that they might have liberty to ſpeak to each other. He caus'd thoſe Soldiers who committed Adultery to be ty'd to their Female Criminals, and burnt them alive; though we are told that his Wife *Nonia Celſa* was inſatiable that way. He was wont to ſay, *That he was very mild and merciful, when in a Mutiny he puniſhed but one Soldier in a hundred with Death; whereas he thought they deſerv'd to be decimated, or at leaſt one in twenty to ſuffer.* We are likewiſe inform'd that he puniſhed ſome by ſhutting them up in ceil'd Walls, where they dy'd miſerably. Theſe Severities made the moſt of the Soldiers abhor him; and the Senſe of Loyalty being long forgotten, they grew more and more audacious, and began openly to tax the Proceedings

ceedings and Actions of the Emperor, and to with his Death, and likewiſe to practiſe it, within a Year after they had given him the Empire.

But that which the moſt of all promoted the Ruin and Downfal of *Marcrinus*, was the Contrivances and Artifices of *Mæſa*, Sifter to the late Empreſs *Julia*, a Woman of great Subtilty and Policy, who ever ſince the Death of *Caracalla* continu'd in a City of *Phœnicia* called *Emeſa*, not far diſtant from *Antioch*, and *Macrinus*'s Army. This Woman had two Daughters, *Semiamira* and *Mammæa*: The former had a Son named *Baſſianus*, fourteen Years of Age; and the latter another call'd *Alexianus*, two Years younger. All theſe were then with *Mæſa* at *Emeſa*, in which City ſhe made both her Grandſons Prieſts of a magnificent Temple, formerly erected to the Memory of *Fauſtina*, Empreſs to *Antoninus Philoſophus*, and now dedicated to the Sun. *Baſſianus* the Eldeſt was particularly call'd *Heliogabalus*, which in the *Phœnician* Language ſignifyed, *A Prieſt of the Sun*; and by reaſon of his great Beauty was much admired by the *Roman* Soldiers. This was ſoon perceiv'd by *Mæſa*, who being very rich in Gold and Jewels by means of her great Bribes and Gratuities in former Reigns, gave many Gifts and Preſents to the *Roman* Soldiers, who frequently repaired to this Temple, both from the Garriſon in the City, and from the Camp of *Macrinus*. She often ſhewed them her Grandſon *Heliogabalus*, and as often told them, *That both He and his Couſin or Brother* Alexianus *were begotten by* Caracalla, *whom* Macrinus *had ſlain by Treaſon*; which they believing, ſeveral by Sight. and others by Report, began to affect him, and to deſire him for their Emperor. On the contrary, *Macrinus* being generally hated by the Soldiers, ſome Colonels and Captains near *Emeſa*, mov'd by the large Preſents and Promiſes of *Mæſa*,

the greateſt part agreed, That he ſhould ſend *Heliogabalus* into their particular Camp, and they would proclaim him Emperor. Whereupon this ſubtle Projectreſs, being well acquainted with Emperors Courts, immediately took her Grandſon by the Hand, and went with him to the Camp, where he was immediately received Emperor: Though *Capitolinus* tells us, that certain of *Macrinus*'s Legions being in a Mutiny, went firſt to ſeek *Heliogabalus*. This matter being publiſh'd abroad, the Report of it caus'd great Alterations in Men's Minds; and all Men began to affect *Heliogabalus*, as being both Son and Grandſon to an Emperor, and for having the Name of *Antoninus*, which they accounted both ſacred and fortunate. But *Macrinus* ſhewed little Concern, contemning that Faction, which was rais'd only by a Woman and a Boy, judging it ſufficient to ſend an Officer call'd *Julian*, with certain Legions, to beſiege and deſtroy them; which might have been eaſily effected, had he gone in Perſon. The Forces of *Heliogabalus* were inſufficient to give Battel to *Julian*; but remaining in their Camp well fortify'd and provided, they ſuffered themſelves to be inveſted: But the Soldiers of both Parties often conferring together, thoſe in the Camp ſhewing young *Heliogabalus* to the other, put them in mind of his Father's Munificence to them, and *Macrinus*'s Severities, perſuaded them to follow him: Which prov'd ſo effectual, that they immediately cut off the Commander *Julian*'s Head, and went over to *Heliogabalus*.

**Heliogabalus** *ſets up for Emperor.*

The News of the Revolt was a Thunder-clap to *Macrinus*, who immediately with his Son was oblig'd to forſake the Pleaſures of *Antioch*, and with his whole Force and Power to march againſt *Heliogabalus*. In the Confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* both Parties join'd Battel, in which Fear and Deſpair

Deſpair caus'd the Soldiers of *Heliogabalus* to fight furiouſly and obſtinately; but of *Macrinus*'s ſide only the *Prætorian* Soldiers perform'd their Duty, the reſt were remiſs and negligent; and a conſiderable part abandoning him, went over to the contrary ſide: Whereupon *Macrinus* accounting himſelf loſt and deſtitute, fled from the Battel, and *Heliogabalus* gain'd the Victory. He and his Son, with ſome choice Friends, travell'd with the utmoſt Expedition and Privacy through the Provinces of the *Leſſer Aſia*, and enter'd *Bithynia*, with a Determination to get to *Rome* as ſoon as poſſibly he could, where he knew his Arrival was much deſired. But unfortunately falling ſick in the City of *Chalcedon*, he was overtaken by thoſe whom *Heliogabalus* had ſent to purſue him; who ſhewing their Letters and Commands to the City, and declaring the Victory of *Heliogabalus*, were obey'd; and *Macrinus* lying ſick, void of all Favour and Friendſhip, together with his Son, was there put to Death. Thus unfortunate were *Macrinus* and *Diadumenus*, the Father and Son, who together made the Twenty third Emperor of *Rome*, having reign'd but one Year and two Months: All which was occaſion'd by the Negligence and Remiſsneſs, as much as Severity and Cruelty of *Macrinus*; who notwithſtanding he had the Reputation of a nice and experienc'd Commander, was overthrown and depriv'd both of his Life and Empire, only by an old Woman and a Child. This happen'd in the 971ſt Year of the City, 218th after our Saviour's Nativity, and the 25th after the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

*The Overthrows*

*And deaths of* Macrinus *and* Diadumenus.

VI. Immediately after the Death of *Macrinus* and his Son, *Heliogabalus*, by the Advice of his Grandmother *Mæſa*, wrote to *Rome* in the moſt obliging and fawning manner imaginable; which was not-

*A. D.* 218.

notwithſtanding ill digeſted by the Senate and People of *Rome*, who much more deſired the Government of *Macrinus*. But finding they were ſo unable to reſiſt ſuch a powerful Party, they yielded Obedience to *Heliogabalus*; of whom they conceiv'd ſome hopes from his good Form and Conſtitution of Body, and the Name of *Antoninus*, which in *Rome* was highly eſteemed and reſpected. By reaſon of his Youth all things were now order'd by the Counſel and Directions of *Mæſa* and her Favourites; who ſettling the Affairs of the *Eaſt*, haſten'd towards *Rome* with the young Emperor; but being conſtrained to tarry in *Bithynia*, he there by ſeveral Inſtances manifeſted his ſcandalous and irreclaimable Life. He was but fourteen Years of Age when he was elected; and as he was the youngeſt, ſo he was the moſt profligate Emperor that *Rome* ever ſaw. This Monſter had more Names than *Hydra* had Heads; for while he was a private Perſon he was call'd *Varius*, from one of his reputed Fathers a *Syrian*; next *Avitus* and *Lupus*, from his Grandfather by his Mother's ſide. He was alſo nam'd *Aſſyrius*, from a barbarous Habit he then wore like ſome of the *Aſſyrian* Prieſts; and likewiſe *Heliogabalus*, for being a *Prieſt of the Sun*, as was formerly mention'd. As ſoon as he paſs'd for *Caracalla*'s Natural Son, to gain the Affections of the Soldiers he was call'd *Baſſianus*; as he was ſoon after call'd *Antoninus* to pleaſe the Senate and People of *Rome*; which Name he ſo much diſhonour'd, that he was call'd *Pſeudo-Antoninus*, and the *Roman Sradanapalus*; and laſtly, *Tiberius* and *Tractitius*, from the manner of his Death. His Life is one continu'd and amazing Inſtance of the moſt ſuperlative Effeminacy, and the moſt unaccountable Extravagancy; and it cannot be determin'd which was moſt notorious, his unbridled Obſcenity, his boundleſs Prodigality, or his fantaſtical Foolery.

Heliogabalus *made Emperor.*

Of

Of theſe, and only theſe, have Writers treated; which as they cannot be omitted without leaving out the whole Reign, ſo they cannot be related with the Method and Decency which either *Hiſtory* or *Biography* requires. Therefore I hope the Reader will excuſe my complying with the Meanneſs and Baſeneſs of my Subject and Materials, and my handling that Traſh and Dirt which I could not avoid without a total Silence.

Being ſolemnly received at *Rome*, the firſt thing he undertook was the building of a Magnificent Temple in the Suburbs to the *Sun*, his God; into which every Year with great Solemnity he brought him, preferring him before *Jupiter*, and made an Edict that the *Romans* ſhould pay a greater Veneration to the new God *Heliogabalus*, than to any other, who, he ſaid, *were all Servants to his God*; therefore he plunder'd other Temples to enrich his own, and endeavour'd to hinder the worſhipping of all other Gods but his. He declar'd, *That he would command the Worſhip of the* Jews, Samaritans, *and* Chriſtians, *to be transferred and contained in his Temple.*

Then, that his God might not be deſtitute of a Partner and Companion, he marry'd him to the ancient Image of *Pallas*, which for many Ages had been kept up with great Devotion; but this Match diſpleaſing him, in a ſhort time he declared, *That his God could not love ſo Martial a Wife*, and therefore divorc'd his firſt Wife, and marry'd him to *Urania*, ſaying, *It was much more proper to marry the Sun and the Moon together.* And for a Portion he gave all the Treaſure in the Temple of *Urania* to his *God*; and commanded all the People of *Rome* and *Italy* to make ſolemn and publick Feaſts for Joy of this fortunate Match. Nor was he leſs fickle in relation to his own Wives; for he had ſix in the ſhort time of his Reign: The firſt was

*Annia*

*Annia Fauſtina*, of the Lineage of *Commodus*, for the Enjoyment of whom he caus'd her Husband *Baſſus* to be put to Death, not permitting her to weep for him. Divorcing her, he marry'd *Cornelia Paula*, an illuſtrious Lady, *to make himſelf a Father betimes*, as he ſaid; yet ſoon after, only upon pretence of having a Spot in her Body, he put her away, and diveſted her of all Honours. After this, pretending to be in Love, he forc'd *Aquilia Severa*, one of the *Veſtal* Virgins, from her Solitude, and marry'd her; which by the *Romans* was accounted a Crime of the higheſt Nature, Underſtanding the Senate were diſpleaſed at this Sacrilegious Act, he wrote to the Fathers, affirming, *She was a fit Match for a Prieſt; and that from him and the chief Prieſteſs of* Veſta, *there might ſpring a Generation worthy of the immortal Gods.* Yet he ſoon after divorc'd this Wife, to eſpouſe another, and likewiſe two more, whoſe Names are unknown, it being hard to determine, whether he was more blameable for his frequent and illegal Marriages, or his ſudden and cauſleſs Divorces. And at length, being poſſeſs'd with a continual Inconſtancy, he return'd to his Prieſteſs *Aquilia Severa*. Nor did he reſt here, but he took upon him the Quality of a Woman, and marry'd himſelf to Men, firſt to *Aurelius Zoticus*, one of his Officers; and after that to *Hierocles* his Slave, who he ſuffered to beat him ſeverely when he was guilty of any Exceſs; all which he bore with great Patience and Duty, ſaying, *That a Wife was oblig'd to ſuffer every thing from her own Husband.*

He was of a Temper ſo effeminate, and ſuch an Admirer of Women, that the firſt time he enter'd the Senate-Houſe, he carry'd his infamous Mother *Semiamira* along with him, and took Order that her Opinion ſhould in all Caſes be particularly demanded; and from that time forward ſhe

ſhould

ſhould be preſent when all Matters of Importance were determin'd, and vote as the Fathers did: A thing which was wholly unknown, and ridiculous to all People. He likewiſe built a Senate-Houſe apart on Mount *Quirinalis*, on purpoſe for Women, with ſuitable Orders, Habits and Places; of whom his Mother was made Preſident: And their Decrees and Conſultations were generally concerning the Adreſſes and Apparel of the *Roman* Matrons, their Places and Dignities, their Carriages and Behaviour, their Viſits and Ceremonies, their Salutations and Formalities, and an infinite Number of Matters of the like Nature. After this he proceeded to more infamous Practices, and commanded publick Stews to be made in his Palace, for the Conveniency of his Friends and Favourites; and redeemed moſt of the common Proſtitutes in the City, that were Slaves, and gave them their Freedom. He order'd likewiſe that to theſe two Years Proviſion of Corn ſhould be given them out of the publick Granaries, founded by *Trajan* and *Severus*; which was diſtributed with great Regularity. And delighting much in the Company of ſuch ſcandalous Perſons, at an appointed Time he commanded all the Women that could be found of that Name and Converſation, to be aſſembled together, where he himſelf, clad in Womens Apparel, came in the midſt of them, and made a formal Oration to them, particularly calling them *Commilitones*, or *Fellow-Soldiers*; a Word then only us'd by Commanders to their Soldiers when they deſign'd them Honour, by calling them *Their Companions in Arms*. The Matters of which they treated and conſulted, were deteſtable Inventions and Means for their Libinious Exerciſes; and to make the Aſſembly more compleat, he brought with him Ruffians and Bawds, who were his Brokers in thoſe ſhameful Actions and Meetings. I forbear to anatomize

tomize this Monſter of Impurity, and to lay open the Variety of his prodigious Luſts and Incentives: I ſhall only add, That he was a Man for all Women, and a Woman for all Men; and that the Devil in the ſhape of a Hermaphrodite was not able to act greater Lewdneſs than he.

As to the Prodigality of this Emperor, he made it his Care and Study to invent Means of ſpending exceſſively, and to find out ſuch Delicacies and Rarities as had never been thought of. He never ſate but among ſweet-ſmelling Flowers, mix'd with Amber, Musk, and other exquiſite Odours; nor would he eat any thing but what was of an exceſſive Price, and ſought means to make all his Meats exceeding coſtly, being wont to ſay, *That that Meat was wholly inſipid that was not dear bought.* He attir'd himſelf in Cloth of Gold and Purple, beſet with Pearls and precious Stones; and even upon his Shoes he wore Stones of ineſtimable Value and Curioſity. His Palace, his Chambers, and his Beds were all furniſhed with Cloth of Gold, Silver and Silk, covered with Roſes and ſweet Flowers, among which were ſtrew'd many Jewels and Pearls; whenever he took Horſe or Chariot for a Journey, all the Way between his Chamber and the Place of Mounting, was covered with the Powder of Gold and Silver, he diſdaining to tread upon the Earth as other Men did. All his Tables, Cheſts, Chairs, and Veſſels of Service for his Chamber, even to thoſe of the baſeſt and meaneſt Offices, were all of pure Gold; and his Pallats and Couches, which he often changed, were all ſtuff'd with the Down growing under the Wings of Partriges. He deſpis'd all Wax Lights, but had his Hall and Chambers fill'd with large Lamps, which inſtead of Oil, conſumed moſt excellent Balſam, brought from *Arabia* and *India*; and even his Urinals were made of Onyx, and other

other precious Materials. Inſtead of common Fuel, he burnt Frankincenſe, Cinnamon, Caſſia, and other *Indian* ſweet Woods, in his Dining-Rooms. Notwithſtanding his Cloaths were ſo rich and coſtly, he never wore one Sute twice; and though his Fingers were continually fill'd with Rings, thoſe he once pull'd of, were never us'd after by him; as likewiſe his Plate of Gold and Silver, when he drunk a Cup, he always gave it away to him that ſerv'd him that Day: And his Baths, after once bathing, were always pull'd down, and new built, and new furniſh'd with moſt valuable Perfumes and Odours. He fill'd his Fiſh-Ponds with Water diſtill'd from Roſes, and made his Ships in the *Naumachias* to float in Rivers of Wine. He bath'd and ſwam in Ponds of Aromatick Wine, which were fill'd in an Inſtant for him, and ſprinkled with Roſes, and perfum'd with the richeſt Odours. In his Meals he was proportionably expenſive and luxurious; and that Supper which was of leaſt Charge commonly amounted to 6000 Crowns; and ſeveral which he made coſt 60000 Crowns. Sometimes he promiſed to give his Gueſts a Phœnix to eat; and becauſe the Performance was impracticable, he generally gave them a great Quantity of Gold for it. Whenſoever he travell'd, which he often did for his Recreation, he was always accompany'd with ſix hundred Chariots and Horſe-Litters, with a great Number of Proſtitutes of both Sexes, which were ſometimes inſufficient, ſince he never lay with any Perſon but once, except he was marry'd to the Party. In his Travels when he was near the Sea, he never eat any Fiſh, but fed upon Land-Fowl, and ſuch Fleſh as was brought many Miles; and when he was far diſtant from the Sea, he eat nothing but Fiſh, which by Poſts and particular Meſſengers were brought alive to make them the more chargeable. And for the ſame

Reaſon

Reaſon he fed much upon uncommon and unuſual Meats, imitating *Apicius* in eating the Combs of Cocks, the Tongues of Pheaſants and Nightingals, the Spawns of Mullets, the Eggs of Patridges, the Heads of Parrots and Peacoks, and the Brains of Thruſhes and Phænicopters. He fed his Dogs with Geeſe Livers, his Horſes with grapes, and his Lions and Wild Beaſts with Pheaſants and delicate Birds. If he was by the Sea-ſide, he accounted it an Inſtance of Greatneſs of Mind to ſink ſuch Shipping he found there loaden with Merchandize, afterwards paying the Proprietors both for Ships and Goods. Being reprov'd by a Friend for this ſtrange Prodigality, who ask'd him, *Whether he did not fear Want hereafter?* He made Anſwer, *Can any thing be better for a Man than to be Heir to himſelf?* And farther ſaid, *That he deſir'd no Heirs, becauſe their Ambition of Government would make them conſpire his Death.*

This Emperor was ſo boundleſs in his Prodigality, that he devour'd all the Revenues of *Italy*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Britain*, *Germany*, *Dacia*, *Illyrium*, *Greece*, *Africk*, *Aſia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Arabia*, with many other Provinces and Iſlands; and all was inſufficent for his infinite Expences. He made certain publick Feaſts in *Rome*, which were the richeſt and moſt ſumptuous that ever were known in that City; and he made vaſt Diſtributions among the Soldiers and Citizens, of Corn, Money, Plate, Gold and Jewels; which was the only thing which made him ſupportable in the City; as likewiſe the continual Endeavours of his Grandmother *Mæſa* to reform his riotous and voluptuous Life, and to procure good Order in the Government. But notwithſtanding all her Care and Induſtry, the Provinces were miſerably harraſs'd and oppreſs'd; and many Barbarous Nations invaded the Frontiers of the Empire. For *Heliogabalus*

*liogabalus* gave all Offices and Places of Truſt to the moſt impious Wretches, and his chiefeſt Companions in his Lewdneſſes; and depriv'd all good and vertuous Men of their Charges, ſent ſome into Exile, and took away the Lives of others, who endeavour'd to reform his Enormities. He conferr'd Honours on the moſt vile and ſordid Perſons, made Conſuls of the Sons of Slaves, and on the contrary put great Perſons upon the baſeſt Employments, cauſing the Entrails of the Sacrifices to be born by Generals of Armies, and higheſt Officers of State. In theſe and many other things he ſeem'd to invert the very Order of Nature, and proceeded ſo far in his fantaſtical Irregularities, that he commanded all the Buſineſs of the Day to be diſpatch'd by Night, and that of the Night by Day; and accordingly he himſelf aroſe from his Bed at Sun-ſetting, being ſaluted as other Emperors were in the Morning, and went to his Reſt at the riſing of the Sun. His Actions were often ſo inconſiſtent as to their Nature, and ſo deſpicable as to his Quality, that in reciting of them we can ſcarcely obſerve a juſt Order or Decorum. He drove Chariots drawn by Elephants in the *Vatican*, levelling the Tombs which ſtood in his way; he was alſo drawn by four Camels in the *Circus Maximus*, by four Maſtive Dogs in his Palace, and by four Stags in publick Places: Sometimes he was drawn by Lyons, naming himſelf *Magna Mater*; alſo by Tygers, being in the Shape of *Bacchus*, whom by his exceſſive drinking he much reſembled; and others times he was drawn by four naked Women, and he himſelf naked at the ſame time. He was ſo extravagantly freakiſh, that he cauſed a Collection to be made of ten thouſand Pound weight of Spiders, for which he gave a great Reward, declaring, *That now he had made an Eſtimate of the Magnitude*

*of the City*; and at another time he caus'd to be gather'd ten thouſand Mice, a thouſand Rats, a thouſand Weazles, and as many Pole-cats, which he exhibited in a publick Show to the People, for ſome wiſe State Policy like the Former. His Gifts and Rewards which he gave to his Gueſts at Suppers, and to the Players upon the Stage, were very numerous and extravagant, and as often deſpicable and ridiculous: He gave away Eunuchs, Carts, harneſs'd Horſes, Mules, Litters and Chariots, with vaſt Quantities of Gold and Silver; and ſometimes his Lots were ſo order'd, that one Man ſhould have ten Camels, another ten Flies, another ten Pounds weight of Gold, another as much of Lead, another ten Oſtriches, and another ten Eggs. To the Players in one Lot were ten Bears, ten Crickets, ten Lettices, and ten pound Weight of Gold; and he likewiſe gave dead Dogs, Bulls Fleſh, and Purſes of Braſs for Gifts and Rewards, rendring himſelf contemptible and ridiculous to all People. He had a Cuſtom to invite to his Banquets eight old Men, eight bald Men, eight blind of one Eye, eight lame with the Gout, eight deaf Men, eight Blacks, and eight ſo fat that their Table could ſcarce hold them; with all whom he made himſelf and the Court merry. He generally convers'd and kept Company with the vileſt Perſons, with whom he diverted himſelf many Ways; particularly he caus'd them to ſit down with him at Supper upon large Bellows, which being ſwell'd and diſtended, would ſuddenly tumble them under the Table. He ty'd his Paraſites to a Wheel, and turned them round in Water, calling them, *His* Ixionian *Friends*; and alſo thruſt them into Chambers with deceitful Floors, which threw them down and ſmothered them in Rooms fill'd with Roſes and Violets, that they might meet with Deaths ſuitable

to

to their Lives. He tantaliz'd them with Mock-Feasts in Wax, Wood, Ivory, Marble and Glass; and sometimes the Dishes which were provided for him, were exactly woven upon their Napkins, or painted upon their Tables, without having any Advantage from them. At the second and third Course he caus'd Bears, Pardals, Lyons and Leopards, which wanted their Teeth and their Claws, to be suddenly let loose among them; though sometimes he made them drunk before he terrify'd them with those disarmed Beasts. He often sent the Servants of his Kitchin to Friends with Vessels suppos'd to be full of Provisions for Presents to them; which when they were opened appeared to be full of Frogs, Scorpions, Serpents and Flies. Understanding that the Citizens one Day had taken up their Places before Day in the Theatre, to behold the Sports, he caus'd Serpents to be thrown among them, whereby many were grievously bit and hurt by Flight: And after that proceeded to greater Mischiefs; for being addicted to Divination by Inspection of the Bowels of young Men sacrific'd, he chose many fair Gentlemen throughout all *Italy*, whose Parents were living, that their Sorrow might be the greater.

I must not trace this vile Emperor in his more private Vices and Follies, which were so filthy and contemptible, that they ought not to be nam'd or remember'd: What I have unwillingly recited were generally publick, which rendered him so odious and despicable, both to the Citizens and Soldiers, that he was often in Danger of his Life. His Grandmother *Mæsa* perceiving this, by her Artifices and Pretences of freeing him from the Cares and Troubles of publick Business, gain'd such an Ascendent over him, as to persuade him to adapt his Cousin German *Alexianus*

**Alexander made Cæsar.**

to make him *Cæsar* and his Succeſſor, and likewiſe Conſul with him, calling his Name *Alexander Severus*, the former from the King of *Macedon*, and the latter from the Emperor his reputed Grandfather: And at the ſame time the Senate, according to his Command, ridiculouſly voted *Alexander*, real Son to *Heliogabalus*, who was but two Years younger than his Father. Having thus got a Son, he endeavour'd all Ways to draw him over to his lewd Courſes; but this excellent and worthy Youth deteſted his Enormities, ſpent his Time in Learning, and the Converſation of Perſons of the greateſt Merit both in Arts and Arms, having the greateſt and wiſeſt Maſters in the Empire for his Inſtructors. This daily encreas'd the Love of all Men towards him, and their Hatred to the other, who now repenting that he that rais'd him to ſuch a Height, expelled his Tutors from the Court, and put the chief of them to Death, ridiculouſly alledging, *That theſe Pedants ſpoil'd his Son, who inſtead of Dancing and Revelling, taught him Modeſty and Martial Exerciſes.* He likewiſe ſought means to deſtroy him, or at leaſt to deprive him of the Name of *Cæsar* and his Succeſſor; but his Policy not being equal to his Wickedneſs, he was prevented by the Care of *Mæſa*, and the Reſolutions of the *Prætorian* Soldiers, who highly affected this young Prince; and while *Heliogabalus* was walking in a Garden, they endeavour'd to have ſlain him upon his Account; but he eſcap'd, by hiding himſelf in a ſecret Place. By the Perſuaſion of *Antochianus* their Prefect, the Soldiers return'd to their Camp, where remaining in a mutinous Manner, they requir'd, *That the Emperor ſhould remove certain vile and impious Perſons, who were very familiar with him, and miſerably oppreſs'd the Subjects by the exorbitant Bribes and Sales of Offices.* And for the Security of the Perſons

Perſons and Morals of young *Alexander*, they requir'd, *That a ſelect Body of their Cohorts might be his particular Guard; and that none of the Emperor's Favourites and Familiars ſhould ever converſe with him.* All which was immediately put in Execution, and the Soldiers reduc'd to their former Duties.

His daily Endeavours to ſupplant his Couſin *Alexander* haſten'd his Ruin; and being foretold by the *Syrian* Prieſts, *That he ſhould die a violent Death.* he built a lofty Tower with Steps of Gold and Pearl, whence he might throw himſelf down; prepared Cords of Crimſon, Silk, and Gold, to ſtrangle himſelf, Golden Swords and Daggers to ſtab himſelf, and rich Poiſon kept in Boxes of *Emeralds* and *Jacynth*, that he might chuſe a Death according to his Humour; declaring, *That his Death ſhould be more Glorious and Magnificent than any before him.* He often fix'd upon *Alexander*'s Death; but fearing that the Senate might ruin his Deſigns by chuſing another Emperor, he reſolv'd to anticipate them, and on a ſudden baniſh'd the whole Senate out of the City, conſtraining them to depart immediately, without allowing to make the leaſt Preparations for Travelling. Shortly after, having unſucceſsfully endeavour'd to poiſon *Alexander*, to ſound the Soldiers he reported that he was dead, which immediately rais'd a Mutiny among them. To appeaſe which, he immediately took Him along with him in a Chariot beautified with Pearl and Gold, to the Camp; where the Soldiers Acclamations were ſolely directed to *Alexander*, and no reſpect ſhewn to the other; which ſo enrag'd *Heliogabalus*, that he threatned the ſevereſt Puniſhments to thoſe who applauded his Couſin. But the Soldiers taking this Advantage, at his Return follow'd him to his Palace, purſu'd him into a Privy, whither he had

fled, from whence they hawl'd him, and threw him into a nasty Sink, and then dragg'd him through the Streets of *Rome* like the Carcass of a Dog, with this Military Acclamation, *The Whelp of an untamed and ravening Lust*! At last when they found the Bulk of his pamper'd Body too large to enter the hollow Seat of a Privy, which they design'd for its last Funeral Ceremony, they threw it into the *Tiber*, with heavy Weights ty'd to it, that none might ever find it and give it the Honour of Burial. This was the miserable and ignominious Death of *Heliogabalus* the twenty fourth Emperor of *Rome*; but in the eighteenth Year of his Age, after a detestable Reign of about four Years; a Prince so vile and abominable as is beneath all farther Censure or Notice. The Judgment from Heaven appear'd the greater from the Senate's and Peoples Approbation of his Death, and their making a Decree, *That thenceforward no Emperor of* Rome *should be call'd by the Name of* Antoninus; which was a Name held in so much Veneration, that all the Emperors since *Antoninus Philosophus* had taken upon them. His wicked Mother likewise receiv'd her Reward from Heaven, being slain by the Soldiers at the same time, who thrust Stakes through the Fundaments of several of his lewd Companions, that their Deaths might be conformable to their Lives. This happened *U. C.* 915. *A.D.* 222. and of the publick Sale of the Empire, 29.

*The Death of* Heliogabalus.

*And of his Mother* Semiamira.

*A. D.* 222.

VIII. The State of *Rome* had now been severely harrass'd and afflicted; but upon the Death of *Heliogabalus*, it began to have some Breathing, the Senate return'd, and all the dark Clouds were dispers'd by the Appearance of young *Alexander*, who by the universal Consent of the Senate and People as well as the Soldiers, was sworn and obey'd

Alexander *made Emperor.*

obey'd as Emperor of *Rome*. The Senate offer'd to confer upon him many honourable Epithets and Surnames, particularly *Antoninus* and *Maximus*; but he modeſtly declin'd all, declaring openly in the Houſe, *That he never delighted to aſſume what belong'd to others, and that he found himſelf overladen with their Favours; for theſe lofty Titles of Honour were too burdenſome for one of his Years.* Alexander *and* Pompey *had juſtly acquir'd thoſe Titles by their Exploits and Triumphs; but for him they were as improper as the Name of* Cicero *for a Mute, or* Varro *for a Man abſolutely illiterate.* His Firmneſs, and the entire Gravity of his Behaviour caus'd great Admiration; eſpecially when they obſerv'd, that the whole Body of the Senate was not able to vanquiſh the Modeſty of one young Man.

*Alexander Severus*, formerly *Alexianus*, was now about ſixteen Years of Age, according to ſome, and not fourteen according to others; being born in a City of *Syria* call'd *Arca Cæſarea*, of *Mammæa*, Siſter to *Semiamira*, a Lady of eminent Vertues and Accompliſhments; and his Father's Name was *Varius Marcellus*, tho' *Dion* calls him *Geneſius Marcianus*. This young Prince was a great Lover and Encourager of Learning; and having the moſt celebrated Men for his Maſters and Tutors, he became skilful in all the Liberal Sciences: Particularly he was an excellent Mathematician, Geometrician and Muſician; he could paint and carve to a great Perfection, and likewiſe ſing and play upon many Inſtruments, which after he was Emperor he never did but in private. He was likewiſe remarkable for his Poetry; and ſo conſiderable for the Solidity of his Parts and Judgment, that at the beginning of his Adminiſtration, he rather ſeem'd a wiſe old Man than a Youth; ſo that the Joy of the Senate and People was inexpreſſible for this happy Election. Beginning his Reign with

the real Affection of all Men, by the Advice of his wiſe Mother, he choſe the worthieſt and moſt experienc'd Perſons in the Empire for his Counſellors; and he never acted nor decreed any Thing without their Opinion, notwithſtanding he was ſo judicious and ſagacious, that ſcarce any Man cou'd impoſe upon him; and if any attempted it, he ſeldom fail'd of obliging the Author to repent of his Labour. Among his Miniſters of State, the principal were, *Ulpian* the renowned Lawyer; and *Sabinus*, who was call'd the *Cato* of his Time, and ſeveral other eminent Men of that Profeſſion, all Scholars of the great *Papinian*; by reaſon of whom the Regularity of his Government was highly applauded by all Men, there being a ſudden Change and a happy Alteration in all Things: For in the three laſt Reigns the moſt inſupportable Inſolencies and Diſorders were publickly committed, and tolerated by the Governors. Wherefore,

The firſt Thing that this Emperor ſet about, was to reform all the Officers and Servants in his own Palace, diſplacing and baniſhing all thoſe lewd and infamous Perſons whom *Heliogabalus* had eſtabliſh'd there, declaring, *That that Emperor was an ill Steward of his People, who out of their Bowels feeds a Company of unneceſſary Mouths that are noxious, or at leaſt uſeleſs to the State.* He would admit none into his Palace to pay their Devoirs to him, his Wife or Mother, but Perſons of Honeſty and good Reputation; ſolemnly forbidding by the publick Cryer all ſuch as knew themſelves to be otherwiſe, to approach his Preſence; for if he once diſcover'd them, it ſhould coſt them their Lives. He diſpos'd of the Eunuchs whom *Heliogabalus* had made his great Companions in Lewdneſs, and had promoted them to high Offices, and diſtributed them among his Miniſters, with this Order, That if for the future their Reformation did not become appa-

apparent, it ſhould be lawful to puniſh them with Death, without attending the Authority of the Magiſtrate. And that he might remove all Corruptions of Manners, he ſtrictly forbad the Uſe of mixt Baths in *Rome*, where both Sexes bath'd together; all which had been prohibited by ſome of the good Emperors, but were revived by *Heliogabalus*, being highly agreeable to his Temper.

He was no leſs careful in his Regulations of the Judges and publick Officers whom his Predeceſſor had eſtabliſh'd; and alſo in the *Senatorian* and *Equeſtrian* Ranks, he reſtor'd to their Places and Dignities all ſuch as had been unjuſtly depriv'd. He obſerved ſo much Order and Regularity in his Adminiſtration, that all Matters of Juſtice were continually determin'd by Men of Integrity and moſt learned in the Laws; all Matters of Wars were managed by experienced Soldiers, and wiſe old Men, beſt read in ancient Hiſtories; and in general, he never diſpos'd of any publick Office out of Favour or Friendſhip, but purely for Merit and Sufficiency, being commonly elected both by him and the Senate alſo. He uſually ſaid, *That ſuch only ought to be advanc'd, who could diſcharge their Offices by themſelves, and not by Deputies*; adding withal, *That Martial Men had their peculiar Faculties and Abilities, and learned Men theirs; therefore every Perſon ſhould act according to their Knowledge and Capacities.* That he might be exact in chuſing Men, he obſerv'd a laudable Cuſtom when he appointed Governors of Provinces and Cities, which was to publiſh the Names of the deſign'd Perſons, deſiring and encouraging all Perſons to make all juſt Objections againſt them, and manifeſtly to prove the Crime, if there was any Cauſe of Accuſation; providing, that if they did not ſufficiently prove their Charge, and if their Accuſation proceeded from Malice, the Accuſer ſhould be immediately be-

beheaded: *For*, ſaid he, *ſince* Chriſtians *and* Jews *uſe ſuch careful Methods in the Choice and Ordinations of their Prieſts, it is moſt reaſonable that the like Courſe ſhould be taken in the Choice of Rectors of Provinces, to whom are committed the Lives and Fortunes of thoſe under their Subjection.* He never created a Senator without the Approbation of all the Members of the Houſe then preſent, and the Teſtimonies of intelligent grave Perſons; who, if they falſify'd, were to be degraded, and caſt into the loweſt Claſs of all the People, and ſometimes condemn'd, as in Caſes of Perjury, to loſe their Eſtates, and be baniſh'd for ever. And in choice of Officers his Opinion was, *That they were moſt fit for publick Places who declin'd them, not thoſe who ſued for them.* He was ſo very careful of the Publick, that he tranſacted no weighty Matter of Judicature without the Aſſiſtance of fifty wiſe and learn-Men, and twenty Lawyers; where every Man's Opinion was heard, committed to Writing, and a competent time Time allowed to each Counſellor to conſider what they propounded, that they might not ſpeak unadviſably in Matters of Importance. He would in no Caſe permit Offices and Places to be bought and Sold; *For*, ſaid he, *He who buys his Office, muſt needs ſell Juſtice: I cannot bear any Merchants in Authority; which if I tolerate, I cannot afterwards condemn their Actions; and I ſhall be aſham'd to puniſh that Perſon who bought, ſince I once permitted him to be a Buyer.*

As this Emperor was exceeding careful in his Choice of Judges and Magiſtrates, ſo he was a ſevere Puniſher of ſuch as were guilty of the leaſt corrupt Practices; and was wont to ſay, *That he had always his Finger in readineſs to pluck out the Eyes of that Judge who was partial, or a Receiver of Bribes and Gratuities*; in which he was ſo ſtrict, that when *Arabinus*, a Perſon accus'd for that Crime, came with

with ſome Senators to pay him his Reſpects, he cry'd out in a violent Paſſion, Arabinus *not only lives, but takes me for ſuch a ſenſeleſs Prince, that he preſumes to appear in my preſence.* He baniſh'd one of his Secretaries for Forging a Bill in his Counſel, and caus'd the Sinews of his Fingers to be cut through, that he might never be able to write after. He likewiſe commanded one of his own Servants, who had received a hundred Crowns of a Soldier for a Bribe, to be hang'd in the High-Way, where his Servants commonly paſs'd to his Houſes out of the City. He ſo much deteſted Bribery in the Caſe of Juſtice, and Rewards and Gratuities in the Caſe of Places and Offices, that he never ſpared his neareſt Friends, if they were manifeſtly convicted: And of this we have a memorable Inſtance of his chief Favourite *Turinus*, who by reaſon of his Familiarity and Artifices, caus'd many to conclude, that the Emperor acted nothing of moment without his particular Advice. Which being related to him, for a full Diſcovery of his Practices, he caus'd a Perſon openly to petition him for a Place, and then ſecretly to ſolicite *Turinus* to aſſiſt him in his Suit, by earneſtly moving the Emperor in his behalf: Which being done, and a conſiderable Sum given him, he promiſed his utmoſt aſſiſtance to the Petitioner; and, without mentioning the Matter to the Emperor, told him ſhortly after, *That he had carefully ſollicited his Suit, and expected an Anſwer in a ſhort Time.* Whereupon the Emperor receiving Information, caus'd the Petitioner to be often urgent with *Turinus*, who always pretended extraordinary Buſineſs, till in the Interim, the Place was diſpoſed of to another Perſon, and the unjuſt Practices of this Favourite expos'd to the Court, and laid open in the Preſence of the Emperor, who being fully aſſured of ſeveral Crimes of this Nature, immediately adjudg'd him

him to be bound to a Stake in the main *Forum*, and to be ſmother'd to Death with the Smoke of green Wood and wet Stubble, the publick Cryer in the mean time proclaiming, *He who ſold Smoke, dies by Smoke.* He was juſtly ſenſible, that the Carriages and Corruptions of the Magiſtrates and publick Officers, were always of the higheſt Conſequence therefore he was wont to ſay, *That it was not a ſufficient Puniſhment of their Crimes to deprive them of their Places; but ſince their Truſts were ſo great, their Lives in moſt Caſes ought to pay for the Breach of them.*

This Emperor was not only careful in puniſhing Offences and corrupt Officers, but likewiſe in rewarding all worthy Governours and Judges; ſo that when he paſs'd through their Provinces, he took them into his Litter or Chariot with him, conferring many Honours and Advantages upon them: And the better to be aſſured of their Merits or Defects, he us'd certain private and ſelect Men, of great Vertue and Integrity, ſtrictly to examine their Lives and Actions, and to give an exact Account of what paſs'd in the moſt remote Provinces and Cities of the Empire. When he ſent any to ſucceed in the room of a deſerving Governor or Magiſtrate, he likewiſe ſent particular Thanks to him in the Name of the Common-wealth, and beſtowed great Rewards upon him, as Lands, Herds, Corn, and many other Things; but moſt commonly they were ſuch Things as fell to him by Contingencies and Courſe of Law. For though this Prince was very liberal, yet like *Antoninus Philoſophus*, he was not prodigal; therefore he ſeldom made large Preſents of Money, at leaſt out of the ſtanding Revenues of the Empire; being wont to ſay, *that the Revenue of the Publick ought not to be ſpent but on publick Buildings, or Wars, and on publick Occaſions, and not upon Favourites and Servants:*

There-

Therefore both within and about *Rome*, he erected many magnificent Edifices, as Palaces, Baths, Theatres, Coloſſes, Courts of Audience, with many other Structures. He kept a private Regiſter of all ſuch as merited to be conſider'd for their Services; and he often refreſh'd his Memory by looking into his own Memoirs, in which he ſet down the Names of publick Officers, with the Times, and real Cauſes of their Promotions. Here he alſo regiſter'd the Preſents he made to deſerving Perſons, and when he found any to whom he had given nothing, or not anſwerable to his Merits, he called him to him, asking him, *Why he was ſo backward in demanding a Reward? And why he would ſuffer him to be in his Debt?* He was moſt ſevere towards Thieves; but was very liberal to ſuch as he knew to be poor, that they might have no Temptations to ſteal, or to covet the Goods of others. He lent to them large Sums of Money out of the Exchequer, with a ſmall Intereſt; and to great Numbers without any Intereſt; to purchaſe themſelves Lands, upon Condition of paying the Debt only in the Product. He is obſerved every Day to have done ſome good to others, in which he exceeded the renowned *Titus*, by having the Happineſs of a longer Reign. He was alſo ſo remarkable for his Mercy and Clemency, that in all his Reign there was not one Senator put to Death, nor any other Man, before his Accuſation was throughly heard, and his Offence ſufficiently proved: Yet he ſeldom remitted any great Crime; but never puniſhed with Cruelty. When any Offender or Robber was puniſhed, he ordered the common Cryer to uſe this memorable Sentence, *Do not that to another, which you would not have another do to you*, which he ſaid he learnt from the *Chriſtians*. And he was ſo in love with this Sentence, that he made Inſcriptions of it upon his own Palace,

Palace, his Courts of Judicature, and his publick Works and Buildings.

Though this Emperor was very careful of the Revenues of his Exchequer, yet he never encreas'd them, or invented new Impoſitions; but moderated and limited thoſe of *Heliogabalus*, ſo that in his Reign much leſs Tribute was paid than to many of his Predeceſſors, and no Man was injur'd or oppreſs'd upon the Account of Taxes. He reſtrain'd the ordinary Charges of the Court, and reduc'd the Palace to an excellent Order; abridging the ſuperfluous Expences introduc'd by the Luxury of ſome former Emperors. He apparell'd himſelf decently, but not extravagantly, alledging, *That Government conſiſted in Virtue, and not in coſtly Attire*; therefore he wore no Jewels, nor would permit any in his Chamber, accounting it a great Vanity, *That a Thing ſo ſmall in Quantity ſhould be ſo large in Price.* An Ambaſſador having preſented his Empreſs with two *Unions* of an extraordinary Size and Value, he order'd them to be expos'd to Sale; but finding no one able to reach the computed Price, and fearing her Example might be dangerous if ſhe wore any Thing that could not be purchas'd, he dedicated them to ſerve as Pendants to the Ears of a Statue of *Venus*. At his Table he never drank in Cups of Gold, nor allowed above two hundred Pound weight of Silver Veſſels in his Houſe; and whenever he made any publick Entertainment, he borrowed both Plate and Servants of his Friends. He was likewiſe very affable and courteous in his Temper, admitting any Man into his Preſence, and hearing them freely. He familiarly viſited all Perſons of Worth, and permitted any Man perſonally to inform him of his Buſineſs; and finding their Demands reaſonable, he perform'd their Requeſts; if otherwiſe, he calmly debated the Matter with them, and ſhew'd them their

their Erro[illegible]. Being therefore blam'd by his Mother and Wife, who alledg'd, *That his great Familiarity made his R[illegible]n of leſs Authority and Reputation*; he anſwer'd, [illegible]*wever, it made it the more firm and durable.* His [illegible]indneſs and Clemency likewiſe extended to the Chriſtians, ſo that they were not moleſted, but only a little in the beginning of his Reign: And when the Chriſtians had gotten Poſſeſſion of a certain publick Place for the Exerciſe of their Religion, and a Company of Cooks and Victuallers had claim'd the ſame, he decided the Matter by his Reſcript in theſe Words; *It is better that God be there worſhipped in any manner, than the Place ſhould be put to ſuch Uſes as they deſign'd for it.* In his Temples he had the Images of *Chriſt*, and of *Abraham*, having likewiſe many *Chriſtians* in his Family; but as a blind Man, without full Knowledge, he plac'd Chriſt among his other Gods, offering to adore Him under that Notion, and would have built a ſeparate Temple to Him, but was diſſwaded by the *Pagan* Prieſts.

*The* Chriſtians *favour'd.*

*Alexander* having reign'd about four Years, to the general Satisfaction of all Men, began to be allarm'd by the News of the Progreſs of the *Perſians* and *Parthians* in the *Eaſt*. For a famous *Perſian* call'd *Artaxerxes*, of a mean Extract, but of extraordinary Courage and Policy, had revolted from *Artabanus* King of *Parthia*, overthrown him in Battel, and recover'd the ancient Kingdom of *Perſia*, which for ſeveral Ages had been ſubject to the *Parthians*; after which he made Pretences of reſtoring the *Perſian* Empire to all its former Power and Splendor, and accordingly began a vigorous Invaſion of *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*. The News of theſe continued Succeſſes, at laſt caus'd *Alexander*, in the tenth Year of his Reign, to make all neceſſary Preparations to oppoſe this new Conque-

ror,

ror; and in a ſhort Time went in Perſon into *Aſia* with a very powerful Army. Not long before this Expedition, *Ovonius Camillus*, a Senator of an ancient Family, ſwell'd with Conceit, began a Revolt from *Alexander*, and endeavour'd to make himſelf Emperor. Which being diſcover'd, and ſufficiently proved to the Emperor, he ſent for him to the Court, calmly telling him, *That he gave him Thanks for being ſo willing to take upon him the Care of the Empire, how contrary ſoever it was to the Sentiments of others who were good Men*; and immediately carry'd him along with him to the Senate, and call'd him his Collegue, to the great Shame and Confuſion of *Camillus*. After this, he receiv'd him into his Court, plac'd him at his own Table, and habited him with the ſame Imperial Ornaments with his own; and when this War was declar'd againſt the *Perſians*, he deſir'd him to bear him Company in the Expedition. They began their March together on Foot, *Alexander* urging him to bear the Fatigue with Patience; but at the end of five Miles *Camillus* fail'd, whereupon *Alexander* order'd him a Horſe. After two Days March he became tired with his Horſe, and was by *Alexander*'s Orders plac'd upon a Carriage, which ſtill could not make him eaſie: But whether it proceeded from Fear, Shame, or Wearineſs, he gladly renounc'd all Claims to the Empire, and would rather have dy'd than continu'd in it. Upon this, *Alexander* diſmiſs'd him, and ſent him to his own Houſe in the Country with a Guard, where he liv'd quietly for a conſiderable ſpace; but was at laſt kill'd by the Soldiers, yet wholly without the Command of the Emperor, who had entirely gain'd his Heart, and had treated him with all imaginable Humanity.

In this great Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, the Emperor was more than ordinary careful and vigilant; and in the Marches and Motions of his Army, he obſerved the greateſt Regularity and Diſcipline; maintaining ſuch Juſtice among his Men, and puniſhing all Robberies, Outrages, Injuries, and Miſdemeanours, with ſuch Prudence and Severity, that his Camp ſeemed a well-govern'd City. His Soldiers were alſo handſomly cloth'd, and nobly arm'd; the Cavalry well mounted, compleatly furniſhed and capariſoned; ſo that to ſee the Army of *Alexander Severus*, was ſufficient to give an Idea of the Grandeur of the *Roman* Empire. He was exceeding careful concerning Ammunition and Proviſions, and that no Soldier ſhou'd rob or defraud another, ſo that if any Colonel or Captain detain'd the leaſt part of his Soldiers Allowance, he was condemn'd to inevitable Death. He once diſcarded a whole Legion at a time; and never feared the Mutineers of his Army, becauſe he knew that they could object nothing againſt his Life, nor could reproach him with permitting his Officers to keep any part of their Pay from them. He was no leſs careful of all ſick and wounded Perſons; he viſited them in their Tents, even thoſe of the loweſt Rank, and caus'd them to be carryed upon Waggons, and to ſupplyed with all Neceſſaries; declaring, *That he deſired to look more after his Men than himſelf, becauſe the Publick Safety was in them.* His Carriage and Behaviour was always familiar and affable towards his Soldiers; and whenſoever he din'd or ſupp'd, he ſate with his Tent open in the view of all Men, feeding upon the ſame Diet that other Soldiers did. Beſides, he paid his Soldiers bountifully, and beſtow'd many Rewards upon them; but if any, in their marching near Gardens and Orchards, went out of his Place, he commanded

Alexander's *Expedition in the* Eaſt. *A. D.* 232.

them to be beaten with Rods of Iron; if the Dignity of the Perſon exempted him from ſuch a Puniſhment, he publickly reprimanded him, uſing theſe words, *Would you be willing to have this done to your Eſtate, which you do to another's?* If he ſaw a Soldier poor, and wanting Apparel, he reliev'd him accordingly; ſaying alſo, *How can that Soldier live under Diſcipline, who wants both Clothes and Money; for Hunger and Penury will drive him to deſpair, and conſtrain him to act unjuſtly.* For theſe and the like Matters, the Emperor was infinitely belov'd and dreaded, both by his own Soldiers, and by all the Countries through which he paſs'd.

In this Order and Regularity *Alexander* advanc'd againſt the *Perſians*; and during the Time of this War, there paſs'd many remarkable Skirmiſhes and Encounters, till at laſt both Parties joyning all their Forces, they reſolv'd to come to a general Battel. *Artaxerxes*, fluſh'd with his former Succeſſes, had gather'd together an Army of an innumerable Company of Foot 130000 Horſe, with 700 Elephants, and 1800 Charriots arm'd with Scythes, which the *Perſians* and *Parthians* generally us'd in their Wars. The Emperor on the other ſide brought an exceeding numerous Army, and in this great Battel perform'd the Office of an excellent Soldier and Commander, perſonally viſiting every Battalion and Squadron, incouraging his Men with very kind Expreſſions, calling them by their Names, promiſing them great Rewards, and fighting in Perſon a great part of the Day like a valiant Knight. The Battel continu'd for a whole Day very ſevere and bloody; in the Evening *Alexander* by his Management gained one of the greateſt Victories that ever was known in the Empire, *Artaxerxes* with great difficulty eſcaping with Life. There were ſlain in this Battel 10000 Horſe-men, Foot-men without Number, 200 Elephants,

phants, and 300 taken, as also a 1000 armed Chariots, and an infinite Number of Prisoners of all Ranks and Qualities, as is evident from the Account which *Alexander* gave to the Senate after his Return to *Rome*. After this happy Victory, the Emperor without any Resistance recover'd all those Countries that *Artaxerxes* had taken from the *Romans*; and passing through the Body of *Mesopotamia*, he enlarg'd the Bounds of the Empire, took the Cities *Ctesiphon* and *Babylon*, and subdu'd *Arabia*, and then return'd to *Antioch* in *Syria*. *Herodian*, either through Misinformation or Design, has given a very differing or detracting Account of these Wars, for which he is justly censur'd by the most judicious Writers. The Emperor being at *Antioch*, he there put some Commanders to Death for incouraging their Soldiers in their Debaucheries at *Daphne*, and gave great Rewards to others, and likewise to the Soldiers particularly those Lands gain'd from the Enemy, to them and their Heirs, if they were likewise Soldiers; for he would not permit those Lands to come into the Hands of private Persons, alledging, *That they would most carefully serve in the Wars, who fought for their own Lands.* Here it was that the Emperor's Mother *Mammæa* sent for the famous *Origen* to discourse with him concerning the Doctrines and Principles of *Christianity*; and having kept him for some time, she honourably dismiss'd him, ordering a good Guard to conduct him to his Charge at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.

Alexander's Conquests.

*Alexander* having establish'd a lasting Peace in the *East*, return'd to *Rome*, where he entered in Triumph, after more solemn and pompous Manner than any before him, having his Triumphal Chariot drawn by Elephants which he had taken, to the exceeding surprize of the Spectators; and the whole Senate and Gentry of *Rome*, with in-

numerable Throngs of the Commons, Women and Children, receiv'd him with infinite Bleſſings and Applauſes, and incredible Tranſports of Joy. The following Day was ſpent in the Games of the *Cirque*, and the Diverſions of the Stage; at which time the Emperor gave a Largeſs to the Poor, and eſtabliſhed Penſions for the Maintenance of poor Children, according to the Example of *Antonimus Pius*, calling them by the Name of *Mammæans*, in Honour of his Mother *Mammæa*. About the ſame time, *Furius Celſus* obtain'd a great Victory over the *Mauritarians* and *Fagitanians* in *Africk*; *Varius Macrinus* had good ſucceſs in *Germany*; and *Junius Palmatus* returned from *Armenia* with Victory: So that the Breaches and Weakneſſes made by corrupt Princes in the Empire, began in ſome meaſure to be repaired. And in re-inſtating the Empire, and in reforming Corruptions, no Prince was ever more diligent than *Alexander*; who after his Return from the Eaſt, ſpent two or three Years in *Rome*, making all kind of Regulations, and doing Juſtice in ſuch a manner, that he was belov'd and admir'd to the higheſt Degree by all worthy Perſons. Only he was murmur'd at by ſome, who complain'd that he was too much led and govern'd by his Mother, who though ſhe was a Woman of extraordinary Wiſdom and Virtue, was notwithſtanding branded for Avarice. He proceeded to new Regulations, and conſtituted fourteen Curators, all Conſular Perſons, to the ſeveral Quarters of the City, whom, together with the Governour of the City, he order'd to take Cognizance of the Civil Cauſes, in ſuch a method, as all, or the greateſt part of them, ſhould be preſent when any Buſineſs was tranſacted. He diſtributed all the Vintners, Victuallers, Regraters, and generally the Men of all Crafts, into Companies and Corporations,

to

to whom he appointed Governours and Officers to judge in the Diſpatches that might ariſe among them in the Matter of their ſeveral Crafts and Profeſſions. He alſo eſtabliſhed publick Magazines in all the Quarters of the City; to which thoſe who had not Conveniences of their own, might carry their Proviſions, and lodge them with Safety. This Emperor was always diligent in his Affairs, inſomuch that ſcarce a Minute of his Time was loſt; his leiſure Hours being uſually ſpent in reading excellent Authors, more particularly *Plato*'s Common-wealth, and *Tully*'s Offices. He was a great Incourager of Learning and learned Men; and appointed Sallaries and publick Schools for Rhetoricians, Grammarians, Phyſicians, Aſtronomers, Geometricians, and Architects, ſending great Numbers of Scholars, whom he educated and maintain'd. Among the learned Men of this declining Age, flouriſh'd *Dion-Caſſius*, that celebrated Writer of the *Roman* Hiſtory in *Greek*, who was twice honour'd with the Conſulſhip.

This worthy Emperor thus living in perfect Peace and Tranquility, about the thirteenth Year of his Reign, the *High-Germans*, and other Northern Nations, took up Arms, as formerly, againſt the Empire, and paſs'd the *Rhine* and *Danube* with ſuch Fury, and ſuch infinite Herds of People, that all *Italy* and *Rome* were in a great Conſternation. Upon Notice of which, the Emperor made what Levies he could, and to the mighty Regret of the City, went in Perſon to ſtem this furious Torrent. Notwithſtanding the Enemies were exceeding powerful and numerous, *Alexander* by his extraordinary Diligence and Management ſoon ſuppreſs'd their Fury, and daily gain'd Advantages over them. But tho' the Emperor met with ſo much ſucceſs againſt theſe barbarous Nations,

he met with more barbarous Uſage from the ſtanding Legions encamped about *Moguntia*, or *Mentz*, which had been abominably corrupted in the Reign of *Heliogabalus*, and ever ſince had been trained up in all kinds of Rapines and Diſorders. *Alexander* could neither endure their inſolent Outrages, nor they his regular Diſcipline; but more eſpecially they exclaim'd againſt the exceeding Penuriouſneſs of his Mother *Mammæa*, who was then, as at other times, with him in the Camp. Theſe Inſolencies increaſing on one ſide, and the Emperor's Strictneſs on the other, the Diſtemper began to grow too ſtrong for violent Remedies. Theſe Heats and Miſchiefs were daily blown up by the Artifices of a famous old Soldier, call'd *Maximinus*, who gathering the Solders together, exhorted them, *To abandon a nigardly Woman, and a diſpirited Boy, who could tamely truckle to a Mother's Tyranny, and to joyn themſelves to a Man of Courage, who had been long their Companion in Arms, and an experienc'd Captain*; which by Degrees had ſuch an effect, that the Soldiers reſolved upon *Alexander*'s Death. And ſhortly after they effected their impious Deſign to the Emperor's Tent, where *Au. Victor* tells us, That when the Emperor ſaw himſelf abandon'd by his Guard, he cry'd out, *That his Mother was the Cauſe of his Ruin*; and ſeeing the Executioner come, with great Confidence he offered his Neck to be ſtruck off, which was immediately ſucceeded by the Death of his Mother.

*The Death of* Alexander *and* Mammæa

This was the unfortunate End of *Alexander Severus*, the 25th Emperor of *Rome*, in the 29th, or rather 27th Year of his Age, after a noble and proſperous Reign of thirteen Years and nine Days; an admirable Prince, both for his Vertues and Government, who by means of his Mother's Avarice, and his own raſh Reformation of a corrupted Army,

my, was taken off in the prime of his Age, to the unexpreſſible Grief of *Rome* and the whole Empire. If we may except *Julian Cæſar*, whoſe Ambition overwhelm'd him; and *Pertinax*, whoſe Avarice deſtroyed him; this was the firſt good Emperor and Governor in *Rome* who dy'd an unnatural Death. Yet this may truly be ſaid to be owing to the Corruptions of *Heliogabalus*, as that of *Pertinax* to thoſe of *Commodus*: So that theſe Tyrants are in a great meaſure anſwerable for the others Deaths, beſides the infinite Number of Miſchiefs they brought upon the State afterwards. *Alexander* dy'd in the 988th Year of the City, 258 Years after the Eſtabliſhment of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 235 after our Saviour's Nativity, 134 after the laſt of the twelve *Cæſars*, and 42 after the publick Sale of the Empire.

## CHAP. V.

*From the Death of* ALEXANDER, *to the Captivity of* VALERIAN, *the Thirty Second Emperor; when the Empire began to be uſurp'd by Thirty Perſons at once, commonly call'd,* The Thirty Tyrants.

*Containing the Space of about* 24 *YEARS.*

*A. D.* 235. I. THE barbarous Murther of *Alexander* at firſt occaſion'd great Tumults and Confuſions among the Soldiers which being appeas'd, and finding no Heir to the deceas'd Emperor, they all made choice of *Maximinus*, who had been the chief Promoter of the Murther, ſwore him, and acknowledg'd him as Emperor. *Maximinus* immediately join'd his Son *Maximus* with him, as Partner and Emperor, with equal Power and Authority; but the Senate and People of *Rome* utterly refus'd to confirm their Election, or to acknowledge either of them as Emperors, being extreamly enraged at the Death of *Alexander*, and reſolved to revenge it the firſt opportunity. So that *Maximinus* was the firſt *Roman* Emperor, to whom Hiſtorians give that Title, who was elected without the Conſent of the Senate. *Maximinus* was now ſixty two Years of Age, and his Son eighteen. The Father was a Perſon of the meaneſt Extraction, and was born in *Thrace*, where for ſome time he was only a poor Herdſman; his Father *Micca* being a *Goth*, and his Mother, *Ababa*, an *Alane*; ſo that of either Side he was barbarous by Deſcent. He was of a Gigantick Stature, being in Height eight

Maximinus *made Emperor, and his Son* Maximus.

Geometrical

Geometrical Foot and an half, and had a Body anſwerable to his Stature, in Strength, Symmetry, and Proportion; and his Joints were ſo large, that his Wife's Bracelet often ſerved him for a Ring upon his Thumb. His Diet was ſo remarkable for the Quantity, that he generall eat forty Pound weight of Fleſh every Day, and drank about ſix Gallons of Wine, without being immoderate in either. His Strength was alſo proportionable, being able to turn and draw loaden Wains, which two Oxen cou'd ſcarcely move; to ſtrike out the Teeth of an Horſe with his Fiſt; to break his Thighs, and kill him with a Kick; to crumble hard Chalk-Stones between his Fingers, and to cleave young Trees with his Hands. Beſides, he was of a Temper ſo bold and couragious, ſo fierce and preſumptuous, that relying wholly upon his prodigious Bulk and Strength, he neither fear'd nor regarded any Man in the World. For his great Strength, he was call'd *Hercules*, *Antæus*, and *Milo*; for his Courage and Valour, *Achilles*, *Hector*, and *Ajax*; and for his Savage Cruelty, *Buſiris*, *Phalaris*, and *Cyclops*. His Son *Maximus* bore ſome Proportion to him, but is moſt remember'd for his extraordinary Shape and Beauty; ſo that when his Father created him Emperor, he gave this Reaſon in Writing, *That he choſe Him not only becauſe he was his Son, but alſo becauſe the Senate and People of* Rome *might ſee and ſwear, That they never had ſuch a beautiful Prince before.*

The firſt Education of the Father was very mean, being brought up chiefly among Cattle; but his Ambition increaſing with his Strength and Body, he left his poor Employments, and repair'd to the *Roman* Army, where he was ſoon diſtinguiſh'd and admir'd by all Men, and particularly by the Emperor *Severus* then reigning, though he was not arriv'd at his full Stature. *Severus* celebrating

brating the Birth-Day of his Son *Geta* with his Army in *Syria*, *Maximinus* newly liſted, ſo ſignalized himſelf by his Fiſty-cuffs, Running and Wreſtling that he became indiſputable Conqueror in thoſe Exerciſes. And afterwards ſhewing to the Emperor ſome extraordinary Inſtances of his Strength and Courage, he was made one of his Guard, continually attended the Palace, and received conſiderable Gifts and Rewards from him. In the Reign of *Caracalla* he was made a Centurion, and received other Encouragements in the Army; but would not ſerve his Succeſſor *Macrinus*, by reaſon of his Treaſon to his Sovereign, returning to his own Country, *Thrace*, where he purchas'd ſome Lands, and continu'd there till the Reign of young *Heliogabalus*, from whom he expected ſome great Poſt in the Army. But he was ſo diſcourag'd by the monſtrous Effeminacy of that Emperor, that he left the Court, though his Friends ſoon after rais'd him to the Office of a Tribune. Upon the Death of *Heliogabalus* he remov'd to *Rome*, and was received with great Kindneſs and Courteſy by *Alexander*, who particularly recommended him to the Senate, and made him a Colonel and Commander of the fourth Legion, which conſiſted of new-rais'd Soldiers. *Maximinus* gladly accepted this Charge, and performed his Duty with great Advantage in the Wars, of *Germany*, where he ſhew'd exceeding Valour and Courage; by means of which, and the ſeveral Gifts he frequently beſtow'd among the Soldiers, after the treaſonable Murther of *Alexander*, he was rais'd to the Empire. So prevalent is Ambition, that it makes Men forget all Gratitude and Loyalty, and commit the blackeſt Villanies to obtain Sovereignty, not ſuffering them to remember, That the ſame unjuſt means that rais'd them, ſeldom fails to deſtroy them.

*Maximinus*

*Maximinus* ſeeing himſelf advanc'd to ſo high a Station as the Empire, according to his proud and inſolent Temper, began immediately to ſhew the utmoſt Extent of his Authority; and chuſing rather to be fear'd than lov'd, he ſoon committed great Cruelties, reigning like *Spartacus* or *Athenion* with a Court as it were of Mob. And firſt, he put to Death all ſuch as had been very intimate and familiar with *Alexander*; and then baniſh'd an infinite number of others, not allowing any Commander in his Army, or any Senator in the Senate, that had been advanc'd by him. And becauſe he was much aſham'd of the Meanneſs of his Extraction, he commanded all ſuch as beſt knew him, and his Parents, to be ſlain; though many of them had reliev'd his Parents and him in the time of their low Condition. And becauſe the *Chriſtians* had found ſome Shelter, and a favourable Entertainment in the Family of his Predeceſſor, he rais'd a ſevere Perſecution againſt them; though it was principally levell'd againſt the Biſhops and Miniſters of the Church, as the prime Authors and Propagators of *Chriſtianity*. This was the ſixth general Perſecution of the *Chriſtians*, which broke out in the firſt Year, and in the beginning of this Emperor's Reign, thirty three Years after the beginning of that under *Severus*. This was extremely violent, but very ſhort, occaſioning *Origen* to write his Book concerning Martyrdom; but it was not ſo general as the other Perſecutions were, raging in ſome particular Places, eſpecially in the Province where *Maximinus* reſided. Whence *Sulpitius Severus* admits not this into the Number of the ten Perſecutions making no more than nine *Pagan* Perſecutions, and reſerving the tenth for the Times of *Antichriſt*. The Cruelty of this Emperor likewiſe extended to all rich Perſons, whoſe Lives and Eſtates became a frequent

*The ſixth general Perſecution A. D. 335.*

quent Sacrifice to him; repoſing ſuch a Confidence in his own Strength and Courage, that he judg'd himſelf in a manner immortal. Yet he had ſo much Policy and regard to his Safety, as to endeavour the ſecuring his Soldiers; for beſides their ordinary Pay, he gave them many Penſions and Rewards, providing all things neceſſary for them; and likewiſe in all Actions took greater pains than any common Soldier, ſhewing incredible Courage and Diligence: And it was a piece of his *Barbarian* Temerity to think, that an Emperor ought always to fight with his own Hands. Though he was ſo vaſt in Body and Strength, yet he ever went well arm'd, was upon all Occaſions as diligent as any in his Army, and had always bold and hardy Men about him, fit for the Execution of any extraordinary Attempt. Finally, the Effects of all his Actions was to command as a true Tyrant, and to act the greateſt Outrages with the moſt probable Security.

In a ſhort time the inſupportable Behaviour of this Tyrant caus'd *Magnus*, a Conſuler Perſon, to conſpire with many of *Alexander*'s old Soldiers, and ſome others, to break down a wooden Bridge as ſoon as the Emperor had paſs'd it, and abandon him to the Enemy. But this was ſoon diſcover'd to *Maximinus*; though ſome think the whole Project was invented by himſelf, to colour over his Cruelties, which he executed to ſo high a Degree, that he caus'd above four thouſand to be ſlain, who he pretended were guilty of that Treaſon. Shortly after a great Number of *Alexander*'s old Soldiers mutiny'd; and withdrawing themſelves from the Camp, proclaim'd one *Quarcianus*, or *Ticus*, for Emperor, who had lately been remov'd from his Charge. The Soldiers conſtrain'd him to accept of the Empire, which he with great Reaſon refus'd; for *Macedonius*, who had been the chief Promoter

Promoter of his Advancement, within a few Days after murther'd him in his Bed, and carried his Head to *Maximinus*, where he was kindly receiv'd, but afterward put to a cruel Death, for his Treaſon to his Sovereign, and his Treachery to his Friend. With theſe Succeſſes the Cruelty and Tyranny of *Maximinus* increas'd; but ſhortly after following the Wars, he removed out of *Panonia*, and overthrew the *Germans* in ſeveral Battels, waſted all the Country with Fire and Sword for four hundred Miles together, and threaten'd to ſubdue all the *Northern* Nations as far as the Ocean; and had his general Carriage been anſwerable to his Valour, might probably have enjoy'd Time and Opportunity to have perform'd all. The Seaſon being far advanc'd, he winter'd in *Panonia*; from whence he wrote to the Senate, extolling all his Victories and Conqueſts, and ſending them all his Battels and Skirmiſhes painted on Tables, telling the Fathers, *That he had perform'd more and greater Exploits than any of the Ancients ever did*; and at the ſame time he commanded infinite Murthers and Slaughters to be executed at *Rome*, and moſtly the principal Perſons of the City; preſuming only upon his own Perſonal Strength, and the Power of his Army; to which he gave many Rewards, ariſing from Confiſcations and other Rapines. Inſomuch that the Senate and People of *Rome* ſtood in great Fear of him, many being ready to tremble at his Name; and both Men and Women made ſolemn Vows and Prayers to their Gods, That he might never come to *Rome*. For they had heard, that in the method of his Diſcipline, he crucify'd ſome, ſtuff'd others into the Bodies of Beaſts newly ſlain, caſt ſome alive to wild Beaſts, and cudgel'd others to Death, without Diſtinction of Rank and Quality.

Moſt of the Provinces began to groan under the Burthen of this Tyrant, and *Africk* firſt ſhew'd its

its Deteſtation of Him, by means of his Procurator, who gathered his Maſter's Revenues and Tributes with inſupportable Outrages and Extortions, pillaging the Goods, and taking away the Lives of many worthy Men. And continuing thus in his Rapines and Cruelties, the People not being able to endure his Oppreſſions, form'd a Conſpiracy againſt him, and deſtroy'd him. Afterwards conſidering how dangerous a Crime they had committed, they for their Security reſolv'd to commit a greater, which was, to create an Emperor. Wherefore conferring with the Legions of that Province, they unanimouſly agreed to chuſe *Gordian* Emperor, who was then Proconſul of *Africk*, a Perſon of great Fame and Reputation, both for his Vertues and Dignities, and near eighty Years of Age. And accordingly the Soldiers and Natives aſſembling together, they enter'd tumultuouſly into *Gordian*'s Houſe, who immediately conceiv'd that they came to ſlay him; but underſtanding their Deſign, he utterly refus'd their Offer, particularly alledging their Loyalty, and his extream Age. But they were ſo firm and reſolute to their firſt Deſign, that notwithſtanding all his Oppoſition, they conſtrain'd him to accept of the Enſigns and Title of Emperor; which were given to him, and likewiſe to his Son *Gordian*, who was forty ſix Years of Age. The old Man, though he accepted of this Dignity againſt his Conſent, yet he immediately wrote to the Senate, acknowledging, *That he had unwillingly accepted of the Empire, but only with deſign to free it from the inſupportable Tyrannies of* Maximinus. Having publiſhed the like in the City of *Tiſdrum*, where he was elected, he took his Journey towards *Carthage*, with all the Marks and Attendance of an Emperor, where he was receiv'd with great Joy and Satisfaction. The Senate and People of *Rome* with great Readineſs approv'd

Gordian *and his Son* Gordian *made Emperors in* Africk.

*And approv'd by the Senate.*

approv'd of the Election of *Gordian* and his Son, adjudging at the same time *Maximinus* and his Son *Maximus* Enemies and Rebels to the State; and the People with infinite Rage and Fury, tore in pieces great Numbers of the Friends of *Maximinus*, of whom several were innocent Persons, tho' others were great Instruments of his Cruelty, They slew *Valerian*, Præfect of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, a great Favourite of *Maximinus*, and also *Sabinus*, Governour of the City, for hindering the Interest of *Gordian*; and at the same time the Senate elected the Youngest *Gordian*, Grandson to the Eldest, and made him *Cæsar*: So that there was a sudden Alteration in all things in the City; for before there was nothing but a general Fear and Confusion in all parts.

The Senate now considering in what Dangers they were involv'd, and what might ensue from the vast Power of *Maximinus*, made all necessary Preparations for the Safety and Security, writing Letters into all Provinces, commanding all those Governors to be displac'd who were establish'd by *Maximinus*, and ordering *Gordian* to be proclaim'd Emperor. This Order and Direction was obey'd in most Provinces, in some the Governours were slain, and in others the Senate's Messengers; so that there was Bloodshed in all parts, and the Cruelty of *Maximinus* made all Men cruel. Upon Intelligence of the Transactions of *Africk* and *Rome*, *Maximinus* was so confounded and enrag'd, that he cry'd out like a savage Beast; and violently running his Head against the Walls, he fell on the Floor, rent his Cloaths, and gave many other Signs of an extaordinary Fury and Distraction. The next Day when the Heat of his Passion was somewhat allay'd, he call'd his whole Army together, and in a set Speech complain'd of the Infidelity and Treachery of the *Africans*, and of the

Levity

Levity and Inconſtancy of the *Romans*, inciting them to Revenge his Cauſe, making large Promiſes and Aſſurances, *That they ſhould poſſeſs the Eſtates of all Perſons that had offended.* And after this he gave them their ordinary Pay, and many Rewards beſides; ſo that all promis'd to ſerve him with the utmoſt Fidelity, though many of them bore a mortal Hatred againſt him. In this manner uſing all poſſible Diligence, *Maximinus* directed his Journey towards *Rome*, with his whole Army, breathing out Ruin and Deſtruction againſt the City, and deſigning to aſſwage his Wrath by the ſevereſt Cruelties, but his Marches were very ſlow and incommodious, by reaſon of the great Numbers of Men and Carriages, and the Baggage, together with the great Scarcity of Victuals; for all the Inhabitants of the unfortify'd Cities and Towns in his Way, hating his Government, had abandon'd their Habitations, and ſecur'd their Proviſions.

During theſe Tranſactions in *Germany* and *Rome*, *Capelianus*, Governour of *Numidia* and *Mauritania* in *Africa*, made an Inſurrection againſt *Gordian*, being an Enemy to him, and a Friend to *Maximinus*, who had plac'd him there. Underſtanding the Promotion of *Gordian*, he immediately put his own Legions into Order, and levying what Forces he could beſides, he marched towards *Carthage*, againſt whom old *Gordian* ſent his Son with a raw undiſciplin'd Army, which notwithſtanding fought valiantly for a while, but was at length overthrown by *Capelianus*, and young *Gordion* ſlain, after a ſhort Reign with his Father of about thirty Days; being different from his Father in Vertue, and moſt remarkable for his great Numbers of Children and Concubines, for which he was by ſome call'd the *Priamus*, and by others the *Priapus* of his Time. His Father hearing of the Death

*The Death of young* Gordian.

Death of his Son, of the Loſs of the Battel, and a victorious Enemy approaching, and ſeeing no Hopes of Relief, ſtrangled himſelf with his own Girdle; and ſo dy'd with Reproach and Ignominy, after he had lived eighty Years in great Honour and Reputation. In the mean time *Capelianus* purſuing his Victory, entered *Carthage*; where he ſlew the Principal of thoſe who eſcaped from Battel, pillaged Houſes and Temples, exercis'd exceſſive Cruelties both in the City and Country, and Plunder'd all Towns and Villages, under pretence of revenging the Injuries done to *Maximinus*; likewiſe uſing all poſſible Methods ſo to gain the Hearts of the Soldiers as to be made Emperor himſelf. His ſucceſsful Progreſs drove the Senate and People of *Rome* into a mighty Terror and Conſternation; for now they not only ſaw themſelves deprived of the Aſſiſtance they expected from *Gordian* and his Son, and the March of theſe new victorious Troops; but likewiſe underſtood that *Maximinus* was coming down againſt them like a raging Lion, threatning Death and Deſtruction to all his Enemies and Oppoſers. To remedy theſe threatning Dangers, the Senate with great Solemnity met at the Temple of *Jupiter*; and after many ſerious Conſultations, they choſe *Maximus Pupienus* and *Clodius Balbinus* for Emperors conjoyntly; who had both held great Offices, had been worthy Commanders and Governours, and had liv'd in good Fame and Reputation. And to ſatisfie the People, who with great Tumults oppos'd this Election, the Senate a ſecond time nominated the youngeſt *Gordian* for *Cæſar*, a Youth of very promiſing Abilities.

*And of his Father,*

*Pupienus and Balbinus made Emperors.*

Theſe two being created and ſworn Emperors, made all the Levies they could both in *Rome* and the Country; and *Pupienus* being the moſt experienc'd Man, left the City to oppoſe *Maximinus*,

who was coming down like a mighty Torrent upon *Italy*, extreamly rejoycing at the Deaths of the two *Gordians*, and the Victory of *Capelianus*. But after he understood this last Election, he redoubled his Rage and Fury; and hearing that *Pupienus* was marching against him with a considerable Force, he speedily pass'd the *Alps*, and enter'd *Italy*, where he expected great plenty of Provisions, but was utterly disappointed. For the Senate had taken such care, that all kinds of Sustenance was remov'd to the fortify'd Places, and the rest destroy'd: So that his Soldiers for want of Victuals and Necessaries began to murmur, and condemn his Conduct; and his Punishment of some encreas'd the Hatred of the rest. Soon after he met with another Disappointment, for approaching the City of *Aquileia*, which he expected to enter with no Difficulty, he found an extraordinary Resistance; for besides the Strength and Populousness of the City, it was commanded by two valiant Noblemen of *Rome*, and Consular Persons, call'd *Crispinus* and *Menophilus*, who had so well furnish'd the City with Men and Ammunition, that *Maximinus* found great Difficulties in passing the River to invest the Place. Upon his assaulting the City, the Besieged threw down such Quantities of scalding Pitch and Sulphur upon his Soldiers, that they were not able to continue their Attacks; and so resolute were the Inhabitants, that we are assured, that the Old Men and Children did mighty service, and that the Women cut the Hair off their Heads to furnish the Soldiers with Bow-strings. This unexpected Opposition drove *Maximinus* into such a terrible Rage, that having no Power to exercise his Cruelties upon his Enemies, he turn'd his Fury against several of his Commanders, whom he put to Death, as if the City had held out through their careless Neglect; which

which Cruelty ſtill render'd him more odious to his Army, and more contemptible to the Enemy. But during this Siege, and the March of the Emperor *Pupienus*, *Rome* endur'd great and new Afflictions, occaſion'd by two of *Maximinus*'s Soldiers, who entering the Senate-Houſe for News, were ſlain by two Senators; which immediately rais'd ſuch Tumults and Contents between the *Prætorian* Soldiers and the Citizens, that after ſeveral Attacks, Slaughters and Cruelties, the City it ſelf was ſet on Fire by the Soldiers, and a great part of it conſum'd; the Emperor *Balbinus* not being able to ſtop the Fury either of the Fire or People, was conſtrain'd to retire to his Palace. So that during the tyrannical Reign of *Maximinus*, neither the City of *Rome*, nor the Provinces, were free from Wars, Tumults, Murders, Robberies, and all manner of Calamities.

In the mean time *Maximinus* in vain attack'd *Aquileia*; the Scarcity and Famine in his Army, and the Hatred of his Soldiers encreas'd, who daily hearing from the Senate of Revolts in ſeveral parts of the Empire, and that moſt of their Wives and Children were at *Rome*, where *Maximinus* threatned his chiefeſt Revenge, they at laſt reſolv'd to mutiny and deſtroy him, to prevent future Calamities. And accordingly having made his Guards Accomplices in the Deſign, and tearing his Pourtract out of his Enſign, they enter'd his Tent at Noon-day, when he and his Son were repoſing themſelves, boldly ſet upon him, and ſlew him without reſiſtance, and likewiſe his Son *Maximus*, ſaying, *Of a curſed Litter not a Whelp is to be ſpar'd.* Theſe were the Deaths of *Maximinus* and his Son *Maximus*, in the 65th and the 21ſt Years of their Ages, making together the twenty ſixth Emperor of *Rome*; whoſe Deaths were univerſally approv'd, having brought thoſe Miſchiefs upon themſelves;

*The Death of* Maximinus *and* Maximus.

ſelves; eſpecially the Father, who was ſo monſtrous both in Body and Mind, that *Capitolinus* ſays of him, *Never did a more cruel Beaſt tread upon the Earth.* Their Deaths being known in *Aquileia*, their Inhabitants open'd their Gates to the Army, and all became Friends; their Bodies were thrown out to be ſpurn'd and trampled on, and afterwards to be torn by Dogs and Birds of Prey; their Heads were ſent to *Rome*, where they were received with the greateſt Rejoycings and Sacrifices, and the Meſſenger that brought the News, came from *Aquileia* to *Rome* in four Days. *Maximinus* reign'd, or rather continu'd in his Uſurpation, about three Years, and died in the 991ſt Year of the City, 261 after the Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 238 after our Saviour's Nativity, 142 after the laſt of the Twelve *Cæſars*, and 45 after the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

*A. D.* 238. **Pupienus and Balbinus *continue Emperors.***

II. The Death of ſuch a dreadful and formidable Perſon as *Maximinus*, caus'd a great and ſudden Alteration in all Mens Minds; and *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* continu'd Emperors without Contradiction, having been formerly created by the Senate. The former, who was arrived at *Ravenna* when *Maximinus* was ſlain, with all ſpeed repaired to *Aquileia*, to ſatisfy the Army there; and being receiv'd with great Joy and Satisfaction both by Citizens and Soldiers, he paid off the latter, gave them great Rewards, and diſpatch'd the Standing Legions to their reſpective Cities and Provinces. After which he return'd to *Rome* with a Body of *Germans* for his Guard, which he choſe upon the account of Conteſts between the *Prætorian* Soldiers and the Citizens of *Rome*; who, underſtanding the Death of *Maximinus*, were all pacify'd, and repair'd with the Senate to receive

*Balbinus*

*Balbinus* into the Empire, and young *Gordian* for *Cæsar*, as formerly, being all nobly and splendidly entertain'd. Peace being thus established beyond all Expectation, the two Emperors with extraordinary Acclamations enter'd the Senate House; where, according to Custom, they were stil'd, *The Fathers of the Senate*, and great Thanks return'd to them, *as the only Preservers of the* Romans *Lives and Estates.* And in remembrance that these Emperors were created by the Senate without the Soldiers, some highly extoll'd the Fathers, *for their Care, in electing such wise and worthy Emperors, contrary to the rash and indiscreet Practices of those who had often chosen their Governours, according to their own Interests, not the publick Good; and whose Actions commonly brought their untimely but deserved Deaths.* Which Speeches the *Prætorian* Soldiers took so heinously, that they began to dislike the Promotion of *Pupienus* and *Balbinus*, holding themselves highly affronted both for their bringing in of the *German* Guards; and for the Senate's seeming to triumph over them, and taking away their darling Power of making Emperors. And so great was their Insolence and Ambition, that from that time they not only wish'd, but practis'd the Deaths of these two Emperors; who governed all things with great Skill and Prudence, made many good and profitable Laws and Ordinances, and sent necessary Forces to all Provinces, doing Justice impartially, greatly honouring the Senate, and generally shewing themselves courteous and affable to all Men. But all this would not avail to gain the Affections of the Soldiers, for Virtue and Goodness seldom pacify the Hatred of lewd and wicked Men, when their Licentiousness is restrain'd and disallowed; therefore all their principal Care was how they might ruin these two good

Emperors, without any Danger to their own Perſons and Fortunes.

But the *German* Guards and the Citizens might have been a ſufficient Protection for the Emperors, had not their own private Jealouſies and Emulation open'd a Paſſage to their Ruins; for though they were wiſe and aged, and both careful of the publick Affairs, yet they too much conſider'd their private Intereſt and Reſentments. *Pupienus* priz'd his Wiſdom and Experience above the other's, and judg'd the Superiority to belong to him; and the other expected it upon the account of Nobility, and Antiquity of his Houſe and Family; ſo that each of them having his own Guard, in a manner ſtood upon his own Defence againſt the other, though one place contain'd them both. About the ſame time the City was alarmed with the News of the *Parthians*, or rather *Perſians*, invading the Empire with Succeſs, and likewiſe of the *Germans* being up in Arms to the Hazard of that Province; upon which theſe two Emperors prudently agreed to march both in Perſon, one into the *Eaſt* againſt the *Perſians*, and the other to the *Weſt* againſt the *Germans*. But while great Preparations were making againſt both theſe Enemies, the *Capitoline* Games were publickly celebrated in *Rome*, to which the greateſt part of the Emperor's Guards and Family reſorted, both of them remaining in the Palace ſlenderly guarded without any Suſpicion of Treaſon or Violence. The *Prætorian* Soldiers finding this advantageous Time, for which they had long waited, entered the Palace with great Fury, all in Arms; which *Pupienus* perceiving, he ſent with the utmoſt Speed for *Balbinus*, and likewiſe for both their Guards, which might have been ſufficient for their Defence. But *Balbinus* out of a vain Suſpicion

that

that his Collegue ſent for his Guards to act ſomething againſt him, not only protracted Time, but hinder'd the ſending for the *Germans*; ſo that theſe Traitors had eaſy acceſs into both the Emperor's Chambers, where in their Rage they diveſted them of their Imperial Robes, and barbarouſly haled theſe poor innocent Emperors, like two Criminals, through the midſt of the City towards the Camp. But underſtanding that the *Germans* were haſtening after them to their Relief and Reſcue, to put an end to all farther Conteſts, they ſlew them both, and left their Bodies in the Streets. This was the deplorable End of *Pupienus* and *Balbinus*, making together the Twenty Seventh Emperor of *Rome*, and reigning a little above a Year; who after they had been rais'd by their illuſtrious Merits and Lineage to the higheſt Thrones of Human Glory, were deſtroy'd principally by means of their own private Jealouſies and Ambitions. Their Deaths happen'd in the 992*d* Year of the City, 239 Years after the Birth of our Saviour, and 46 after the publick Sale of the Empire.

*The Deaths of Pupienus and Balbinus.*

III. The Soldiers having committed this execrable Murther, by Accident met with young *Gordian* in the Street, whom they immediately ſaluted by the Title of *Auguſtus* and *Emperor*, crying out to the People, *Since theſe two Emperors were dead, who were created againſt their Conſents, they would now chuſe* Gordian, *whom formerly they deſired to be made* Cæſar; who in this manner went with them to their Camp. *Gordian* being thus choſen by the *Prætorian* Cohorts, the Senate and People ſeeing no Remedy againſt their pretended Authority, willingly approved and confirmed the Election; for he was generally beloved in the City, upon the account of the Merits of

*A. D.* 239.

*Gordian made Emperor.*

the two former *Gordians*: And from this Election there enſu'd an amicable Correſpondence between the Soldiers and Citizens, *Gordian* beginning his Government with good Order and Succeſs. *Gordian* was but ſixteen Years of Age when he entered upon the Empire, and ſome ſay leſs; being of a very ancient and illuſtrious Family; for his Grandfather *Gordian*, by the Father's ſide, was deſcended from the Family of the *Gracchi*, and by the Mother's, from the renowned Emperor *Trajan*. This young Prince was of a very mild and docible Diſpoſition, and ſo ſtudious and given to Learning, that we are aſſured, that he had ſixty two Thouſand Books in his Library. He began his Reign with many publick Feaſts and Games, and a munificent Donative and Diſtribution among the Soldiers and Citizens; in which, and other Matters, this young Emperor ſo much follow'd the Councils of wiſe Men, that he ſoon gain'd much Love and Reputation in the City. But his Intereſt was not ſo ſoon eſtabliſhed in the Provinces; for in the firſt Year of his Reign, a Commander call'd *Sabinianus* rebell'd in *Africk*; but the Governour of *Mauritania* by *Gordian*'s Order marching againſt him, he was ſeiz'd by his own Men; who craving Pardon for their Offence, brought him to *Carthage*, and deliver'd him into the Hands of the Emperors Officers. This and the following Year were likewiſe attended with ſuch ſtrange Accidents and Calamities, as drove the *Romans* into great Fears and Superſtitious Projects; the firſt was an unuſual Eclipſe of the Sun, which made Noon-Day as dark as Midnight; which was followed by ſuch terrible Earthquakes, that many Cities and Towns of the Empire were ſwallowed up and deſtroy'd.

This

This young Emperor in the beginning of his Reign, took care to ſtrengthen his Intereſt many ways, but more eſpecially by the Alliance of *Miſitheus* his Præfect and Inſtructor, whom he ſo much honour'd for his great Wiſdom and Learning, that he marry'd his Daughter; and the Authority and Counſel of this Perſon made his Reign very proſperous, and much eſteemed. For *Meſitheus*, though but of an ordinary Family, was of great Virtue, and ſo diſcreet and exact in all his Actions, that though *Gordian* was ſo very young, and naturably inclinable to Vice and Senſuality, yet he formed him into an excellent Prince and Governour, both in Peace and War. Which plainly demonſtrates, that it is the greateſt Strength and Glory of a Prince to have a good and wiſe Council, and to have his Court repleniſhed with honeſt and worthy Perſons; and of this *Gordian* was always ſenſible, as appears from the following Letter written by him to his Father-in-Law, in anſwer to another which contained ſome Directions and Reproofs. *If the immortal Gods had not protected the* Roman *Empire, I had been deluded and ſold by theſe wicked Perſons: For now I am fully convinced, that* Fœlix *ought not to have been intruſted with the* Roman *Cohorts, nor* Seraphion *with the fourth Legion: And not to mention all my Errors, I acknowledge that I have acted many things that I ought not. But, Heaven be prais'd, through your Inſtructions, who never act upon ſordid Principles, I have learnt ſuch things as I could never have known while I was ſhut up in my Palace. For what could I have done, while I was blinded by* Maurus, *who was Confederate with* Gaudian, Reverendus, *and* Montanus? *So that whatſoever they approved or condemn'd, relying upon their Integrity, I accepted or rejected. Therefore,* Father, *that Prince is extreamly unfortunate, who has not ſuch about him*

*as will tell him the Truth without Diſguiſe: For a King cannot immediately know what paſſes among his People, of neceſſity he muſt underſtand it by the Relation of others, and diſpoſe of Affairs according to their Information.* By the Directions of *Miſitheus* he ſet about many Regulations, and alſo ſeveral Edifices; particularly he began a Royal Structure in the *Campus Martius*, conſiſting of two ſtately Galleries, each of 1000 Foot long, and the diſtance of 500 Foot from each other; the Interſpace on either ſide being adorned with Greens compos'd of Laurel, Myrtle, and Box; and in the middle a Terraſs of the length of the Galleries ſuſtain'd by ſeveral Rows of ſmall Pillars, having above that another noble Gallery of 500 Foot. All which ſhew'd the Magnificence of the *Roman* Court.

For four Years this Emperor reign'd in great Peace and Proſperity, to the general Satisfaction of all Men; in the Fifth he was alarm'd with the News from the *Eaſt*, that the mighty *Sapores* King of *Perſia*, who ſucceeding his Brother *Artaxerxes* in his Kingdom, had furiouſly enter'd the Confines of the *Roman* Empire, and paſſed as far as *Antioch* in *Syria*, which City he had taken, and pillaged the adjacent Provinces. *Gordian* cauſed the Temple of *Janus* to be opened, and left *Rome* with a brave and well-train'd Army, and large Proviſions and Sums of Money for their Subſiſtance; and marching by Land from *Italy* to paſs the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*, he paſſed through *Meſia*, to ſtop the progreſs of the *Gothi* and other Barbarous Nations, which came down like an Inundation to have inhabited *Thrace*; againſt whom he obtain'd ſome Victories, and left thoſe Provinces in a peaceable Condition. Having paſs'd the *Helleſpont*, he marched through the *Leſſer Aſia* into *Syria*, where he had many Battels

**Gordian's *Expedition into the* Eaſt.**

and

and Encounters with *Sapores*; and obtaining ſome conſiderable Victories, he ſoon recover'd the City of *Antioch*, and ſhortly after proceeding farther, he took the great Cities, *Sapores* and *Niſibis*: For *Carræ* being diſcouraged by the firſt Battels, was now ſo terrify'd, that notwithſtanding he had a potent and numerous Army, he durſt not engage the Emperor; but leaving thoſe Cities and ſeveral others, he abandon'd the Limits and Confines of the *Roman* Empire, and retired into his own Country. In theſe Wars all things were principally manag'd by the wiſe Counſel and Direction of the Emperor's Father-in-law *Miſitheus*, who was his *Prætorian* Præfect, and Commander in Chief, and govern'd all things with ſo much Judgment, that he fail'd not in any material Point; and ſo by his Conduct and Valour *Gordian* obtain'd many Conqueſts and Victories, and the Soldiers no leſs Honour and Reputation. The like happen'd in all other Matters conducing to the good Government of the Empire in general; for he was ſo good and wiſe a Man, and the compliable Diſpoſition of the Emperor, did ſo happily concur, that during this Reign, the Affairs of the Publick ſucceeded as proſperouſly as could be expected in ſuch corrupted Times. All Frontier Towns of Note were furniſhed with Stores of Proviſion, ſufficient to entertain an Emperor and his Army, and leſſer places proportionable. But before the Wars were perfectly finiſh'd, *Miſitheus* was ſuddenly ſeiz'd with a violent Diſtemper, which ended his Days ſoon after; being ſecretly poiſon'd, and is believ'd, by *Philip*, a valiant *Arabian*, who had paſſed thro' many Offices and Places of Truſt, and after his Death was rais'd by the Emperor to the ſame Offices, namely, to the *Prætorian* Præfect, and General of his Army, not ſuſpecting his treaſonable Deſigns.

*The Death of Miſitheus.*

*Philip advanc'd.*

After

After this new Advancement, a ſtop was ſoon put to all the favourable Fortunes of *Gordian*; for *Philip* ſeeing himſelf ſo Potent, and being dazled with the ambitious proſpect of a Crown, reſolved to venture all to obtain it; and in order to that, he us'd all poſſible Methods of Kindneſs and Popularity to gain the Affections of the Soldiers, and make them Enemies to *Gordian*. Then to effect this Deſign, by his Artifices and Practices, he caus'd a Scarcity of Proviſions in the Army, and inſinuating to the Soldiers, that this proceeded from the Youth and unskilfulneſs of *Gordian*, they termined to make *Philip* his Equal in the Empire, and that he ſhould be as his Tutor and Governour; to which the virtuous young Emperor patiently ſubmitted, being unable to oppoſe this impudent Determination. *Philip* ſeeing himſelf equal with his Sovereign, became more inſolent and audacious, ſo that by means of his Youth, and the Army's Favour, he began to command all, as though he had been ſole Emperor. But *Gordian* being unable to endure this Diſgrace and Incroachment, aſſembled the Army, openly complaining of the Inſolence and Ingratitude of *Philip*, adding to this purpoſe, *I am but young, yet older by ſix Years than when I was made Emperor by you; my Body tender, yet daily expos'd to the Chance of War; my Council raw, yet improv'd by your Wiſdoms; and my Conqueſts nothing by themſelves, but by your Valour famous and renown'd. What then are my Errors, that I may correct them; or your Grievances, that I may redreſs them; For I ſolemnly declare, That it is only for the good of the Empire, and for your Happineſs that I can wiſh to live.* Notwithſtanding theſe Complaint, *Philip* ſo cunningly and ſucceſsfully manag'd his Affair, that the poor young Emperor was diſplac'd, abandon'd by all, and reduc'd to that Extremity, that he ſent to entreat *Philip*, *That it*

*he wou'd not permit him to be his Equal, that he wou'd please to allow him the Dignity of* Cæsar; but not allowing him that, *He desir'd to be his* Prætorian *Præfect*: Which being likewise deny'd, he humbly requested him, *That he might be one of his Captains as long as he liv'd.* At this Petition *Philip's* cruel Mind somewhat relented; but afterwards considering how much *Gordian* was belov'd in *Rome* and *Africk*, and other Provinces, both for his Family and Virtues, he commanded him to be slain; which was the deplorable end of the youngest *Gordian*, the twenty eighth Emperor of *Rome*, in the 22d Year of his Age, after a successful Reign of near six Years; a Person of great Deserts and Virtues, who had perform'd many excellent things for the good of the Publick, but unfortunately liv'd in a State and Age so abominably corrupted by wicked Emperors and Tyrants, that now there was no security for good or bad Princes. He was infinitely belov'd by the Senate and People of *Rome*, and likewise by the Soldiers, who call'd him *Their Son*. Though in this sudden Fury they brutishly murdered him, by means of the Delusions of *Philip*, yet they made him a Sepulchre in the Confines of *Persia*, with this Inscription in the *Latin*, *Greek*, *Syriack*, and *Ægyptians* Tongues: 'To the *Divine* Gordian, *Conqueror of the* Persians, Goths, *and* Sarmatians; *Extinguisher of the* Roman *civil Discords*, 'and *Subduer of the* Germans, *but not of the* Philips. The Senate declar'd this Privilege to the Family of the *Gordians*, that their Posterity, if they pleas'd, might be for ever exempted from Tutelage, Embassies, and all other publick Duties. His Death hapned in the 997th Year of the City, 267 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 244 after our Saviour's Nativity, 146 after the last of the Twelve *Cæsars*, and 51 after the publick Sale of the Empire.

*The Death of* Gordian.

IV. Thus

*A. D.* 244. IV. Thus *Philip* ſucceeded in his Wickedneſs; but Juſtice was more ſpeedy in the puniſhing the reſt of *Gordian*'s Murderers; for it is obſerv'd all thoſe nine that ſlew him, periſhed by their own Hands, and with the ſame Swords they us'd againſt him. But *Philip* eſcap'd a longer Time, and was ſo fortunate as to be immediately ſworn and obey'd as Emperor by the Army: Whereupon he wrote to the Senate an Account of his Election, and of the Death of *Gordian*, which he falſly told the Fathers, *proceeded from a natural Diſtemper*. But we are told, that the Senate were ſo far from complying with *Philip*'s Election, that they choſe one *M. Marcinus*, and then *Valens Hoſtilianus*; but both dying ſuddenly, they approved of *Philip*'s Election, and gave him the Title of *Auguſtus*. *Julius Philippus* was now about forty Years of Age, and was by Birth an *Arabian* of *Trachonitis*, of diſhonourable Parentage, his Father being a notorious Captain of Robbers in that Country. He was bred up in the Wars among the *Roman* Armies, from whence he learned Experience and Valour, and from his own Country, Treachery and Cruelty. He took his Son *Philip*, though a Child of about ſix or ſeven Years of Age, for his Companion in the Empire; of whom it is obſerved, that he was of ſuch a compos'd and melancholy Temper, that no Man by any Invention could make him laugh or ſmile. *Philip* being more than ordinary deſirous to return to *Rome*, and to ſee himſelf Lord of that mighty City, made a very diſhonourable Peace with the *Perſians*; and leaving to them all the Province of *Meſopotamia*, and part of *Syria*, he march'd his Army towards *Rome*. But firſt he deſigned to viſit his own Country, *Arabia*; and arriving there, in Memory of his Name he founded a City call'd *Philopolis*, near

*Philip made Emperor.*

*Who makes his Son Companion with him.*

near his native Place and Habitation; from whence he took his Journey towards *Rome*. Arriving at the City, though he was received as a Sovereign Lord, yet not with those Applauses and Blessings he expected: for his dishonourable giving up the Province of *Mesopotamia* was no ways pleasing to the Senate or People. Which when he understood, he made a large Donative and Distribution of Money, and other Presents among the People, to regain their Esteem; and after that sought an Occasion to make War against the *Persians*, and likewise proclaim'd it with a Resolution to recover the Honour which he had there lost. But this War came to no Action, for the *Persians* being much weakned in the late Wars, and dreading the *Roman* Power, gladly restor'd all the Provinces without War or Bloodshed.

We have but little or no Account of any more of this Emperor's Actions, till in the fourth Year of his Reign, which was just a thousand Years after the Building of the City, he order'd the Celebration of the famous Secular Games, as it were solemnizing the Birth-day of *Rome*; which Games were regularly exhibited but once in a hundred Years, though these were but forty three Years after those last under *Severus*, and a hundred since those under *Antoninus Pius*. They were never exhibited but by six Emperors, before the removal of the Imperial Seat to *Bizantium* or *Constantinople*, by *Augustus*, by *Claudius*, by *Domitian*, by *Antoninus Pius*, by *Severuss*, and lastly by this Emperor *Philip*, who celebrated them with greater Pomp and Magnificence than ever had been known before, by Reason of the solemn Commemoration of the Building of the City. In the *Circus Maximus* were hunted, baited, and encounter'd, infinite Numbers of all sorts of strange and wild Beasts, which *Gordian* had design'd for his *Persian* Triumph;

*Ludi Seculares.* *A. D.* 247.

two

two thouſand Gladiators were marched, who ſlew each other to give the Spectators Delight; and in *Pompey*'s Theatre were ſuch variety of Shews and Games, as laſted three Days, and as many Nights, without Intermiſſion; where were ſuch innumerable Company of Lights, that the People could ſee as well at Midnight as at Noon-day. But towards the latter end of theſe famous Sports, *Pompey*'s Theatre accidentally took Fire, and the greateſt part of that glorious Edifice was conſum'd, together with ſome other magnificent Buildings near it, before it could be eſtinguiſh'd. Upon the Occaſion of theſe great Games, we are told, that both *Philip* and his Son were converted to *Chriſtianity*; and that the Father being baptiz'd by Pope *Fabian*, after Confeſſion of his Sins, was admitted to the Sacrament. *Euſebius* intimates that *Philip* going on the *Vigilis*, of *Eaſter* with the reſt of the *Chriſtians* into the Church or Aſſembly, to be preſent at their Prayers, the Biſhop of the Place would by no means ſuffer him, unleſs he would make publick Confeſſion of his Sins, and paſs through the Order of the Penitents, becauſe of his being guilty of many heinous and enormous Crimes, to which he readily ſubmitted. Some attribute his Converſion to the Endeavours of *Origen*; and others ſay, that he only fain'd his Religion to make the *Chriſtians* joyn with him againſt the Pretenſions of *Decius*. But none of theſe Opinions having any certain Foundation, we cannot call *Philip* the firſt *Chriſtian* Emperor, as ſome have done.

*Philip* thus reigning in a peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Empire, the *Goths*, who had been repell'd by *Gordian*, again paſs'd through *Mæſia* into the Province of *Thrace*, burning many Cities and Towns in their March. Againſt whom the Emperor ſent *Marinus*, a Perſon very valiant and ex-

per

part in Wars; who when he was ſettled in his Charge, by the Favour and Aſſiſtance of his own Soldiers, and of the ordinary Legions of *Illyricum*, reſolved to rebel, and to make himſelf Emperor, holding it lawful to betray him who had been a Traytor to another, and was accordingly ſworn and proclaimed Emperor by the Army. Upon which *Philip* was in a great Conſternation; and in great Fear complained to the Senate of the Ingratitude and Perſumption of *Marinus*: But his Succeſſor, *Decius*, then preſent, with much Aſſurance told him, *That his Preſumption would very ſhortly be his Ruin*, which proved true: For within a few Days after, the ſame Army that choſe *Marinus*, being diſſatisfied with his Behaviour and Carriage towards them, were as ready to take his Life, as to give him the Empire; and accordingly they ſlew him. Upon notice of this, *Philip* remembring what *Decius* had ſaid in the Senate, gave him the Command of the Army againſt the *Goths*, with a conſiderable Augmentation of Men, Money and Proviſions. *Decius* was a Man of Extraordinary Wiſdom and Experience, and ſufficiently able to diſcharge that Office; ſo that when he arrived at the Camp, all the Soldiers, as well for the Worth of his Perſon, as their Fear of being puniſhed by *Philip* for their former Crimes, reſolv'd to chuſe him Emperor; and by meer Conſtraint they obliged Him to take upon him the Title and Dignity of Emperor. *Decius* ſeeing himſelf thus unexpectedly advanced, for his future Security us'd this Piece of Policy: He ſent a ſecret Meſſenger with all ſpeed to acquaint *Philip*, *That being violently compelled by his Army, he had unwillingly aſſumed the Title of Emperor, but accounted no Man Emperor but him; therefore he hoped that he would not be offended at his Carriage; aſſuring him, That as ſoon as he could poſſibly get any Liberty, he would utterly renounce that*

**Marinus** *proclaim'd Emperor by his Army.*

*and ſlain.*

**Decius** *made Emperor by the Army.*

*Title, and all Pretenſions to Sovereignty.* By this Artifice *Decius* hoped to prevent *Philip*'s making any Preparations againſt him, till he might ſtrengthen his own Intereſt ſo far as to be in a Condition to defend himſelf; but *Philip* was to well acquainted with politick Projects to rely upon ſuch Promiſes; therefore in a great Rage he reſolved to march againſt him in Perſon. In Order to which, he ſent for the Standing Legions out of ſeveral Provinces, and made new Levies, threatning with many Oaths and Curſes, *to cut* Decius *and all his rebellious Legions in Pieces*; and in this Manner departed from *Rome*, commanding his Soldiers with ſuch Anger and Haughtineſs, as made him odious to his Army. So that they eſteeming *Decius* more worthy of the Empire than he, before they left *Italy*, in the City of *Verona*, they openly proclam'd *Decius*, and ſetting violently upon him, cut off his Head, or rather cleaved it in ſunder, juſt by his upper Row of Teeth. This was the deſerved Death of *Philip*, the Twenty ninth Emperor of *Rome*, in the 45th Year of his Age, after a Reign of about five years; a Perſon who loſt his Life and Empire by the ſame treaſonable Means that he obtain'd it, and likewiſe by the ſame Soldiers; his Death being alſo ſucceeded by that of his melancholy Son in *Rome*, who was ſlain by the *Prætorian* Soldiers, for having only the Title of Emperor; and ſince by reaſon of his Youth he could not have the Authority of Emperor, I have not reckoned him as ſuch. The Death of *Philip* hapened in the 1002d Year of the City, 249 after our Saviour's Nativity, and 56 after the publick Sale of the Empire.

*The Death of* Philip.

*A. D.* 249. Decius *made Emperor.*

V. Soon after the Death of *Philip* and his Son, *Decius* without Contradiction was acknowledged and confirmed Emperor, not only by his own, Soldiers,

Soldiers, but alſo by the Senate, by all the Provinces, and the Armies, who readily gave him the Title of *Auguſtus*. He was now about Forty ſeven Years of Age, and was born in a City, call'd *Cabali*, in the *Lower Pannonia* or *Hungary*, of a Noble and Ancient Family; having held many Offices and Dignities before he attain'd to the Empire. As ſoon as his Election was confirm'd, he left *L. Valerian*, a wiſe and experienced Commander, for General of all his Forces, and return'd to *Rome*; where he ſhew'd himſelf ſo brave and active in Regulation, ſo ſagacious and politick in Adminiſtration, and became ſo univerſally acceptable by his modeſt and excellent Carriage, that by the Sentence of the Senate he was voted not inferior to *Trajan*, and had likewiſe the Title of *Optimus* given to him. He ſhew'd a great Veneration for the Senate, and in a particular Manner preſerv'd the Authority of that venerable Aſſembly; following their Advice and Counſel in all Matters of Government. And among other Things, he permitted them to chuſe a *Cenſor* at their Pleaſure, which was an ancient Magiſtracy of great Authority, whoſe Office was to correct the Manners and Cuſtoms, and to reform the Abuſes and Diſorders of the People, and therefore had Supreme Juriſdiction over all Men: And this Office, from the Time that *Rome* became ſubject to one Perſon, was generally uſurp'd by the Emperors, who made themſelves *Cenſors* at their Pleaſure. Upon this Permiſſion of *Decius*, the Senate made choice of his General *Valerian* for Cenſor, notwithſtanding he was then abſent, crying out, *That the Life of Valerian was a continual Cenſorſhip*; and moreover, without any Requeſt made by the Emperor, they nominated his Son *Decius*, for *Cæſar*, and his Succeſſor,

*Young Decius made Cæſar.*

But tho' this Emperor gain'd ſuch great Applauſes from his Behaviour in general, yet he exceedingly ſtain'd and blacken'd his Reputation by his bloody Severities towards the *Chriſtians*; againſt whom, in the firſt Year of his Reign, he rais'd the ſharpeſt and moſt dreadful Perſecution, that had ever yet afflicted and oppreſſed the Church. This was the Seventh General Perſecution of the *Chriſtians*, which broke out about fifteen Years after the Beginning of the Sixth Perſecution under *Maximinus*. Some Writers ſuppoſe this Perſecution to have proceeded from *Decius*'s Hatred to his Predeceſſor *Philip*, for being a *Chriſtian*, or at leaſt a great Favourer of that Religion; but others more truly aſcribe it to his Zeal for the Cauſe of declining *Paganiſm*, which he ſaw fatally undermined by the wonderful Progreſs of *Chriſtianity*, and that therefore there was no Expedient left to ſupport the one, but by the Ruin of the other. For above a Year and a half this Storm was very black and violent, and no Place in the Empire but felt the dreadful Effects of it. The *Chriſtians* were in all Places driven from their Habitations, ſpoil'd in their Eſtates, tormented in their Bodies; Racks and Priſons, Fines and wild Beaſts, ſcalding Pitch and melted Wax; ſharp Stakes and burning Pinces, were but ſome of the Methods of their Treatment; and when the former were run over, new were daily invented and contrived. The Laws of Nature and Humanity were trodden under foot; Friend betray'd his Friend, Brother his Brother, and Children their Fathers; every Perſon being ambitious to promote the Imperial Edicts, and thinking it meritorious to bring a *Chriſtian* to the Stake. This Perſecution ſwept away infinite Numbers, among the reſt, *Fabian*, Biſhop of *Rome*; *Babylas*, Biſhop of *Antioch*; and *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*; *Nicepho-*

*The ſeventh general Perſecution.*

*A. D.* 250.

*rus*

*rus* affirming it to be easier to count the Sands of the Sea-shore, than to reckon up all the Martyrs that suffer'd under this Persecution. Besides, an innumerable Company were beaten, imprison'd, and tormented, among whom *Origen* was one; and a greater number betook themselves to voluntary Exile, chusing rather to commit themselves to the Barrenness of Rocks and Mountains, and the Mercy of wild Beasts, than to those who had divested themselves of all Reason and Humanity. Among these latter, was *Paul* of *Thebies*, a Youth of fourteen Years of Age, who withdrew himself into the Deserts of *Ægypt*, and took up his Abode and Residence in a convenient Cavern in a Rock, leading for ninety eight Years a solitary and anchoretick Life, and became the Father of Hermits, and all such as afterwards resign'd themselves to Solitude, and a more strict mortify'd Life. Towards the latter end of this Persecution, the Emperor *Decius* took a Journey into *Syria*, to establish the Affairs of the *East*; and at *Antioch*, haing unjustly slain a little Son of an *Eastern* King, depos'd for an Hostage, he attempted to enter the *Christian* Congregation there; but the above-nam'd *Babylas*, Bishop of this City, stood at the Door, and with an undaunted Bravery told him, *That he would never willingly permit a Wolf to break in upon* Christ's *Sheepfold*. This so exasperated the Emperor, that he immediately after sent for *Babylas*, and sharply expostulating with him for the Insolency of the Fact, he commanded him, and many others to suffer Martyrdom; so that no Part of the Empire was free from the Effects of his bloody Commands.

This Persecution was attended and succeeded by many Miseries to the Empire, and by great Wars and Devastations from the *Goths*, and other Barbarous Nations, which occasion'd *Decius* to

make ſpeedy Preparations to oppoſe them in *Thrace* and *Meſia*, where they had been moſt ſucceſsful. For the more effectual ſuppreſſing of them he reſolv'd to go in Perſon, and to oblige the Senate, he left the Government in their Hands; and takeing his Son along with him, he marched toward the Enemy, and within a few Days after he join'd Battel with thoſe furious People; which in the Beginning was very doubtful and bloody, but at laſt he gain'd the Victory, and ſlew 30000; conſtraining the reſt to fly to the Mountains, and other Places of difficult Acceſs, not daring to come down into the Plains: Which reduced them to that Extremity, that he might eaſily have ruined them, had he not been prevented by the Infidelity of his own Commanders. For the King of the *Goths*, by an Embaſſy let him underſtand, *That if he would give him leave to depart peaceably, he would abandon all the* Roman *Dominions, and return to his own Country.* But the Emperor having poſſeſs'd himſelf of all the Paſſes, imagining that he might eaſily deſtroy them, or make them Priſoners, and ſo puniſh their former Breach of Articles, would not yield to the King's Propoſals. Having at laſt reduced them to ſuch Extremity, that they could not eſcape out of his Hands, he gave Orders to an Eminent Commander call'd *Trebonianus Gallus*, Governor of the Frontiers of *Mæſia*, carefully to guard certain Paſſes, through which the *Goths* deſign'd to march, and that he might effectually ſecure them, he gave him the Command of a powerful Party of Men. But *Gallus* being ambitious of making himſelf Emperor, and by ſuch Methods as were often us'd before, not only diſcharg'd his Office negligently, but gave ſecret Intelligence to the King of the *Goths*, *That he would let him paſs quietly*; adviſing him withal, *to divide his Army into two Parts, with one Half to lay in Ambuſh,*

*buſh, and with the other to attack the Emperor's Camp, who ſuſpected no ſuch Attempt; and then, faining a Flight ſo to retire, as to draw the Emperor into his Ambuſcade, where he might undoubtedly deſtroy him.* Authors do not exactly agree in the Relation of this private Contract; but however, the Treaſon of *Gallus* ſo far ſucceeded, that *Decius* was brought to engage the *Goths* with the greateſt Diſadvantage, and yet continued fighting with extraordinary Valour and Bravery. In a ſhort time young *Decius*, being mortally wounded with an Arrow, fell from his Horſe in the ſight of his Father the Emperor, who immediately cry'd out to his Soldiers, *Not to be diſcouraged, for the Death of one Knight would be no Prejudice to the State or the Battel.* But at length foreſeeing his Ruin, and that the *Goths* had apparently the Victory, that he might not fall into the Enemy's Hands, he clapt his Spurs to his Horſe, and rode furiouſly into a deep Lake or Bog, where by reaſon of the weight of his Armour, he was ſoon ſwallowed up, and his Body never could be found. And this was the miſerable Death of *Decius*, the Thirtieth Emperor of *Rome*, on the 50th Year of his Age, after a ſhort Reign of two Years and ſix Months; a Prince excellent in all things but in Relation to the *Chriſtians*, the Blood of whom not only fell upon Him, his Son, and his whole Army, but alſo upon the whole *Roman* Empire beſides, by Means of the Inundations of the *Goths* and other barbarous Nations, who at this time might have been eaſily ſuppreſs'd, if not ruined by natural Means, if Providence had thought it fit. The Death of *Decius* happen'd in the 1004th Year of the City, 274 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 251 after our Saviour's Nativity, 153 after the laſt of the Twelve *Cæſars*, and 58 after the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

*The Death of* Decius.

*A. D.* 251. VI. After the Death of *Decius*, the *Goths* purſu'd their Victory, and made a miſerable Slaughter in the *Roman* Army, which was entirely defeated; and thoſe who eſcaped, fled to the Legions commanded by *Gallus*, who as a Confederate with the *Goths*, was in ſafety: Therefore he us'd no Revenge for the Death of *Decius*, tho' he made great Pretences of that kind, to conceal his odious Acts and Deſigns. He ſhew'd himſelf very induſtrious in ſtrengthening and encouraging his Army, promiſing great Service againſt the barbarous *Goths*, till by his popular Actions he gain'd his Deſire, and with the Applauſes of the Soldiers was proclaimed Emperor. Intelligence of this was ſoon brought to *Rome*, where the Senate and People were extremely concerned, as well for the Death of *Decius*, as the Overthrow of the *Roman* Army, but underſtanding that *Gallus* was choſen Emperor, and that his Legions had ſecured ſuch Men as eſcaped from the Battel, they confirm'd his Election, and gave him the Name and Title of *Auguſtus*. *Gallus* was now about 45 Years of Age, and deſcended of an honourable Family in *Rome*, which he much ſtain'd by his baſe and diſhonourable Actions: For he not only deſigned it by his treaſonable Practices before he was Emperor; but after his Advancement he made a Peace with the *Goths*, the moſt ſhameful and diſhonourable that ever the *Romans* made ſince the Foundation of the City which was, *That the* Roman *ſhould every Year conſtantly pay a conſiderable Tribute to the* Goths. So that he might gain the Title of Emperor, he was content to make himſelf and the *Romans*, who were accounted Lords of all Nations, tributary and ſubject to a rude and barbarous People: So prevalent is Ambition, that it makes Men willing to be Slaves to ſome, that they may effectually com-

**Gallus** *made Emperor.*

command others. But the Succeſſes of this Emperor proved according to the Merit of his Actions: For the *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations, not ſatisfy'd with their advantageous Peace, broke it in a ſhort Time, and like a mighty Torrent came down upon the Province of *Thrace*, *Mæſia*, *Theſſaly*, *Macedon*, and ſome Parts of *Aſia*, practiſing all Kinds of Ravages, Devaſtations and Maſſacres: For all which the Emperor ſhewed but little Regard. On the other ſide, the *Perſians* in *Aſia*, ſeeing the extraordinary Succeſs of the *Goths*, entered with a great Power under their great King *Sapores*, into the Provinces of *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*; and then paſſing forwards, they ſubdu'd *Armenia*, and drove out *Tiridates* the King of that Country. But *Gallus* not much regarding theſe troubles and Calamities abroad, conſumed his Time in *Rome*, rather as a Slave to his own Voluptuouſneſs, than a conquering Monarch; taking for his Companion in the Empire his Son *Voluſian*, tho' but a Child, and cauſing *Virtus Auguſtorum* be ſtampt upon both their Coins, as if he had gained the Empire by Valour, and not Treachery. At the ſame time, to pleaſe and pacify the People of *Rome*, he adopted a young Son of *Decius*; but ſhortly after caus'd him ſecretly to be poyſon'd.

*Who makes his Son* Voluſian *his Partner.*

That there might be nothing wanting to compleat the Miſeries of the Empire, *Gallus* renew'd the *Decian* Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtian*, which had been much abated; reſolving, as it were, to imitate his Predeceſſor in nothing but his Crimes. And this was the immediately ſucceeded by a moſt dreadful Peſtilence, which beginning in *Æthiopia* in the Confines of *Ægypt*, from thence infected all the Provinces in the World, continuing ſeveral Years in an unheard of Manner, and deſtroying incredible Numbers of People in every City in the Empire; from whence St. *Cyprian*, the famous

*The laſt Perſecution revived.*

mous Biſhop of *Carthage*, took an Occaſion to write that excellent Treatiſe, *De Mortalitate*, So that all the Reign of this wicked Emperor was unfortunate and deplorable; as well for the Loſs of ſeveral Provinces to foreign Enemies, as other Calamities, He had only one conſiderable Victory in *Mæſia*, gained by his General *Æmilian* over the *Goths*; of whom many thouſands were ſlain, and the Purſuit followed for ſeveral Days. But this Victory was ſo far from being an Advantage to *Gallus*, that it ſoon after occaſion'd his total Ruin; for *Æmilian* by this became ſo famous, and *Gallus* ſo contemptible, that the Soldiers, who were pleas'd with the Gifts and Promiſes of *Æmilian*, and ever affecting Change and Novelties, proclaim'd him Emperor. The News of this ſoon rous'd *Gallus* from his ſoft Pleaſures and Delights, who with all poſſible Expedition made great Preparations to oppoſe this dangerous Rival; and leaving *Rome*, carrying his Son with him, and a powerful Army, he march'd towards *Mæſia*. Here he was met by *Æmilian*, who boldly came to a Battel with him, and at length overthrew him, and ſlew both Him and his Son *Voluſian*; the Soldiers all joining with the Conqueror. This was the deſerved Death of *Trebonianus Gallus*, the Thirty firſt Emperor of *Rome*, in the 47th year of his Age, after a moſt unhappy Reign of two Years and four Months; a Prince who had no Excellency that we know; but by his abominable Practices and Wickedneſs, he brought innumerable Miſchiefs and Calamities upon himſelf and the Empire; by which his Memory is become odious in Hiſtory. He dy'd in the 1006th Year of the City, 253 Years after our Saviour's Nativity, and 60 after the publick Sale of the Empire.

*Æmilian proclaim'd by the Soldiers,*

*The Death of Gallus and his Son,*

VII. *Æmi-*

VII. *Æmilian*, after his Victory over *Gallus*, began to look upon himſelf as real Emperor of *Rome*; and thereupon wrote to the Senate, ſending them intelligence of his Succeſs and Election, remembring them of the Negligence and Ill-Government of *Gallus*, and of the Provinces the *Roman* Empire had loſt in his Reign; promiſing likewiſe to recover *Thrace* from the *Goths*, *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia* from the *Perſians*, and to clear the Empire of all Enemies. But the Senate had no Regard to theſe Promiſes, and the Army of the *Alps* likewiſe oppos'd him, chuſing for Emperor their own Commander *Valerian*; upon Notice of which, *Æmilian*'s Soldiers, mov'd with the great Reputation of *Valerian*, whom the Senate favour'd, to avoid Civil Wars, roſe up againſt *Æmilian* and ſlew him, after a ſhort Reign, or rather Uſurpation of about three Months. Some Writers rank him among the Number of Emperors; but becauſe he was never eſtabliſhed in the Empire, nor his Title generally acknowledg'd, others more juſtly place him only among the Uſurpers. Upon the Death of *Æmilian*, *Valerian* was not only acknowledg'd and obey'd as Emperor by the Army, but likewiſe with great Applauſes by the Senate, who at the ſame time gave to his Son *Gallienus*, then in the City, the Title of *Cæſar*, and Succeſſor to his Father. *Valerian*, when he was choſen Emperor, was about 70 Years of Age, which Time he had ſpent in great Fame and Reputation both under good and bad Emperors, by reaſon of his Valour and other great Vertues; and had attain'd to many Offices and Dignities; particularly under *Decius* he was made Cenſor of *Rome*, as was before mention'd, and was highly eſteem'd by that Emperor and the Senate, being alſo of a very ancient Houſe and Family. Finally, in the whole courſe of

*A. D.* 253.

*The Death of Æmilian.*

**Valerian** *made Emperor, and his Son* **Gallienus Cæſar.**

of his Life, before he arriv'd at the Empire, he was prosperous and fortunate in all his Acts; so that all had great Hopes that this Emperor by his Wisdom and Experience would repair all the Miseries and Calamities of these unhappy Times. And accordingly he set about many Regulations, and made choice of wise and worthy Governours, and more particularly valiant and experienced Commanders, whom he chose out of the chief of the Nobility, by whom he was very prosperous in several Actions against the Northern Nations.

The former Part of the Emperor's Reign was acceptable to all People, and he shewed himself a great Patron of the Christians, whom he treated with all Offices of Kindness and Humanity, entertaining them in his own Family; so that his Court seem'd to be a Church for Piety, and a Sanctuary for Refuge to good Men. But towards the fourth Year of his Reign this pleasant Scene vanished; and seduced by an Arch-Magician of *Ægypt*, who persuaded him, *That nothing could so prosper the Affairs of the Empire as the Restoration of the* Pagan *Rites, and the Suppression of* Christianity, *so hateful to the Gods*, he rais'd a terrible Persecution against the Christians, wherein they were treated with the utmost Fury and Barbarity throughout all Parts of the Empire. And this was the Eighth general Persecution of the Catholick Church, which broke out about seven Years after the beginning of the Seventh under the Emperor *Decius*. *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* tells us, that it is needless to make a particular Enumeration of all the *Christians* that suffered in this Pesecution; only 'tis observable that both Men and Women, young and old, Soldiers and Rusticks, Persons of all Ranks and Ages, were some beaten and scourg'd, others beheaded, and others receiv'd the Crown of Martyrdom, by overcoming the Violence of flaming Furnaces.

*The Eighth general Persecution.* *A. D.* 257.

naces. St. *Cyprian* passionately bewails the Miseries and Sufferings of the Martyrs in his Letter to *Nemesian*, and the rest that were condemn'd to the Mines: Nor did he himself escape, being beheaded at *Carthage*, as *Xistus* and *Quartus* had been before him, and the 300 Martyrs *De Massa Candida*, who rather than sacrifice to the *Pagan* Gods, cheerfully leapt into a vast Pit of burning Lime, kindled for that purpose, where they were stifled with the Smoke and Flame. In *Spain* suffer'd *Fructuosus* Bishop of *Tarragon*; at *Rome*, *Xistus* the Bishop, and St. *Laurence* his Deacon and Treasurer of that Church; and at *Cæsarea*, *Priscus*, *Malchus* and *Alexander*, who asham'd to lye idle, while so many Hero's were contending for the Crown, unanimously offer'd themselves to the Judge, and gladly received the Sentence of Martyrdom.

This Persecution continu'd the rest of the Reign of this Emperor, which was about two years, and gave a fatal turn to all his Prosperity; for Heaven being highly provoked with the many Persecutions of its faithful Servants, sent its Scourges from the Northern Countries, who came down in a more formidable Manner than ever; and the Empire in all Parts began to be usurp'd by Traytors and Tyrants, to the great Danger of its Dissolution. The Emperor himself was the principal Sufferer in these Calamities; for after he had made some Resistance of the *Goths* and *Scythians*, he was obliged to turn all his Forces against *Sapores* King of *Persia*, who with a furious Progress ravaged *Syria*, *Silicia* and *Cappadocia*. Coming into *Mesopotamia*, both Armies met, and a general Battle was expected; but it proved otherwise. For just before the intended Ingagement, *Valerian*, through the Negligence, or as some believe, the Treachery of the General, was brought into an incommodious Place without a sufficient Guard; where being surrounded by the

**Valerian led into Captivity by Sapores King of Persia.**

and *Persians*, and all the Passes possessed, without any great Resistance, he was taken Prisoner by *Sapores*, who carried this old Emperor into his own Country, and treated him with greater Indignities than the meanest Slave. For the tyrannizing *Persian*, excessively swell'd with this prosperous Gale, made *Valerian* his Foot-stool whenever he was disposed to take Horse; causing the greatest Monarch of the World, to whom all Nations paid Homage, to bow down his Neck for him to tread upon it when he mounted the Saddle; this was the miserable Fate of *Lacinius Valerian*, the Thirty second Emperor of *Rome*, in the 76th Year of his Age, after a Reign of about six Years; a Prince eminent for many remarkable Excellencies, who for many Years wanted no kinds of Success and Prosperity, till he was at last met by the Judgment of Heaven, which severely punished him for his barbarous Cruelties to the *Christians*; and this was likewise a Punishment to the *Romans* themselves, who never received such a Signal Affront since the Foundation of their City. *Sapores* us'd to rally *Valerian* when he made him his Foot-stool, telling Him, *That this Posture was greater Proof of which Side the Victory went, than all the Pictures that the* Romans *cou'd make*; and for a considerable Time the *Persians* treated the very Name of a *Roman* with all possible Indignity and Scorn. *Valerian* continued about seven Years in this miserable Servitude, notwithstanding all the Writings, Intercessions, and Threats of the Chief Potentates in the World to procure his Release, and at length the insulting *Persian* caused his Eyes to be pulled out, and after that to be flead alive, and rubbed with Salt, according to *Agathias*; but *Lanctanctius* says he was flead after his Death, being then about 83 Years of Age. This remarkable Captivity of *Valerian*, hapned in the 1012*th* Year of the City, 282 Years after

after the Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 259 after our Saviour's Nativity, 161 after the laſt of the twelve *Cæſars*, and 66 after the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

## CHAP. VI.

*From the Captivity of* VALERIAN, *and the beginning of the* Thirty Tyrants, *to the Reſignation of* DIOCLESIAN, *the Thirty-ninth Emperor; when the Empire became firſt divided into Independent Parts.*

*Containing the ſpace of about* 45 *YEARS,*

I. *Valerian* being taken Priſoner, all Perſons expected that his Son *Gallienus* would relieve him, and revenge the Affront; therefore the Senate conferr'd the Empire upon him, making him Sole Emperor, who in a great meaſure had the Authority before, he being now about 41 Years of Age. This Reign was the moſt confus'd and calamitous of all the preceding; and Heaven and Earth ſeemed equally to threaten the Ruin and Deſtruction of the *Roman* Empire. In the beginning of it the Sun was clouded and darkned, ſo that it did not appear for many Days: Strange and diſmal Earthquakes overthrew the Cities and ſtately Edifices, deſtroying great Numbers of People, and ſhaking the Lands ſo terribly, that the hidden Bowels of the Earth, and ſtupendious Caverns were laid open, from whence flowed vaſt Streams of Salt Water. The Sea over-ſwelled its Banks, and broke into many Continents, drowning Coun-

Gallienus *made Emperor.* *A. D.* 249.

Countries, Cities and People; and ſo volent a Peſtilence raged, that in *Rome* no leſs than 5000 Perſons died in a Day. Theſe extraordinary Calamities ſo moved *Gallienus* to Remorſe, that thinking to pacifie the Wrath of the Divine Power, contrary to the Practices of former Emperors in theſe Circumſtances, he relax'd the Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*, ſending forth his Edicts in favour of them: Beſides theſe Calamities the whole Empire was dangerouſly invaded on all Parts. The *Germans* over-ran *Rhætia* and the *Alps*, and paſſed into *Italy* as far as *Ravenna*; the *Allemans* alſo waſted *Gaul*, and entred *Spain* to the City of *Tarragon*: The *Goths* and *Scythians* ravag'd all *Pontus*, and a greater Part of leſſer *Aſia*; and in *Europe* all *Greece*, *Macedonia*, and their Confines. *Dacia* beyond the *Danube* was totally loſt to the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*, who alſo ſeized on *Pannonia*; and the *Perſians* and *Parthians*, having already gained *Meſopotamia*, poſſeſs'd themſelves of a great Part of *Syria*. About the ſame time the Soldiers in all Parts electing their own Generals, advanced no leſs than Thirty almoſt at one Time, who aſſuming the Title of Emperors, are generally recorded by the Name of *The Thirty Tyrants*; and as they were all oppoſite to each other, ſo they were often unanimous in the Ruine of *Gallianus*, by which means the *Roman* Empire was more ſeverely harraſs'd and oppreſs'd by its own Forces, than by Foreign Devaſtation: Only theſe Uſurpers, who were generally Valiant Men, did often defend and ſecure the Empire from the Barbarous Nations, who ſeemed in a capacity to overwhelm it.

*Gallienus* in the beginning of his Reign ſhewed ſome Regard to the Publick, and particularly overthrew *Ingenuus*, a valiant Commander in *Pannonia*, who had rebelled, and aſſumed the Title

Title of Emperor, and likewiſe defeated the *Goths* in a Battel; in which Victories he us'd incredible Cruelties, deſtroying in one City all living Perſons. But afterwards he gave himſelf up to Eaſe and Luxury; ſo that while the whole World was infeſted with Wars and Deſolations, he generally continued at *Rome* among Concubines and Harlots, ſurrounded with Roſes and other Flowers, inventing new Pleaſures and Delights, often bathing himſelf, ſtudying how he might preſerve Figs and other Fruits green all the Year, and having ordinarily at his Table the moſt delicious and coſtly Meats imaginable. His Services were all of Gold beſet with Jewels, the Powder for his Hair of Gold-Duſt; and he continually diverted himſelf with Mimicks and Buffoons, and bathed with Women of all Ages. When it was told him that the Kingdom of *Ægypt* had rebelled againſt him, he made anſwer, *Cannot we live without the Linen of* Ægypt? Having loſt *Gaul* by Uſurpers, he careleſsly replied, *Cannot the State be ſupported without the Soldiers Caſſocks from thence?* Being informed of the Deſolation of *Aſia* by Earthquakes, and the *Scythian* Invaſion, he without any Concern ſaid, *Cannot we ſubſiſt without Salt-petre?* And being advertis'd of the Loſs and Ruin of other Provinces, he always anſwered with ſo much Scorn and Negligence, as if he had utterly forgot his Office and Dignity. His extraordinary Careleſneſs and Diſregard for the Publick, was the Principal Reaſon that ſo many Tyrants and Uſurpers made themſelves Lords and Emperors in his Reign. Of all whom we muſt give ſome little Account, tho' in a very imperfect and diſorderly Method, by reaſon of the ſtrange Confuſion of Affairs, and the Obſcurity and Brevity of the Writers of this Reign.

*The Thirty Tyrants, or Usurpers.*

*Valerian* being taken Priſoner, as was formerly mention'd, and his Son *Gallienus* uſing no Means for his Ranſome or Revenge, the Commanders and Soldiers in the Eaſt were diſperſed with great Grief and Indignation for the Diſgrace they had received. In this Exigency, *Baliſta*, General to *Valerian*, and an excellent Soldier and Commander, together with *Macrianus*, a Perſon of ſingular Worth and Experience, aſſembling the *Roman* Legions and Cohorts, with the unanimous Conſent of all, they agreed to chuſe an Emperor, to recover the *Roman* Dominions, and to ſet the old Emperor at Liberty, ſince *Gallienus* took no care of that Matter. And after many Conſultations, *Macrianus* was elected and obeyed as Emperor; and with him his two Sons, *Macrianus* and *Quietus*, were made his Equals and Companions in the Empire; and at the ſame time *Baliſta* made Præfect or General of his Army. *Macrianus* ſeeing himſelf made Emperor, and powerful by reaſon of the Armies of the Eaſt, he marched into the Confines in *Perſia*, and in ſome Battels ſuppreſs'd the former Inſolencies of that Nation. But fearing a valiant Commander called *Valens*, Proconſul of the Province of *Achaia* in *Greece*, he ſent a conſiderable Army againſt him under the Command of *Piſo* a Conſular Perſon, and a good Soldier, to ſeize on that Country, and ſo to paſs into *Italy*; which being underſtood by *Valens*, to encreaſe his Authority and Power, he cauſed himſelf to be choſen Emperor, and aſſumed the Imperial Ornaments and Enſigns; by which he drew ſuch a Number of Men to his Party, that *Piſo* was driven to retire with his Troops into *Theſſaly*; where, being reduced to ſome Extremities, he us'd his Enemies Policy, and like him, proclaimed himſelf Emperor; but was ſoon after over-

*Macrianus*, 1. *Macrianus Junior* 2. *Quietus*, 3.

*Valens*, 4.

*Piſo*, 5.

overthrown by *Valens*'s Forces and ſlain. Nor did *Valens* long enjoy his Victory; for within a few Days after, his own Soldiers for ſome Diſcontents, conſpir'd againſt him, and ſlew him.

*Macrianus*, who now reigned Emperor in the Eaſt, receiving Intelligence of the Misfortunes of *Piſo* and *Valens*, and not ſatisfied with his preſent Poſſeſſion, reſolved to march towards *Rome* with a conſiderable Army, to ſuppreſs ſome Uſurpers in the Weſt, as alſo the legal Emperor *Gallienus*. Therefore leaving behind him his Son *Quietus*, and *Baliſta*, with ſome choice Troops to prevent other Uſurpations in the *Eaſt*, he began his March with 45000 Men, and puſh'd through the leſſer *Aſia* into *Thrace* and *Achaia*, where he overthrew the *Goths*, who had made great Devaſtations in thoſe Parts, and conſtrained them to retire. About the ſame time, or rather before, *Aureolus*, Commander of the Legions in *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, was conſtrained by his Men to aſſume the Title of Emperor; and perceiving that *Macrianus* was entring his Province, he gathered all his Forces together, and in a bloody Battel put an End to all his great Attempts, overthrowing and ſlaying both him and his Son *Macrianus*. Upon which 30000 of *Macrianus*'s Soldiers went over to *Aureolus*, which ſo ſtrengthned his Intereſt, that *Gallienus*, who was ſomewhat employed in ſuppreſſing other Uſurpers, was content to enter into Articles with him, and make a Peace, which continued firm moſt of his Reign. But while *Macrianus* was purſuing his unſucceſsful Attempts, *Odænatus*, a famous Prince of *Palmyrene*, a Province in *Syria*, ſeeing all things in Confuſion in the Empire, preſum'd to take upon him the Title and Condition of Emperor, imparting likewiſe that Dignity to *Herod*, his eldeſt Son by his firſt Wife. This Uſurpation

Aureolus, 6.

Odænatus, 7.

Herod, 8.

pation prov'd both honourable and advantageous to the Empire, for he perform'd many noble Exploits againſt *Sapores*, King of *Perſia*, who detain'd *Valerian* Priſoner, gain'd many Battels, recovered all *Meſopotamia*, with the great Cities of *Niſibe* and *Carræ*, forced *Sapores* to fly before him, took his Wives, his Riches and Treaſure, and marched up to the very Walls of *Cteſiphon*. But as his principal Deſigns were againſt *Macrianus*, and his Son, he ſent a great Preſent of the Jewels and noble Priſoners he had taken from the *Perſians*, to *Gallienus* at *Rome*; who when he could not eclipſe the Merit of *Odænatus* by Virtue, or ſuppreſs it by Valour, ſought to deface it by Treachery; but failing of his Deſigns, out of Fear he made him his Partner in the Empire, and *Odænatus* receiv'd the Title of *Auguſtus*, both from *Gallienus* and the Senate. Upon which *Gallienus* appointed many publick Feaſts and Diverſions, in the Cirques and Theatres; inviting the People to aſſiſt, and be merry, as in the Days of the greateſt Joy and Proſperity. At the ſame time not being aſhamed to triumph over the *Perſians*, who detain'd his Father Priſoner, and to lead them Captive in a Mock-ſhow, ſome ſatyrical Perſons mix'd themſelves with the Priſoners, and viewing their Faces, demanded, *Where was the Emperor's Father?* Which ſo incens'd *Gallienus*, that he commanded them all to be burnt alive.

*Odænatus* underſtanding the Death of *Macrianus* and his Son, he turned his Forces againſt *Quietus*, the youngeſt Son, who was left with *Baliſta*; and was ſo ſucceſsful as to put an End to his Authority and Life together; and alſo did the ſame to *Baliſta*, who for a while had likewiſe commanded as Emperor; by which means *Odænatus* without Contradiction remained Emperor over all the Provinces in the *Eaſt*, and was fear'd

Baliſta, 9.

fear'd by all the Princes in the World. But he liv'd not long in this Proſperity, for his Kinſman, *Mæonius*, hoping to gain the ſame Power and Authority, treacherouſly brought about the Death of him, and his Son *Herod*, and made himſelf Emperor, though but for a ſhort Time; for the ſame Soldiers that were Aſſiſtants to him in his Treaſon, likewiſe deſtroy.d him. *Zenobia*, Wife to *Odænatus*, remaining a Widow, with her two young Sons, *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, took upon her the Government, and began to rule with a Maſculine Courage and Conduct, ſhewing ſuch Wiſdom and Valour, as is almoſt incredible; and to the great Diſgrace of *Gallienus*, and his Succeſſor *Claudius*; ſhe enjoy'd the Title of *Auguſta*, and the Empire of the *Eaſt* for many Years; on one Side warring againſt the mighty *Perſians*, and on the other, defending her ſelf againſt all the Power of *Rome*. All Writers take ſome Notice of the Virtues and Accompliſhments of this Princeſs, particularly her Continence, which was ſo remarkable, that ſhe was never familiar with her Husband after Conception; nor yet twice, till ſhe knew by natural Signs, whether ſhe had conceived or not. She was extraordinary learned in many Arts and Languages, and had her ſelf abridg'd the *Alexandrian*, and all the Oriental Hiſtories, whereby ſhe attain'd the higheſt Pitch both of Wiſdom and Authority; being liberal and temperate in all Things, very ſevere upon Occaſion, yet no ways defective in Goodneſs and Clemency. She was ambitious as well as brave, and boaſted that ſhe was deſcended in one Line from *Cleopatra* and the *Ptolemys* of *Ægypt*, and in another from the mighty *Semiramis*, Queen of *Babylon*; and in all Things acted as if ſhe had been Empreſs of the World. But *Gallienus*,

Mæonius, 10. Zenobia, 11. Herennianus, 12. Timolaus 13.

who fear'd *Odænatus*, at first despis'd *Zenobia*; but she soon let him understand his Error by her frequent overthrowing his Forces, particularly those under the Command of *Heraclianus*. About the same time, *Æmilian*, Commander of the Legions in *Ægypt*, after some Tumults and Struggles, in imitation of many others, proclaimed himself Emperor, and with great Courage and Boldness seiz'd on that ancient Kingdom. But as these Buildings had but a weak Foundation, so a small Force, and a few Storms overwhelm'd them, which was effected by a Commander sent by *Gallienus*, call'd *Theodatus*, who used such Methods that his Friends failing him, he was by him apprehended, and afterwards put to Death in Prison.

Æmilian, 14.

While Affairs thus passed in the *East*, the other Provinces of the Empire were in no less Confusion, being extremely infested and harrassed with Wars and Usurpers; *Gallienus*, in the mean time solacing himself in *Rome*, contenting himself with *Italy*, which was the only Province that remain'd firm to him, the rest sometimes paying, and other times denying their Obedience. In these general Commotions, *Africk* also made several Alterations, occasioned by *Pomponianus*, the Commander of the Legions, and *Possienus*, Proconsul of the Province, who made choice of a Tribune, call'd *Celsus*, a Person highly esteem'd for his Virtues and Accomplishments, and proclaim'd him Emperor. But this poor Prince's Authority lasted but seven Days, being put to Death by the Means of *Gallienus*'s Kinswoman *Galliena*, dwelling in those Parts, had great Indignities offered to his Body. After which, *Africk* was free from Usurpers in this Reign, but not from Tumults and Confusions. About the same time, *Regillianus*, Commander of the Legions about *Pannonia*, and the

Celsus, 15.

the adjacent Provinces, was by the Conſent of his Army, and the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts proclaim'd Emperor; for they were highly incenſed againſt *Gallianus* for his Cruelties in thoſe Countries, when he ſuppreſs'd *Ingenuus*, formerly mentioned, who was alſo one of the Thirty Tyrants or Uſurpers. *Regillianus* performed great Service againſt the *Sarmatians*, but was at length ſlain by the *Roxolani* or *Ruſſians*, with the Conſent of the Soldiery and Peaſants, who fear'd that *Gallienus* would exerciſe new Cruelties. And here it is obſervable, That all the Commanders that *Valerian* made, were in his Son's Reign called Emperors; among whom was *Cenſorinus*, a Perſon who had been Conſul, and held other Offices and Dignities, but underwent the ſame Fate that almoſt all the reſt did, being ſlain by the ſame Soldiers that proclaimed him. *Trebellianus* met with a different Treatment, tho' no leſs fatal; for being proclaimed Emperor by the *Iſauri* in *Aſia Minor*, *Gallienus* ſent an *Ægyptian* Commander, called *Ganſiſoleus* againſt him, who defeated him in a bloody Battel, and ſlew him, but could not reduce the *Iſauri*, who by reaſon of their inacceſſible Country, were often in Rebellion afterwards.

Regillianus, 16.

Ingenuus 17.

Cenſorinus, 18.

Trebellianus, 19.

During theſe Confuſions and Diſtractions in the *Eaſtern* and *Southern* Parts of the Empire, *Gaul* and the *Weſtern* Parts were no leſs harraſs'd with inteſtine Convulſions, as well as foreign Devaſtations. *Poſthumus*, a valiant Commander, was General in *Gaul*, a Perſon of great Reputation with *Valerian*, and ſo much eſteemed by *Gallienus*, that at his firſt Arrival at the Empire, he ſent him his Son *Saloninus*, whom he intitled *Cæſar*, to be inſtructed and educated by him: But afterwards ſeeing the Neglect and ill Government of his Father *Gallienus*, partly through the Inhabi-

tants Compulsion, and partly by means of his own Ambition, *Saloninus* was slain, and *Posthumus* proclaimed Emperor, who with great Courage and Conduct soon made himself Master of all *Gaul*, which he governed for seven Years, defending it from all the Insults of barbarous Nations who were ready to devour it; in which his Valour was so remarkable, that he was stiled, *The Gallick Hercules.* The Success of *Posthumus* so roused *Gallienus* from his voluptuous way of Living, that he marched against him in Person, with two excellent Commanders, one called *Theodosius*, and the other *Claudius*; and investing a City where *Posthumus* was lodged, the *Gauls* so well defended the City, and *Gallienus* himself being wounded with an Arrow, he was constrained to raise the Siege, and likewise to make Peace with *Aureolus* in *Illyricum*, which was mentioned before. But all this was not sufficient to suppress the Power of *Posthumus*, who was now supported by an excellent young Commander, called *Victorinus*, whom *Posthumus* made his Equal and Companion in the Empire; by whose Diligence and Assistance he defended himself and protracted the War, having some times prosperous, and other times adverse Fortune. However, *Gallienus* returning to *Rome*, as though he had made a full Conquest of *Gaul*, entered in a solemn Triumph, with all imaginable Pomp and Show, giving himself up to his former Course of Life and Pleasures. Here he daily received News of Commotions, Revolts, Incursions, Devastations, and Usurpations in many Parts of the Empire; for all which he seemed not much concerned; And when he was inform'd of his Father *Valerian*'s great Torments and Death in *Persia*, he coldly alluding to *Xenophon*'s Speech upon the Death of his Son, replied, *I knew my Father*

Posthumus, 20.

Victorinus, 21.

*Father was liable to Death and Miſeries as well as other Perſons.*

*Poſthumus* now living in great Proſperity, together with his Son *Poſthumus*, whom he firſt made *Cæſar*, and then *Auguſtus*, and his Companion in the Empire; he governed *Gaul* and the adjacent Parts with remarkable Juſtice and Severity. But the *Gauls*, deſirous of Change and Novelty, revolted from him, and choſe an experienced Commander, called *Lollianus*, for Emperor; and theſe two warring againſt each other, *Poſthumus* and his Son were ſlain by him and the *Gauls*. *Lollianus* remaining Emperor in thoſe Parts, notwithſtanding he was valiant and powerful, yet he could not aſſume the ſame Authority that *Poſthumus* had, ſince his Election was not ſo univerſal, and *Victorinus* the Aſſociate of *Poſthumus* poſſeſs'd a conſiderable Part of the Country, and was ſtill called Emperor. *Victorinus* was generally governed by Politick Counſels of his Mother *Victoria*, or *Victorina*, who for her great Valour and Maſculine Courage, was ſtiled *Mother of Armies*; and by her Aſſiſtance he oppoſed *Lollianus*, and in a ſharp Battel defeated him, and ſlew him, remaining ſole Emperor of *Gaul*, together with his Mother, who was now aſſociated with him, and called *Auguſta*. *Victorinus* was an excellent Prince, and compared with the beſt of the *Roman* Emperors, but was given to Luxury, which was the Cauſe of his Ruin; for taking away a Soldier's Wife from him, he was ſlain by means of his Treaſon near *Agrippina* or *Cologn*; which being underſtood by his Mother, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome of her Friends, ſhe proclaimed his Son *Victorinus* Emperor: But the Fury of the Soldiers was ſuch, that they ſoon ſlew the Son as they had done the Father. However, *Victoria* would not recede from her Authority and Ambition, to ſupport her ſelf, by Means of her Favourites,

Poſthumus *Junior*, 22.

Lollianus, 23.

Victorinus, 24.

Victorinus *Junior*, 25.

Favourites, she procured *Tetricus* a Senator of *Rome*, who had some Command in *Gaul*, to proclaim himself Emperor, and to make his Son *Tetricus* his Companion, which he did, and proved an excellent and valiant Prince, making himself Lord of all *Gaul*, and the greatest Part of *Spain*, obtaining great Victories against the *Northern* Nations, and reigning long after the Death of *Gallienus*. In the mean time *Gallienus* enjoyed *Rome* and all *Italy*, which never revolted from him, while the Tyrants or Usurpers by Turns generally destroyed each other, or else were slain by their own Soldiers, only some few continued in succeeding Reigns. Of the Thirty, we have mention'd all but three, which were *Cyriades*, who before *Valerian*'s Captivity was proclaim'd Emperor by the *Persians*, and soon after destroy'd; *Saturninus*, who not long after his Election was slain by his own Soldiers; and *Marius* a Smith, who in seven Days was dispatch'd by a Sword of his own forging.

Tetricus, 26.
Tetricus Junior, 27.
Cyriades, 28.
Saturninus, 29.
Marius, 30.

Through all the Parts and Provinces of the Empire were committed infinite Murthers, Robberies, Desolations, Insolencies, and all Kinds of Barbarities, Tyrannies and Treasons, accompanyed with an innumerable Company of other unheard of Miseries and Calamities; and all in a great Measure occasioned by the Negligence, Vices and Cruelties of *Gallienus*, which render'd him both despicable to his Subjects, and insupportable to the Empire. Insomuch that his own Captains and Commanders, finding him uncapable of defending the State, at last resolved upon his Ruin; and in the Conspiracy, *Heraclianus* and *Martian*, two of his principal Commanders, were involv'd, being not long after presented with a fair Opportunity for that Purpose. For the Peace being broke between *Gallienus* and *Aureolus*, one of the fore-

forementiond Uſurpers, the latter fearleſly enter'd *Italy* it ſelf, and took the City of *Midiolanum* or *Milan*; which caus'd *Gallienus* to oppoſe him with a powerful Armv, and to beſiege him in that City. During this Siege, *Martian* and the reſt of the Conſpirators, who had agreed with *Aureolus*, pretended that they had private Intelligence, that *Aureolus* was deſign'd to make a ſudden Sally upon that Quarter where *Gallienus* was lodg'd: Whereupon *Gallienus* with greater Haſte than Diſcretion, left his Poſt ſmally accompany'd; ſo that before the reſt of his Guards could be gathered together, he was ſlain by theſe Conſpirators, together with a Brother of his, nam'd *Valerian*. This was the deſerved End of *Licinius Gallienus*, whom for Method's ſake we call the thirty third Emperor of *Rome*, in the 50th Year of his Age, after an ignominious Reign of about nine Years after his Father's Captivity; a Perſon who not only brought Shame and Death to himſelf by his Cruelties and Enormities, but likewiſe greater Miſeries and Calamities upon the *Roman* State than ever were known ſince the Foundation of the City. He dy'd the 1021ſt Year of the City, 291 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 268 after our Saviour's Nativity, 170 after the laſt of the Twelve *Cæſars*, and 75 after the publick Sale of the Empire; leaving all the *Eaſt* ſubject to *Zenobia*, *Gaul* and the *Weſt* to *Tetricus* and *Victorinus*, *Illyricum* to *Aureolus*, and *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and part of *Aſia Minor* to the *Goths* and *Scythians*.

*The Death of Gallienus.*

II. The Death of *Gallienus* prov'd a great Eaſe and Advantage to the *Roman* Empire, and gave a general Satisfaction to all except his Soldiers, who expecting the Riches and Plunder of *Milan*, were ſo enrag'd, that *Martian* and the Conſpirators were oblig'd to aſſwage them with a conſiderable Sum

*A. D.* 268.

of

of present Money; so that none of their Company durst presume to take upon him the Title of Emperor, as was generally expected. In the mean time *Flavius Claudius* by the unanimous Consent of all, was proclaimed Emperor; and being a Person of great Vertues and Renown, his Election was joyfully confirm'd by the Senate and People of *Rome* with infinite Blessings and Applauses. We are not fully assur'd of his Lineage and Country; for some affirm, that he was born in *Dalmatia*, and was descended of an ancient Family; others, that he was of *Dardania*, and descended from the Blood of the *Trojans*; and others, that he was the Son of the Emperor *Gordian*. However, we are assur'd that he was a Person of extraordinary Valour and Bravery, and that he had performed excellent Service against *Posthumus* in *Gaul*, and against the *Goths* and other barbarous Nations in many Parts. He was now about 54 Years of Age, and had a very strong Body, and a vigorous Mind, was eminent for his Virtues and excellent Parts; he was chaste and continent, moderate and temperate, and just and upright, both before and after he was Emperor; only he was somewhat severe to the *Christians*, tho' the Truth of that is doubted, He was a just Judge, a Lover of Strangers, severe to the Wicked, but most kind to the Vertuous: He made excellent Laws and Ordinances, and in a very short time reform'd the Commonwealth; so that in his short Reign there was a great Change of Affairs, and he proved a mighty Prop and Support to a declining Empire.

**Claudius made Emperor.**

The first Expedition undertaken by this Emperor was against *Aureolus* in *Milan*, who understanding the Death of *Gallienus*, chang'd the Course of his Affairs, expecting to become sole Emperor himself. But *Claudius* reinforcing his Army, had several Engagements with *Aureolus*, and gain'd one memo-

memorable Victory over him, which conſtrain'd him to retire unto the Walls of *Milan*; from whence he ſought to come to ſome Compoſition with *Claudius*, as he had done with *Gallienus*: But *Claudius*, as a virtuous and victorious Prince, would not hearken to any Agreement with a Tyrant and Uſurper, and return'd him Anſwer, *That ſuch Propoſitions might have been ſuitable to the Temper of* Gallienus, *who ſtood in fear of* Aureolus; *but for himſelf, he was reſolved to do nothing mean and unprincely, but would make him underſtand his Duty.* *Aureolus* was afterwards ſlain, as ſome ſay, by his own Soldiers; and as others, by *Claudius*'s Command, fighting at the Foot of a Bridge. By his Death *Claudius* became Maſter of his Army, and of all the Countries that he poſſeſs'd; and returning with theſe Succeſſes to *Rome*, he was there receiv'd with great Triumphs and Feaſtings, and ſetled the Affairs of the Publick with all imaginable Prudence and Juſtice. His principal Care and Study was to reſtore the Empire to its former Strength and Liberty, and to recover all that was loſt, being ready to expoſe himſelf to all kinds of Dangers; and upon that Occaſion, it was ſeriouſly debated in the Senate which War ſhould be undertaken firſt, and whether the Emperor ſhould go againſt *Tetricus* in *Gaul*, or *Zenobia* in the *Eaſt*, or elſe the *Goths* and other Nations, which had infeſted and poſſeſs'd ſeveral Parts of the Empire? But the good Emperor ſoon reſolved their Doubts, declaring, *That he would firſt march againſt the* Goths, *and other barbarous Nations, for they were Enemies to the Commonwealth; but the Uſurpers were only Enemies to Him: Therefore he was obliged to revenge a publick Wrong before a private Injury.* Which generous Reſolution being highly approv'd by the Senate and People, he with all poſſible Diligence rais'd the greateſt Army that was ever levy'd for ſuch a War; for which there

*The Death of* Aureolus.

was

was the greateſt Neceſſity, ſince theſe Nations had for fourteen Years poſſeſſed many Parts of the Empire, and deſtroyed many great and famous Cities; and notwithſtanding they had been ſometimes overthrown in *Gallienus*'s Reign by *Macrianus*, *Avitus*, and this preſent Emperor *Claudius*, yet ſtill they poſſeſs'd all *Thrace*, a great part of *Macedonia*, and other Provinces. Theſe People had a great Hatred to Learning; and pillaging the City of *Athens*, they heap'd together a vaſt Pile of Books to burn, but were advis'd by one to forbear, *That the* Grecians *Spending their Time on them, might be the leſs capable of War.*

Not long before *Claudius* undertook this War, the *Goths* out of a Deſire of Spoil and Plunder, to revenge former Loſſes, and expecting *Claudius* ſhould be employ'd againſt *Tetricus* and other Pretenders, perſuaded many Northern People and Nations to come down upon the *Romans*. And joining themſelves with the *Heruli*, the *Trutangi*, the *Virtungi*, and other uncivilliz'd Nations, to the Number of above 300000 fighting Men, beſides Servants, Women and Children; they came down the River *Danube* with 2000 Ships fraught with Men and Ammunition, in ſuch a formidable Manner, as made the Empire to tremble, and the Earth, as it were to labour under their Burthen. Only the invincible Emperor remain'd fearleſs, and with a brave Army march'd againſt theſe fierce People; and being ready to come to an Engagement, he wrote the Senate a ſhort Letter to this Effect: *I am now ready to engage with three hundred and twenty thouſand Men, who have entered the Empire; whom if I vanquiſh, I ſhall deſerve your Thanks. If I fail, I hope you will remember that I fight after the Reign of* Gallienus, *who has enervated the State and Government; and the Uſurpations of many ambitious Perſons, who in Contempt to Him became*

**Claudius's *Expedition againſt the* Goths.**

*came Traytors to their Country. Our* Gallick *and* Spaniſh *Sword-Men, the Sinews of our Strength, are taken up in the Weſt by* Tetricus; *and our Archers, to our great Shame, by* Zenobia *in the Eaſt: So that wanting all Neceſſaries, whatſoever we ſucceſsfully perform muſt be accounted Great.* Notwithſtanding theſe Inconveniences and Difficulties, *Claudius* boldly advanced towards the Enemy, and coming to a Battel, by his extraordinary Valour and Conduct, he overthrew theſe barbarous Nations, and made an incredible Slaughter of them; which was one of the greateſt and nobleſt Victories that was ever gained by the *Romans*, in which were ſlain and taken Priſoners 300000 Men, and 2000 Ships loaden with Ammunition; ſo that whole Houſes were filled to their Tops with Targets, Shields, Swords and Launces, and other Habiliments of War, of all which the Emperor gave an Account by writing to the City. In this Battel were taken many barbarous Kings, and other Perſons of the higheſt Rank among them; and the Priſoners were ſo numerous, that no Province nor City in the Empire was without many of them for Slaves.

After this famous Victory, *Claudius* purſuing his Advantages, in *Thrace* near *Bizantium*, and in *Macedonia* near *Theſſalonica*, he had ſeveral Engagements with the *Goths*, who were poſſeſs'd of thoſe Provinces in which he was ſo fortunate, and the Enemy were ſo overthrown and vanquiſhed, that the Empire was reſtored to its former Bounds in thoſe Parts; and for a conſiderabe Time the *Goths* were unable to make any Oppoſition or Reſiſtance againſt the Empire. From hence this Emperor paſs'd with his victorious Army againſt the revolted *Germans*, over whom he gained a memorable and glorious Victory, near the Lake *Benacus* or *Garda*, the Enemy being near 200000 ſtrong. And thus having re-eſtabliſh'd the *Roman* Power, and freed

the

the Empire from all Foreigners, he next determined to march againſt his two puiſſant Rivals, *Tetricus* and *Zenobia*; but coming near *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, he was there ſeized with a peſtilential Fever which in a few Days put an End to all his great Deſigns, to the unexpreſſible Grief of all true *Romans*. Thus *Claudius* dyed a natural Death, in the 56th Year of his Age, after a ſhort, but glorious Reign of one Year, ten Months, and fifteen Days; being the Thirty fourth Emperor of *Rome*, and a Prince ſo ſublimely excellent, that the Moderation of *Auguſtus*, the Valour of *Trajan*, and the Piety of *Antoninus*, are ſaid to have all centered in him. He made a vaſt Progreſs towards the Reeſtabliſhing a tottering Empire; and the Senate not only gave him divine Honours, but likewiſe the People erected him a Statue of Gold ten Foot high in the Capitol, an Honour never known before; and a Target of the ſame Metal, by the Senate's Appointment was hung up in the Court. There was alſo by general Conſent a Pillar erected and compoſed of the Prows of Ships, upon which was placed his Statue of 1500 Pound weight of Silver, repreſenting him in his Conſular Robes, He dyed in the 1023d Year of the City, and 270 Years after our Saviour's Nativity; in which time flouriſh'd *Longinus*, a great Favourite of *Zenobia*, and a moſt excellent Orator and Critick; and *Porphyry*, a *Jew* by Deſcent, firſt a *Chriſtian*, and afterwards an Apoſtate; but a moſt acute Philoſopher.

*The Death of* Claudius.

*A. D.* 270.

III. Immediately after the Death of *Claudius*, the Army unanimouſly made choice of *Aurelian* for Emperor, who was General of the Horſe, and the moſt valiant Commander at this Time: But his Confirmation at *Rome* was for ſome Space retarded by reaſon of *Quintillus*, Brother to the deceaſed *Claudius*, who being left Commander of a ſmall

Quintillus *made Emperor.*

ſmall Army to guard *Italy*, was likewiſe proclaim'd Emperor; and the Senate, upon the Account of his Brother's, and his own great Vertues and Moderation, gladly allowed of the Election. But upon the News of the Advancement of *Aurelian*, and his great Power and Intereſt, *Quintillus* ſounding the Minds of his Soldiers, and finding himſelf unable to ſupport his Cauſe againſt ſo formidable a Rival, he reſolved to dye Emperor, rather than return to his private Condition; and thereupon he cauſed his Veins to be opened, and ſo ended his Life, after a ſhort Reign of only 17 Days, before he was rightly ſettled in his Empire; for which Reaſon I have not placed him in the Number of the *Roman* Emperors. After his Death the Senate and People of *Rome* readily confirmed the Election in *Aurelian*, and gave him the Title of *Auguſtus*, with great Joy and many Applauſes. *Aurelian* was born of mean and obſcure Parents in *Decia*, according to ſome, and in *Mœſia*, according to others; being brought up in Wars and Military Diſcipline from his Youth. He was now about 55. Or as ſome ſay 58 Years of Age, and had been many times Captain and Tribune, and above forty times Lieutenant to other Captains and Tribunes: In which Offices he puniſhed the Soldiers ſo ſeverely for their Inſolencies, and was ſo ſtrict in Diſcipline, that he was much dreaded be them: And he likewiſe performed many noble Exploits, eſpecially in thoſe Wars in his Predeceſſor's Reign, in which he gained greater Honour than any other Commander, and was made by *Claudius* his General of the Horſe. He was of great Courage, and ſingular ſtrength, and performed many extraordinary Things in his own Perſon; and particularly, as *Theoclius* and *Vopiſcus* aſſure us, in the Wars of *Sarmatia*, he killed forty Enemies with his own Sword, and at ſeveral Times above nine Hundred

*His Death.*

*Aurelian made Emperor.*

Men. His uncommon Valour and expeditious Proceedings, have caused some to compare him with *Julius Cæsar*; but he much wanted his Mildness and Clemency, being in his Temper very severe and cruel; so that he is justly said to have been more proper for the General of an Army, than the Governour of a State.

*Aurelian* being established in the Empire, without any further delay, marched with his victorious Army against the *Suevians* and *Sarmatians*, Northern Nations, who had invaded the Confines of the Empire; over which he obtained a memorable Victory. But while he was thus successfully employed, the *Marcomanni*, and other fierce Nations of *Germany* came furiously down into *Italy* it self, and made terrible Ravages and Devastations in several Parts; so that *Rome* was in a dreadful Consternation, imagining all was lost, most Persons being in a Confusion, boldly and openly taxing the Actions, and Proceedings of *Aurelian*. The *Sibyls* Books were consulted upon this Occasion, the City purged by Sacrifice, and solemn Processions made in all Parts. The Emperor himself was much concerned at this dangerous Irruption, and with all possible Speed returned to the Relief of *Italy*; and coming to a general Battel with these *Barbarians*, he was in great Danger of being entirely defeated: For having fought a whole Day from Sun-rising to Setting, the Battel was so bloody, that he lost most of his Troops. But afterwards reinforcing his Army, he gained three great Victories over them, and finished the War, destroying the whole Army of the *Marcomanni*; from whence he returned to *Rome*, highly incensed at such as presumed to tax his Proceedings and Management, among whom some had form'd Conspiracies against him. And being of a cruel and revengeful Temper, notwithstanding he was

receiv'd

receiv'd with great Pomp and Solemnity, he us'd many ſevere Puniſhments for light Offences and inconſiderable Crimes, and put ſeveral eminent Men to Death; which much clouded his Fame, and caus'd him to be extremely dreaded, and no leſs hated by many in the City.

Aurelian's Expedition in the East.

The Emperor ſtaid not many Days in *Rome* before he undertook an Expedition into the *Eaſt* againſt the great *Zenobia*, accounting it a Shame and Diſgrace to the *Roman* Empire that a Woman ſhould ſo freely inſult over it. And paſſing with a powerful Army through *Sclavonia* into *Thrace*, he had there ſome Conflicts againſt ſeveral barbarous Nations that ſought to incommode his March. But keeping directly forwards, he arriv'd at *Bizantium*, where he paſs'd with all his Troops into the Leſſer *Aſia*, and eaſily ſuppreſs'd the Rebellions in *Bithynia*; doing the ſame in other Places without any great Reſiſtance. *Tyana*, a City in *Cappadocia*, was the firſt Place that oppos'd him, and ſtopp'd his Progreſs, which ſo inraged this warm Emperor, that he vow'd, *He would ſo puniſh the Inhabitants, as he would not leave a Dog alive.* But by an Apparition of the Ghoſt of the famous *Apollonius Tyanæus*, which warned him not to deſtroy his Birth-place, as *Vopiſcus* relates it, he pardon'd the Citizens; and when his Soldiers fully expected all the plunder, and put him in mind of his vowing not to leave a Dog alive, he commanded them to kill all the Dogs, and to ſpare the Inhabitants; promiſing moreover to erect a Temple to *Apollonius*, and to ſet up his Image and Statue. From this place he march'd to *Antioch* and *Syria*, againſt *Zenobia*, who with her General *Zabdas* attended his coming with a mighty Army of excellent Soldiers and Commanders, train'd up with great Experience,

both under her Husband *Odænatus*, and her ſelf. The two powerful Armies approaching each other, a dreadful War commenc'd; for *Zenobia*, not like a weak Woman, but like a fierce *Hannibal*, provided and performed whatſoever was neceſſary and convenient againſt the *Romans*. After ſeveral Skirmiſhes and ſmaller Encounters, both Parties came to a general Battel near the City of *Emeſa* in *Syria*, which was exceeding ſharp and bloody, and ſo well manag'd by *Zenobia*, that *Aurelian* was ſeveral times driven to the greateſt Extremities: For his Cavalry being weary'd out with fighting, and grievouſly oppreſs'd, began to retreat, and were ready to have turn'd their Backs and fled; but being detain'd and encourag'd by their Commanders, and conſtrain'd to ſtand firm by the Foot-men, the Emperor at length obtain'd the Victory, and *Zenobia* eſcap'd by Flight to *Palmyra*.

*Aurelian* having obtain'd ſo ſignal a Victory, enter'd *Emeſa*, and from thence march'd to the City *Palmyra*, the Metropolis of *Palmyrene* in *Syria*, and *Zenobia*'s principal Seat: In which March the Soldiers ſuſtain'd great Miſeries and Difficulties from the Enemy's continual Moleſtations; and the City made ſuch brave and noble Reſiſtance, that they were miſerably haraſs'd and diſtreſs'd, and the Emperor himſelf was often in great Trouble and Danger. Whereupon *Aurelian*, deſirous to finiſh the War, and thinking to induce *Zenobia* to yield, by Letter *aſſur'd Her of her Life, and that he would allow her all her Treaſure Jewels, and Money; and that ſhe ſhould live free and honourably in any Place or City that the Senate ſhould appoint, and that the Inhabitants of* Palmyrene *ſhould retain their ancient Privileges.* *Zenobia* inſtead of ſubmitting, return'd him this Anſwer. *No Man but You*

*ever*

*ever demanded That by Writing, which ought only to be obtain'd by Valour. You require my Submiſſion; as though you were ignorant that Queen* Cleopatra *choſe Death before the higheſt Dignity under* Octavius. *We expect the* Perſians *ſhortly to our Relief; and the* Saracens *and* Armenians *are now ready for our Aſſiſtance. And ſince the* Banditti *of* Syria *were able alone to diſorder your Army; all theſe Succours will certainly abate that Preſumption of yours, which makes you expect my Obedience, and account me already vanquiſh'd.* This haughty Anſwer added to the Emperor's Fury, who immediately ordered the City to be more ſtreightly beſieg'd, in which he obſerved ſuch Care and Regularity, that he fail'd in no Part or Duty of a compleat General. For by his Diligence he intercepted the *Perſian* Auxillaries, and diſpers'd them; and had the ſame Succeſs againſt a conſiderable Body of *Saracens*. And for the Troops that were coming from *Armenia*, by a plauſible Management of Threats and Rewards, he drew 'em over to his Service, and made 'em his Friends; ſo that *Zenobia* finding her ſelf deceived in her Succours, and diſpairing of preſent Relief, fled from the City upon Dromedaries, with ſuch Jewels and Treaſure, as the Shortneſs of her time would permit. And travelling towards *Perſia*, ſhe was overtaken by a ſelect Body of Horſe which *Aurelian* ſent after her, ſo that her City *Palmyra*, and all her Riches fell into his Hands, as likewiſe all the *Eaſtern* Provinces ſhortly after. The Emperor put the Philoſopher *Longinus* to Death, who was *Zenobia*'s Maſter, and ſtood charg'd with indicting her haughty Letter, but reſerved this maſculine Queen to be an Ornament to his intended Triumph, who being brought into his Preſence, he ſaid, *How durſt you*, Zenobia, *preſume to inſult over Emperors?* To whom ſhe modeſtly

Zenobia *conquer'd.*

modeſtly reply'd, *I acknowledge you for Emperor, who knew how to conquer; but for* Gallienus, Aureolus, *and the reſt, I never took them for Perſons of that Dignity.*

The Emperor *Aurelian* having finiſhed this War, and eſtabliſhed the *Eaſt* in good Order, he return'd to *Europe* with deſign to march againſt *Tetricus* in *Gaul*, and paſſing through *Germany*, he there ſubdu'd a People, call'd *Carpi*; for which he was called by the Title of *Carpicus* in *Rome*. Upon which *Aurelian ſhewed* great Diſſatisfaction, that he ſhould gain ſuch a diminutive Sirname, when for the Conqueſts he had made, he was already dignify'd with the Titles of *Gothicus*, *Sarmaticus*, *Armeniacus*, *Parthicus*, *Adiabenicus*, *Germanicus*, and *Syriacus*; therefore he ſent Word, *That they might as well have called him Carpiſculus*, which ſignifies a ſort of a Slipper. Being upon his March towards *Tetricus*, he received Intelligence that *Zenobia*'s former Subjects, the *Palmyrenes*, had revolted, having ſlain the *Roman* Governour and the Garriſon, and ſet up a Relation of the Queen's, call'd *Achilleus* for their Prince. This greatly enrag'd *Aurelian*, who with a Courage and Expedition peculiar to himſelf, returned by long Marches into *Aſia*, and arriving in *Syria*, advanced directly to *Palmyra*, which he ſoon took, and inflicted the ſevereſt Puniſhments upon that City, putting to death Perſons of all Ages and Qualities, ſcarce leaving a living Creature in the place. And having left the City deſolate, and ſeveral others that had join'd in the Revolt, he in a few Days return'd into *Europe*, but before he could proceed much in his former Deſigns, he was diverted by the News from *Egypt*, where a Commander, called *Firmus*, caus'd that Kingdom to revolt, and proclaim'd himſelf Emperor according to ſome; though others tell us, that he only pretended to

maintain the Liberties and Privileges of *Egypt* againſt the *Roman* Power. Upon hearing of this, *Aurelian*, who for Expedition was a Second *Julius Cæſar*, return'd a third Time into *Aſia*, and from thence march'd into *Egypt*, where with great Labour and Difficulty he recover'd that important Kingdom, and left it in perfect Peace and Security. About the ſame Time, a Commander in *Dalmatia*, call'd *Septimius*, proclaimed himſelf Emperor; but in a ſhort Time after, his own Soldiers, according to the prevailing Cuſtom of this Age, conſpir'd againſt him, and ſlew him. So that now there remain'd nothing for this Emperor to perform, but to ſuppreſs *Tetricus*, who held the greateſt Part of the *Weſt*, upon whoſe Account *Aurelian* paſſed with the utmoſt Celerity from *Egypt* into *Gaul*. This War was very doubtful in all Men's Opinion, but was ended contrary to their Expectations: For *Tetricus* having no good Title to the Empire, his Soldiers took the Liberty to become ſo diſſolute and preſumptuous, as they prov'd both dangerous and inſupportable; therefore he wiſely choſe to live a Subject to the Emperor *Aurelian*, rather than to be Emperor to ſuch Subjects. And thereupon he wrote ſecretly to *Aurelian*, yielding himſelf to his Power; and ſo happily order'd Affairs, that the *Weſtern* Provinces were in a ſhort Time entirely reduc'd to the Emperor's Subjection. **Tetricus yields.**

*Aurelian* having now ſucceſsfully eſtabliſh'd the Provinces, and reduc'd them in a great meaſure to their ancient Power and Reputation, by ſubduing of Tyrants and Uſurpers, and by repelling of foreign and barbarous Nations, with great Courage and admirable Expedition; he reſolved to come to *Rome* to triumph for all his Victories; which was perform'd with all the imaginable Pomp and Solemnity. It would be too tedious

to enumerate all the Particulars; it is ſufficient to obſerve, That this was one of the moſt magnificent Triumphs that ever was ſolemniz'd in *Rome*, in which were led and infinite Number of Priſoners and Captives almoſt of all Nations, particularly *Æthiopians*, *Arabians*, *Indians*, *Bactrians*, *Georgians*, *Saracens*, *Perſians*, with their ſeveral Offerings, beſides *Goths*, *Alans*, *Roxolans*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, *Suevians*, *Vandals* and *Germans*. Beſides there were a vaſt variety of wild Beaſts, as Tygers, Lions, Bears, Ounces, Elephants, Dromedaries, and the like; a ſurprizing Quantity of Arms taken from the vanquiſhed, and moſt rich and ſtately Chariots; one of which had belonged to *Odænatus*, *Zenobia*'s Husband; another of them was made for her ſelf, and another the King of *Perſia* had preſented to the Emperor. *Aurelian* enter'd in a particular Chariot that belonged to the King of the *Goths*, drawn by four Stags, and was attended by the great *Zenobia*, and *Tetricus* and his Son. The former was moſt magnificently adorned with the richeſt Tiſſues and Robes, beſet with the moſt valuable Jewels, in the Manner of a Priſoner bound with Chains of Gold; and her uncommon Beauty, her noble Stature, and her Majeſtick Sweetneſs, ſeemed to eclipſe the Luſtre and Grandeur of the Emperor himſelf. *Aurelian* was followed by all his victorious Legions, Horſe and Foot, in the moſt rich and ſplendid Attire, with Boughs of Laurel or Palm in their Hands; in which pompous Manner he entered the Capitol to ſacrifice according to Cuſtom, and from thence to the Imperial Palace; the next Day being ſolemniz'd with all kinds of Sports, Games, and Feaſts, with the Additions of many extraordinary and unuſual Spectacles. He likewiſe, according to Cuſtom, gave many Preſents to the People; and contrary to his former Cruelties,

Cruelties, beſtow'd his Rewards upon his Enemies, making *Tetricus* Governour of *Lucania*, *Calabria*, *Apulia*, and *Campania*, and other Provinces in *Italy*, and conferred great Honours both upon Him and his Son. And he gave conſiderable Lands and Poſſeſſions to *Zenobia*, ſufficient to maintain her honourably according to her Quality, in which ſhe liv'd long after, being highly eſteem'd and applauded by all Men, ſtill preſerving her ancient Reputation, and the Dignity of her Perſon.

*Aurelian* continu'd in *Rome* for ſome Space in Peace and great Proſperity, daily ſhewing ſome conſiderable Marks of his Juſtice and Severity, and likewiſe his Grandeur and Oſtentation. He purged away all profeſſed Lewdneſs, and wicked Acts, and clear'd the Empire of Factions; and was a ſevere Enemy to *Delators* and falſe Accuſers of the Innocent, as alſo to corrupted Magiſtrates. His Juſtice purſu'd the falſe Coiners, who to defend themſelves, joyn'd in a Body, and raiſed a ſort of a War, under the Command of *Feliciſſimus*, ſo that it coſt the Empire the Lives of 1000 Soldiers to reduce them. He fortify'd and repaired the Walls of *Rome*, and alſo enlarged them, ſo that *Vopiſcus* aſſures us they were almoſt fifty Miles in compaſs. This was not lawful for any Emperor, but only ſuch as had enlarged the Bounds of the Empire; for which Reaſon they were enlarged by *Auguſtus*, *Nero*, and *Trajan*: And *Victor* tells us, That *Aurelian* was the firſt Emperor that wore a Diadem on his Head, and that us'd Robes of Gold and precious Stones. Finding the Provinces of *Illyricum* and *Mœſia* laid waſte by the frequent Incurſions of the *Barbarians*, he withdrew the *Roman* Forces out of *Dacia*, which *Trajan* had added to the Empire, and planted them in *Mœſia*, to which Province he gave the Name of

*Aurelian*

*Aurelian Dacia.* He was very ſtrict in Matters of Juſtice, and no leſs ſevere in puniſhing the Crimes of the Soldiers; upon which Account he wrote thus to one of his Lieutenants. *If you will be a Commander, nay, if you expect to live, keep your Soldiers to their Duty. I will not have a Peaſant wrong'd in a Chicken, not one Grape taken without his Permiſſion, nor a Grain of Salt, or a Drop of Oyl unjuſtly exacted. I would have the Soldiers enriched by the Spoils of my Enemies, not the Tears of my Subjects; and would have them chaſte in their Quarters, and free from Quarrels.* He caus'd a Soldier, who had committed Adultery with his Hoſteſs, to have his Feet ty'd to the Tops of two Trees forceably bent downwards; which being ſuddenly let looſe, the Criminal was torn in pieces, and hung upon both Trees in Halves. He frequently cauſed Criminals to be kill'd or ſcourg'd in his ſight, either to keep up Diſcipline, and to make the Puniſhment more Exemplary, or to feed his Eyes with Acts of Cruelty. He ſhew'd many laudable Pieces of Severity in Matters of Equity and Juſtice, but did not reſt there, for he often practis'd Cruelties contrary to Equity and Juſtice: And theſe, in the midſt of his Proſperity, extended to the Innocent *Chriſtians*, againſt whom he drew up ſeveral Letters and Edicts, deſigning a ſevere Perſecution. But while he was peruſing and ready to ſign them, a Thunder-bolt from Heaven, or Lightning, fell ſo near his Perſon, that all People judg'd him to be deſtroy'd. This is moſt commonly reckon'd the ninth general Perſecution of the Church, which hapned about eighteen Years after the beginning of the eighth under *Valerian*; but it proved ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, that many of them reckon'd that under *Adrian* in the Number of the Ten Perſecutions, and for that Reaſon omitted this. But Heaven cruſh'd this Perſecution in the Embrio, and puniſh'd

*The ninth general Perſecution.* *A. D.* 275,

puniſh'd the Perſecutor ſhortly after, while he was beginning a new Expedition againſt the *Perſians*. For having put many Perſons to Death upon ſlight Occaſions, his principal Secretary, *Mneſtheus*, began to doubt his own Security, having been threatned with Death for ſome Offence committed, and knowing him to be moſt punctual in his Puniſhments, he conſpired againſt him, and forged a Roll of the Names of ſeveral Perſons, as though the Emperor had marked them out for Death, adding his own, and ſome others then out of Favour, to make it the more plauſible. Upon ſight of which the deluded Perſons, for their own Security immediately agreed with him to deſtroy the Emperor, and reſolving upon the Manner of it, as he paſſed with a ſmall Guard from *Heraclea* in *Thrace* towards *Bizantium*, they ſet upon him, and ſlew him with ſmall Reſiſtance. Thus fell *Valerius Aurelian*, the Thirty fifth Emperor of *Rome*, in the 60th and 63d Year of his Age, after a brave and active Reign of five Years, wanting twenty Days; a Prince of extraordinary Abilities in War and Action, who did wonderful Service to the State, but brought down his own Ruin by his great Severity and Cruelty; ſo that he is ſaid to have been an excellent Phyſician to the Publick, but he took away too much Blood. He dy'd in the 1028th Year of the City, 298 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 275 after our Saviour's Nativity, 177 after the laſt of the Twelve *Cæſars*, and 82 after the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

*The Death of Aurelian.*

IV. The vigorous Reign of *Aurelian* had ſo tamed the Inſolence of the Armies, and the Pride of the People, that after his Death, there was ſuch a Calm in the State, that no Uſurpers and Pretenders preſumed to appear. *Aurelian*'s Army was ſo

*A. D.* 244.

ſo far from creating a new Emperor, that conſidering the Dangers and Inconveniences of raſh Elections, they ſent Meſſengers to the Senate, to deſire the Fathers *to chuſe and nominate an Emperor, and that they would confirm their Determination, and readily obey the Perſon.* On the other ſide the Senate modeſtly declin'd it, well knowing the diſproportionate Power of the Armies; and ſent Orders for the Soldiers, *to nominate and make choice of a Perſon, and they were ready to approve of their Act*; which was alſo refus'd. In paſſing and exchanging of Complements, there was an *Interregnum* of about eight Months, which was never known ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the State; in which Space of Time the World was without an Emperor, and the Empire was governed by the Senate, and ſuch Officers as *Aurelian* had left; a change almoſt incredible, after ſo many Diſtractions and ambitious Attempts in the State. At length overcome by Entreaties, and Embaſſies from the Armies, the Senate made Choice of a worthy Perſon named *Tacitus*; who before underſtanding their Deſigns, retired privately to his Mannor in *Campania*, for two Months, avoiding that Dignity which might naturally prove his Ruin. Here he was much ſolicited by the Senate to accept of the Empire, which he as vehemently refuſed, affirming, *That his Age had made him unzapable of anſwering their Expectation.* In anſwer to which they inſtanced ſome particular Examples of ſeveral of the Emperors who ſucceeded gloriouſly, tho' they began their Reigns declining in Years, particularly *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and the *Antoninus*'s; and by their Importunities, and the Neceſſities of the State, they prevailed with him to take the Government upon him; which proved to the mighty Joy and Satisfaction of the Senate and People, and the *Prætorian* Cohorts, *Tacitus* now being in the 75th Year of his Age, and was a Conſular

**Tacitus** *made Emperor.*

Conſular Perſon, but of unknown Lineage and Country.

Having performed the uſual Solemnities, and made bountiful Donatives, he proceeded to the Buſineſs of the Government with much Care and Reputation, adminiſtring Juſtice with great Exactneſs and Regularity. Several Criminals of the late Reign were now puniſhed, particularly *Meneſtheus*, whoſe Treaſon being diſcovered, was Impaled alive, and his Body thrown to be devoured by wild Beaſts. He turned his Eſtate, which was worth ſeven Millions of Crowns, over into the Exchequer; and the ready Money he had by him, he apply'd to the Pay of the Soldiers. This Emperor obſerved ſuch Regularities in his Adminiſtration, that the whole Empire remained in Peace and Tranquility, Juſtice being in all Places preſerv'd without Diſturbance; to which End he made Excellent Laws and Ordinances, and aboliſhed ſeveral Abuſes and ill Cuſtoms in *Rome*. He put down the Publick infamous Houſes in the City, and ordered that all the Baths ſhould be ſhut up before Candle-Light, to prevent Diſturbances and Abuſes in the Night. He follow'd the Advice and Council of the Senate in all material Matters; and when the Senate denied him the Conſulſhip, which he endeavour'd for his Brother *Florian*, he with great Calmneſs, made anſwer, *The Senate knows beſt whom to chuſe.* He was ſuch an Example of Moderation to others, that he would not permit his Empreſs to wear Jewels or precious Stones; and was ſo temperate, that he never drank above one Pint of Wine in a Day, and oftentimes leſs than half that Quantity. His Table was courſe, and furniſhed with no Rarities; he wore the ſame Clothes which he did when he was a private Man, and forbad the Uſe of Embroidery in Gold. He much honour'd the

the Memory of good Emperors, and likewiſe of *Tacitus* the Hiſtorian, whom he call'd his Father, commanding his Works to be placed in every publick Library throughout the Empire, and many Copies to be tranſcribed at the publick Charge. In the Beginning of his Reign the *Barbarians* on the Side of the Lake *Mæotis*, in great Numbers made an Irruption; but this Emperor partly by Force, and other Means, ſoon obliged them to retire.

*Tacitus* having reign'd about four or five Months, he undertook an Expedition againſt the *Perſians* and *Scythians* in *Aſia*; and marching towards the *Eaſt*, and arriving at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, partly through the Fatigues of his March, and the Grief occaſion'd from Factions, and partly from the Infirmities of Age, he was thrown into a Fever, which ſhortly after finiſhed his Life. This was the Death of *Tacitus*, according to the moſt probable Accounts, being the Thirty-ſixth Emperor of *Rome*, after he had reign'd about ſix Months to the general Satisfaction of all Men; a Prince worthily commended by all the *Roman* Writers, but his Actions not very particularly recorded by any. He died in the 1029th Year of the City, 276 Years after the Birth of our Saviour, and 83 after the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

*The Death of* Tacitus.

V. Immediately after the Death of *Tacitus*, the Captains and Commanders drew their Soldiers into the Field; and without any former Requeſt, Practice, or Agreement, began to ſhew, *how neceſſary it was to make Choice of an Emperor who was eminent for his Valour, Honeſty, Piety, Clemency and Probity*; which Speech was us'd in many Parts of the Army, and *Probity* always brought up the Rear of the Virtues. Whereupon the Soldiers took

took the Hint, and without any private Conferences unanimously bryed out, *Let* Probus *be Emperor* Auguſtus! and immediately he was proclaimed Emperor with great Acclamations, and Solemnity. About the ſame time *Florian*, Brother to the late Emperor, took upon him the Empire, which he did through the Favour of ſome other Legions, and certain Men of the higheſt Rank amongſt them.

Florian *aſſumes the Empire.*

But *Florian* continued not long in this exalted State, before he perceived the Intereſt of *Probus* too powerful for him; and underſtanding that the Soldiers were ready to abandon him, about two Months after he had aſſumed the Title of Emperor, he followed the Example of *Quintillus*, and died by opening his Veins. *Probus* before this had writ to the Senate, *excuſing himſelf for accepting of the Empire without their Knowledge and Conſent, blaming the irregular Actions of* Florian, *which conſtrained the Army to chuſe him.* Upon the Receipt of which, his Election was immediately approved and applauded by the Senate, who gave him the Title of *Auguſtus*, and *Pater Patriæ*, made him *Pontifex Maximus*, and inveſted him with *Tribunitial* Power. *Probus* was about 44 Years of Age, according to the *Alexandrian Chronicon*, when he enter'd upon the Empire, and was born of noble Parentage in a City called *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, being brought up to Wars in his Youth. He ſoon became famous for his great Valour and Conduct, and perfom'd many excellent Pieces of Service under *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, *Claudius*, and *Aurelian*. In attacking of Towns he was frequently the firſt Man upon the Scaling-Ladders, the firſt that entered the Enemies Camp; and no leſs remarkable for ſingle Combats, and the ſaving of the Lives of many Eminent *Romans*; for which, and other Exploits, he was rewarded with many *Civick* Crowns, Collars, Bracelets, Lances and Banners, with other Ornaments,

*And kills himſelf.*

Probus *made Emperor.*

and

and Martial Privileges. He was ſo much eſteemed by *Aurelian*, that he deſigned to have made him his Succeſſor; and his Carriage and Conduct in ſeveral Poſts and Offices, made him generally admired, and eſteemed by all Men; ſo that his arrival at the Empire proved the univerſal Joy and Satisfaction of the whole State, and *Manlius Statianus* congratulated the Senate in having an Emperor ſurpaſſing *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and the beſt of his predeceſſors.

*His Expedition.*

*Probus* being confirmed in the Empire by the Senate, he wrote to that Body, permitting them to judge of Appeals, to create the Proconſuls, to make Lieutenants with Conſular Power over Legatorian Provinces, and Preſidents with the Power of Prætors, and many other Matters of the like Nature; and having eſtabliſhed all Things in the beſt Order in the *Eaſt*, he returned into *Europe* and *Italy*; where he firſt made it his principal Concern to levy a powerful Army to march into *Gaul*, which was now over-run by the *Germans*, who poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the principal Places of that Country. Arriving in *Gaul*, a ſevere and bloody War began, the Soldiers on either ſide being very expert and valiant. Many ſharp Battels were fought, one of which continued for two Days, being only parted by the Darkneſs of the Night; and was continued with that Obſtinacy on both ſides, that the Victory ſometimes inclined to the *Romans*, and as often to the *Germans*; till *Probus*, by his uncommon Diligence and Induſtry at laſt prevailed, and gave them a total overthrow. In this and other Battels, he killed no leſs than 400000 of the Enemy, brought nine King's to Subjection and Submiſſion, recover'd 60 of their principal Cities, and all the Lands they had poſſeſs'd, and made many Inroads and Devaſtations in their own Country: For which Victories and Advantages, the

the Citizens of *Rome* made great Feaſtings and Rejoycings, and made many ſolemn Sacrifices and Thankſgivings to their Gods. *Probus*, after theſe great Services and Succeſſes, without any long tarrying, marched with his victorious Army into *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, which in a manner were over-run by the *Sarmatians*: And this War was leſs dangerous and difficult than the laſt, by reaſon of the Multitudes and Fierceneſs of thoſe Nations. With theſe he fought ſeveral Battels, in all which he ſhewed himſelf a wiſe, hardy, and valiant Commander; and at length entirely ſubdued them, cleared the *Roman* Provinces, and ſlew and took moſt of them. From thence, with great Expedition he march'd with his Army into *Thrace*, and farther *North*, with a Reſolution to make War with the *Goths* in their own Country; and revenge the Wrongs and Inſults with the *Romans* had ſo often ſuſtain'd from that Nation. But the near Approach of this warlike Emperor, caus'd ſo great a Terror among them, that they immediately yielded Obedience, and were allowed the Privilege of Confederates and Allies of the *Roman* Empire. Whereupon leaving *Europe* in Peace, he paſs'd over into *Aſia*, with a Deſign to make War with *Narſeus*, King of *Perſia* and *Parthia*; and marching through the leſſer *Aſia*, he invaded the Province of *Iſauria*, which, by Reaſon of its natural Strength, was poſſeſs'd by Uſurpers and Robbers, where he met with many dangerous Conflicts, till at laſt he ſubdued the Province, and divided the greateſt Part of it among his old and beſt Soldiers. After which, he marched into *Syria*, and the *Eaſt*, where he ſubdu'd a certain People called *Blemii*, who coming out of *Æthiopia*, had poſſeſs'd themſelves of Part of *Arabia* and *Judæa*. Upon the Emperor's approaching the Confines of *Perſia*, *Narſeus*, though one of the moſt powerful Kings in the World, im-

mediately ſubmitted, to reſtore what he had taken from the Empire, and to ſuch other Articles as *Probus* required. So having no Enemy in the *Eaſt*, this victorious Emperor returned into *Europe*; and coming into *Thrace*, which had been much depopulated, by means of the Ravages of the *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, and other barbarous Nations, he divided the Lands by Lot among theſe People, who were now become his Friends, according to their humble Requeſts. Theſe were of many Tribes and Nations, as *Vandals*, *Goths*, *Gautuns*, and other People, whoſe Numbers ſo encreaſed, that afterwards this Emperor's Conceſſions to them proved very prejudicial and dangerous to the Empire.

At this time there was a general Peace throughout the whole Empire, and no foreign King or Nation durſt attempt an Invaſion; but in a ſhort time after ſome Domeſtick Diſturbances were rais'd in the Provinces. The firſt was occaſioned by *Saturninus*, a valiant and wiſe commander, who being ſent to *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, without his Knowledge or Imagination, the *Ægyptians*, who were ever unquiet and rebellious, unanimouſly proclaimed him Emperor. But *Saturninus* utterly declined this Honour, and told them, *That tho' he had re-eſtabliſhed* Gaul, *recovered* Africa, *and appeaſed* Spain, *yet that one Act would obliterate all his Fame and Renown.* However, ſo great was their Obſtinacy, that he durſt not openly refuſe them; but imagining, that his Abſence might appeaſe the Tumult, he departed into *Judæa*. But his own Army joyning with the *Ægyptian* Forces, he found himſelf conſtrained to take upon him the Title of Emperor; and tho' he did it with many Proteſtations of his innocent intentions, yet ſoon after, he proceeded with great Courage and Reſolution, providing all Things neceſſary for the Preſervation

Saturninus.

ſervation of that Character he had aſſum'd, rather chuſing to be a Conqueror, than ceaſe to be an Uſurper. *Probus* the Emperor, perceiving his Succeſſes, made great Preparations to ſuppreſs his Power, being not a little apprehenſive of his Conduct, and his Soldiers Valour, and paſs'd over into *Aſia*, with a very conſiderable Force. A ſevere and doubtful War was begun, and ſome Battels fought; yet *Probus* ſought to come to ſome Compoſition with *Saturninus*, promiſing him Pardon and civil Uſage, which he ſeemed willing to accept; but his Soldiers apprehending their own Safety, would not permit him. But at length *Saturninus* being defeated, he was beſieged in a Caſtle, and was there ſlain by the Soldiers againſt the Emperor's Will, who would rather have pardon'd him. During this Action, two Commanders in *Gaul* and *Germany*, call'd *Bonoſus* and *Proculus*, by the Aſſiſtance of their Legions and other Forces, rebell'd againſt *Probus*, and proclaim'd themſelves Emperors. *Bonoſus* was as inſatiable a Vaſſel to *Bacchus*, as *Proculus* was to *Venus*: The former was able to drink as much Wine as ten Men could do, without being diſorder'd; and the latter bragg'd in a Letter, *That having taken Priſonors* 100 Sarmatian *Virgins, he depriv'd ten of that Name in one Night, and all the reſt within a Fortnight.* But none of theſe remarkable Qualities could ſecure them againſt the Power of the Emperor *Probus*, who with great Celerity came down upon them, and after ſome conſiderable Conflicts, reduc'd them to ſuch Extremities, that *Bonoſus* in Deſpair hung himſelf; and *Proculus* flying into the County, was delivered up by the *Germans*, which compleated his Victories. *Probus* viewing *Bonoſus* hang'd up, as he ſaid before, *That he was born not to live but to drink*, he now ſaid, *There hangs a Bottle not a Man.* After theſe Succeſſes, *Probus* return'd to *Rome* with great

**Bonoſus and Proculus uſurp the Empire.**

**And are ſuppreſs'd.**

Applauſes and Congratulations; and now the Soldiers and Legions remain'd ſo quiet, and in ſuch exact Obedience, that it grew to a common Saying, *That the Mice dare not knaw for fear of* Probus.

*Probus* having happily ſuppreſs'd all Uſurpers and Pretenders, and again given Peace to the *Roman* Empire, it was generally hop'd, that he might now have repos'd himſelf in the City, ſince his Years and Travels requir'd no leſs; all which was fruſtrated by means of thoſe barbarous Nations, which by this Emperor's Allowance were ſettled in *Thrace*. For ſeveral of theſe *Goths* and *Vandals*, finding the Emperor often embarraſs'd in Wars and Inſurrections, and truſting to their own Strength and Multitudes, reſolved to make no longer Abode there, but to invade all the Provinces of the Empire, ravaging and plundering all Parts after a moſt barbarous manner; and their Numbers were ſo great, that no City or Country was able to make any conſiderable Reſiſtance. Which when the good Emperor had well conſider'd, concluding that whatſoever he had done formerly for the Advantage and Liberty of the Empire, was of no Effect, if he ſuffered this Peſt to ſpread it ſelf, he reſolved again to hazard his Perſon, and to march into thoſe Parts which theſe People had invaded. And becauſe they could not march all in one Body, by reaſon of their Multitudes, he engag'd them in ſeveral Places, in which Battels great Numbers were ſlain on either ſide, and the Emperor himſelf ſometimes wounded, and in Danger of Death. But at length conquering all Difficulties, he diſpers'd all their numerous Herds, and compell'd thoſe who eſcap'd Death and Captivity, to fly beyond the Confines of the *Roman* Dominions. After this *Probus* return'd to *Rome*, and enter'd the City

City in a moſt ſolemn Triumph, which ſome by Miſtake ſay was the laſt that in that Kind was known in *Rome*, and all Perſons Mouths were fill'd with the Praiſes of this Emperor, having in few Years time ſuppreſs'd the *Germans*, the *Blemies*, the *Goths* and *Vandals*, beſides ſeveral Tyrants and Uſurpers. His Triumph was moſt noble and magnificent, being accompany'd with Soldiers of all Nations, as well as Captives, and many famous Commanders, particularly *Diocleſian*, *Carus*, *Conſtantius* and *Maximian*, who were formed by the Diſcipline of *Probus*, and became afterwards Emperors. The Triumph being finiſh'd, the next Day according to ancient Cuſtom began the Feaſts, Games and Spectacles, in which were greater Variety of Huntings and Encounterings of wild Beaſts, than was ever known before. For which purpoſe the Emperor caus'd in the *Circus Maximus*, a Mountain, and a large Grove of Trees to be ſet there, after the Manner of a Foreſt, as though they grew naturally. The Place was ſo large and capacious, that a thouſand Oſtritches were hunted in it, a thouſand Stags, a thouſand Mountain Goats, a thouſand wild Boars, a thouſand fallow Deer, and other kinds of Beaſts; and the People were permitted to kill, and take at their Pleaſure. The following Day in the ſame Place, were let looſe 100 vaſt Lyons, which filled the Air with their Roarings, 100 *Lybian*, and 100 *Syrian* Leopards, 100 Lioneſſes, and 300 Bears. All which were ſucceeded by great Numbers of *Gladiators*, and other warlike Exerciſes.

The Emperor *Probus*, having a third Time eſtabliſhed Peace in the Empire, he proceeded to the making of ſeveral new Laws and Regulations for the good Government of the Empire, and all Men liv'd in ſuch Peace and Security, that *Probus* declar'd, *That he would ſpeedily take ſuch a Courſe, as*

*there ſhould be no need of Soldiers*; which was a dangerous Sentence in ſo corrupt an Age, when the Armies had been ſo accuſtomed to Plunder and Licentiouſneſs. And this caus'd them to ſuſpect and fear their Prince, and to wiſh for his Removal. But what ſtill added to their Hatred was, that in theſe peaceable Times the Emperor would not permit them to be idle and free from Labours, but employ'd them in many publick Works and Buildings, declaring, *That Soldiers ought not to eat the Bread of their Country for nothing.* And as *Hannibal* fill'd moſt parts of *Africk* with Olive-Yards planted by his Soldiers, that their Idleneſs might not endanger the State; ſo *Probus*, who for Valour was a ſecond *Hannibal*, for the ſame Reaſon caus'd his Soldiers to plant Vineyards throughout *Gall*, the *Pannonia*'s and the *Myſian* Hills. Having taken all neceſſary Care concerning a peaceable Government, according to the Greatneſs of his Mind, he reſolved to march again into the *Eaſt*, with a Deſign utterly to deſtroy the Kingdom of the *Perſians* and *Parthians*; for now there remain'd no other Enemy which he thought able to diſturb that Peace which he had eſtabliſhed in the Empire. Coming to *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, the Place of his Nativity, and being deſirous to improve that Part of the Country, he ſet ſeveral thouſands of his Soldiers upon draining a Fen, and making a vaſt Foſs to receive the Waters, that the Lands might become uſeful and profitable to the Inhabitants of *Sirmium*. The Fatigue of this Work, and his great Reſtraint of the Soldiers licentious Temper ſo inrag'd them, that they conſpir'd his Death; and taking a convenient Opportunity, as he march'd towards *Greece*, they ſet violently upon him, and deſtroyed him. Such was the unfortunate Death of *Probus*, the Thirty ſeventh Emperor of *Rome*, in the 50th Year of his Age, after a glorious

*The Death of* Probus.

glorious Reign of about Six Years and Four Months; a ſhort Time for ſo many noble Acts and Enterprizes. He was a Prince of extraordinary Worth and Valour; equal to *Aurelian* in Military Renown, and exceeding him in courteous Behaviour, and had done infinite Service to the Publick, yet was ruined by his own perhaps indiſcreet, tho' untimed and juſt Carriage towards his Soldiers. Yet his Army in general had ſo great an Eſteem for him, that they erected him a noble Monument with this Epitaph; 'Here lies 'the Emperor Probus, *for his Goodneſs juſtly called* 'PROBUS; *of all the barbarous Nations and Uſur-* 'pers a Conqueror. He dyed in the 1035th Year of the City, 305 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 212 after our Saviour's Nativity, 184 after the laſt of the Twelve *Cæſars*, and 89 after the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

IV. The Death of *Probus* was much lamented in the City and Empire, and not a little in that Army where he fell, which did him many and great Honours at his Funeral. After which, the Soldiers began to conſult about the Election of a new Emperor, all deſiring to make choice of ſuch a Perſon, as neither the Senate nor the other Armies might have juſt Cauſe to object againſt him. After ſome Conſideration the Majority judged *Carus*, whom *Probus* had made *Prætorian* Prefect, to be the moſt ſufficient Perſon, as well for his worthy Diſcharge of many Offices and Places of Truſt, as his Great Experience in Government; and thereupon they choſe him Emperor, and ſwore Obedience to him, to the general Satisfaction of the Army. The Senate were well pleaſed with the Election of *Carus*, but out of fear of his vicious Son *Carinus*, they were unwilling to con-

firm the Election; but apprehending the Power of the Army, and being desirous of preserving that Peace which *Probus* had established, they at length consented. I find no certainty as to the Age or Family of *Carus*: Some say he was by Birth a *Dalmatian*, and by Descent an *African*; others say he was born in *Rome*, and his Father a *Dalmatian*: However he is generally accounted a *Roman*; tho' still some others make him a *Gaul*, and born at *Narbone*. Immediately after his Election and Confirmation, he joyn'd his two Sons *Carinus* and *Numerian* with him, making them Partners in the Empire, and giving them equal Power and Authority with himself. *Carinus*, the Eldest, was wicked, dishonest, insolent, and addicted to all Kinds of Viciousness; on the contrary *Numerian* was valiant, wise, modest and learned, and adorned with many Vertues.

**Carus** *made Emperor,*

*who joyns with him his Sons* Carinus *and* Numerian.

*Carus* being established in the Empire, he first made a diligent Search after those who had murdered *Probus*, whom he severely punish'd according to their Deserts; which, together with the Love that *Probus* had shew'd to him in his Life, remov'd that Suspicion which some conceived of his being consenting to his Death. Having done this piece of Justice, and written his ordinary Letters to the Senate, he march'd with his Army against the *Sarmatians*, who understanding the Death of the invincible *Probus*, came down with great Fury into *Pannonia*, and with such Elation and Threatnings, that they terrify'd all *Italy* and the Empire. *Carus* after some Skirmishes and smaller Enterprizes, came to a Battel with them, in which he had the Victory, slew 16000, took 20000 Prisoners, and put the rest to Flight. After this Victory, he receiv'd Advice, that in the *East* the *Persians* had made some Attempts upon the Empire; wherefore to effect what *Probus* had design'd, he immediately

diately march'd that Way, leaving his eldeſt Son *Carinus* the Government of *Gaul* and *Spain*, and took *Numerian* with him; then proceeded with ſuch Power and Vigour, that he immediately took all *Meſopotamia*, without any great Reſiſtance. About which Time Ambaſſadors were ſent from the King of *Perſia*, who finding the old Emperor lying upon the Graſs eating of black Broth, and Morſels of Swines-Fleſh, he bad the Ambaſſadors tell their young Maſter, *If he perſiſted in his Obſtinacy, that within a Month all his Woods and Fields ſhould be as bare as his own bald Head*, which he ſhew'd them; offering them to eat out of the Pot, if they pleas'd, otherwiſe to depart forthwith. After this he march'd with his Army up to the very Walls of *Cteſiphon*, from whence the *Perſians* ſally'd out with a powerful Army, which occaſion'd a bloody Battel, wherein *Carus* became Conqueror; and purſuing his Victory, he ſhortly after took the famous Cities of *Cteſiphon* and *Seleucia*, for which he obtain'd the Sirname of *Perſicus*. This Emperor was ſo remarkable for his Vigour and Experience in War, that it was believed, if Death had not ſurpriz'd him, he would have totally ruin'd the Power of the *Perſians*; for at that time they were engag'd in civil Wars. But paſſing with his Army to the Banks of the River *Tigris*, through Heat and Travel, he fell extreamly ſick; and being laid up in his Tent, there happen'd a terrible Storm of Thunder and Lightning, which fell upon the Emperor's Tent, and ſlew both him and many others with him, after a buſie and painful Reign of ſomewhat above a Year. This Emperor was a fortunate Warrior, but *Vopiſcus* ſays he was a Prince of a middle Character; yet rather to be rank'd among the good than the bad Emperors. His Death was by many aſcrib'd to the Divine Vengeance, for endeavouring to carry his Victories beyond

*The Death of Carus.*

beyond *Cteſiphon*; becauſe there was an ancient Oracle which forbad the *Romans* to extend the Empire beyond the Capitol City of the *Perſians*.

After the Death of *Carus*, his youngeſt Son *Numerian* was by the Army eſteemed their Lord and Emperor, both for his Father's and own Deſerts. This young Prince greatly lamenting the Death of his Father, broke up his Camp, and began to retire; and becauſe his Sorrow and Tears had brought ſuch Diſtempers upon his Eyes, that he could not endure to behold the Light, he cauſed himſelf to be carryed in a cloſe Litter, ſo that he could not be ſeen. But as Ambition is the moſt violent of all Paſſions, ſo his Father-in-Law *Aper*, a Perſon of great Authority, forgetting his Duty to his Sovereign, and his Affection to his Son-in-Law, reſolv'd to aſſaſſinate him, and by Means of his Wealth and Friends to obtain the Empire for himſelf; which he thought might eaſily be effected without Suſpicion, ſince he was always allow'd Acceſs to him. Soon after this fatal Project took Effect, and by him or ſome mercenary Villain, *Numerian* was ſlain in his Litter, and the better to conceal the Fact, his Body was left there: Then making Report that the Emperor cou'd not endure the Sight of any Man, the Traytors carry'd him dead two or three Days, uſing many Artifices to eſtabliſh *Aper*'s Intereſt. But as the dead Body began to be offenſive by its Smell, the Treaſon was diſcovered ſooner than *Aper* expected; and there was ſuch Sorrow and Confuſion in the Army, that every Man took up Arms, and threatned Revenge to the Murtherers. In the midſt of this Tumult, the Soldiers proceeded to a new Election, and by general Conſent, *Diocleſian* was choſen and ſaluted Emperor, who was the principal Man in the Army, and one of the moſt excellent Commanders in

*end of* Numerian.

Diocleſian *made Emperor.*

in the Reign of *Probus*, being likewiſe Steward to that Emperor, and Governour of his Houſhold. *Diocleſian* ſeeing himſelf thus advanc'd, cloathed himſelf with the Imperial Robe, and ſat upon the Tribunal Seat, where being ſaluted *Auguſtus*, he commanded the Murtherers of *Numerian* to be produc'd; and immediately *Aper* was brought before him, upon the Sight of whom, *Diocleſian* deſcended from his Seat, and lifting up his Hand, cry'd to him, *Be proud*, Aper, *that you fall by ſo great a Hand as mine.* Whereupon he ſlew him with his own Hand and Sword, ſaying, *Now I have kill'd the Boar, and fulfill'd the Prediction of my future Empire.* At the ſame time he commanded all the Accomplices and Aſſociates of *Aper* to be executed; puniſhing to the utmoſt the Murther of the good *Numerian*.

During theſe remarkable Tranſactions, *Carinus*, the Surviving Son of *Carus*, continued in his Government in *Gaul*, giving himſelf to the moſt abominable Kinds of Luxury and Debauchery; by which he became odious to all Men, and likewiſe to his Father before his Death, ſo that he deſign'd to have depriv'd him of the Empire. He made a Porter Governour of *Rome*, and his Pimps Conſuls, againſt the expreſs Orders of his Father; and writ haughty Letters to the Senate, threatning to give away their Eſtates among the Mob of the City. He marry'd and divorc'd nine Wives, and remov'd all good and vertuous Men from his Preſence and Converſation; but the Death of his Father and Brother, together with the Election of *Diocleſian*, a little rouz'd him from his Vices and Extravagancies. And being naturally bold, and of a good Courage, he levy'd what Forces he could, and made great Preparations againſt *Diocleſian*, hoping to remain ſole Emperor at laſt. Upon notice of which, *Diocleſian* with great Expedition

dition march'd with his Forces from the *East* towards *Gaul*, and both Armies meeting in *Mœsia*, there began a bloody War between these Rivals for the Universe. But this lasted not long, for in a few Days several Skirmishes happen'd, and *Carinus* was once worsted by *Diocleſian*, and then overthrown in a general Battel; and soon after was slain by a Tribune or Colonel of his own Army, whose Wife he had formerly abus'd: By which Means *Diocleſian* remain'd sole Lord of the *Roman* Empire. Thus dy'd the last of the three Contemporary Emperors, *Carus* and his two Sons, which all together made up the Thirty eighth Emperor of *Rome*, and a Reign of about two Years, or somewhat more. *Carinus* dy'd in the 1037th Year of the City, and the 284th Year of our Lord.

*The Death of* Carinus.

*A. D.* 284. Diocleſian *Emperor.*

VII. Thus all things contributed to the Advancement of *Diocleſian*, who was born in *Dalmatia*, of obscure Parentage, being, according to some, the Son of a Notary; and of a Bondman, according to others, and now about 39 or 40 Years of Age. The Name both of his Mother, and the Town of his Birth was *Dioclea*, whence he was call'd *Diocles*, till he came to be Emperor, and then converting a *Greek* Name into a *Roman* Form, he nam'd himself *Diocletianus*. He had passed through many considerable Offices before he arriv'd at the Empire, which he discharged with much Honour and Reputation, being remarkable for his great Courage and Sagacity, his quick Wit and Ingenuity, his profound Cunning and Policy, and likewise his contumacious Haughtiness and Severity. He began his Reign on the 11th of the Calends of *May*, 284 after our Saviour's Nativity; which Year he order'd, by his Sovereign Power to be made *Æra* or Date, from whence the Account of following Times should begin.

The

The *Chriſtians* obſerved it for above 240 Years, till the Reign of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, it being upon their Account likewiſe call'd *The Æra of the Martyrs*, by reaſon of the Emperor's Severity towards them. Yet one unexpected thing was obſerved in the beginning of this Prince's Reign; which was his pardoning all his Enemies that join'd with *Carinus*, without damaging their Fortunes or Honour. A Clemency, that after a Civil War, had not been known in *Rome* for ſome Ages.

*Diocleſian*, beginning the Adminiſtration of his Government, receiv'd Intelligence, that an infinite number of Labourers and Peaſants in *Gaul* had made a dangerous Inſurrection and Rebellion in that Country, being headed by two Commanders call'd *Amandus* and *Helianus*. But *Diocleſian* accounting that War inglorious to himſelf, ſent a valiant Commander againſt theſe Rebels, call'd *Maximian*, whom he had already made *Cæſar*; who marching into *Gaul*, after ſome great Hazards and Difficulties, ſlew great Numbers, and diſpers'd the reſt, ſo that in all Places there was Peace and Tranquillity. But other Wars and Uſurpers ariſing, *Diocleſian* judging himſelf inſufficient to manage the ſole Charge of the Empire, about the ſecond Year of his Reign took *Maximian* for his Equal and Companion in the Empire, being a Perſon addicted to all kinds of Viſciouſneſs and Extortions, yet remarkable for his peculiar Courage and Boldneſs. Theſe two were notwithſtanding happily cemented in their Friendſhips, Inclinations, and Deſigns; and what is farther obſervable, *Maximian* was not only a faithful and loyal Companion in the Empire, but was as reſpectful and obedient to *Diocleſian* as any Son to his Father; ſo that they govern'd the Empire for many Years in Love and Concord, and obtain'd many noble Victories over their Enemies.

*who joins with him* Maximian.

Not

Not long after *Diocleſian*'s Choice of *Maximian*, the *Roman* Empire was in great Danger of being torn in pieces by ſeveral Wars and Invaſions, Inſurrections and Rebellions, that happen'd in many Parts of the Empire almoſt at the ſame Inſtant. *Achilleus*, a Commander in *Ægypt*, firſt began to rebel, and proclaiming himſelf Emperor, ſeiz'd on that ancient Kingdom, being very powerful, and of great Authority. In *Africk* all the Legions and old Soldiers were drawn together in a mutinous and rapacious manner, and joyning with many Robbers and Inhabitants of thoſe Parts, they ſeiz'd and enjoy'd all the Publick Rents and Tributes; and theſe for their Continuance were nam'd *Quingentiani*, or *Quinquagenarii*. About the ſame time a principal Commander in *Britain*, call'd *Carauſius*, rebell'd, proclaim'd himſelf Emperor, and poſſeſſed himſelf of that Iſland; and *Narſeus*, King of *Perſia* and *Parthia*, taking Advantage from theſe unſettled Times, began a dangerous War upon the Empire, and invaded *Meſopotamia*. One *Julian* alſo rebell'd in *Italy*, and endeavour'd to make himſelf Emperor; but finding the Weakneſs of his Foundation, he ſoon after ſtabb'd himſelf. *Diocleſian* ſeeing ſo many Rebellions and Pretenſions to the Empire, as well as Foreign Invaſions, reſolved to ſtrengthen his Intereſt by the Aſſiſtance of others; therefore he and his Aſſociate *Maximian*, at a ſet Meeting at *Milan*, agreed, that each of them ſhould nominate a Perſon to be *Cæſar*, and their Succeſſor, and ſuch a Perſon as ſhould be able to defend the Empire, both againſt Foreign Invaders as well as Domeſtick Pretenders. And thereupon *Diocleſian* made choice of *Galerius Maximianus*, Sirnamed *Armentarius*; he being by Report born of a Cowherd in *Dacia*, but was a very valiant and courageous Commander, yet of a moſt ſevere and churliſh Diſpoſition. *Maximian* choſe *Conſtantius*, ſirnam'd

**Galerius *and* Conſtantius *made* Cæſars.**

ſirnamed *Chlorus*, a Perſon very vertuous, wiſe, and valiant, Son of *Claudia*, Neice to the laſt Emperor *Claudus*, who gained ſuch Advantages over the *Goths*. And to be the better aſſured of their Fidelity, the two Emperors cauſed them to put away their Wives, and to marry others; upon which *Conſtantius* put away *Helen*, by whom he had *Conſtantine*, afterwards Emperor, and marryed *Theodora*, Daughter-in-Law to *Maximian*. After this Settlement, the Buſineſs of the Wars and Troubles was immediately divided among theſe Four, the two Emperors, and the two *Cæſars*. *Diocleſian* undertook to march into *Ægypt* againſt *Achilleus*; and *Maximian* into *Africk* againſt the *Quingentiani*. *Conſtantius* remained in *Gaul* to ſuppreſs *Carauſius*, and the Incurſions of the Northern Nations; and *Galerius* was ſent into the *Eaſt* againſt *Narſeus*, King of *Perſia*. Of all which Expeditions we ſhall give ſome little Account, beginning with the two Emperors.

*The Expedition of Diocleſian.*

All neceſſary Preparations being made, *Diocleſian* marched into *Ægypt*, where *Achilleus* attended his Coming with a ſtrong and numerous Army; and coming to a Battel, notwithſtanding *Achilleus* made a valiant Reſiſtance, *Diocleſian* had the Victory. But the other ſaving himſelf by Flight, recovered the City of *Alexandria*; where ſeeking to repair his Loſſes, and recruit his Troops, he was cloſely beſieged by *Diocleſian*: And in the Space of eight Months, which was the Continuance of the Siege, there happened many Battels, Skirmſhes, and Encounters; till at length the City was taken by Force, and *Achilleus*, by *Diocleſian*'s Command, was condemned to be devoured by Lyons, and other wild Beaſts. And likewiſe in all the Kingdom of *Ægypt*, this Emperor inflicted moſt ſevere and cruel Puniſhments, putting many thouſands to Death; not only the Ring-Leaders and Abettors,

tors, but all ſuch as barely opproved of this Rebellion. His Fellow-Emperor *Maximian* was no leſs ſucceſsful againſt the *Quingentiani* in *Africk*, tho' at firſt he had a doubtful War with them; but in a ſhort time he broke their united Power, and conſtrained them to ſue for Peace, After which he marched into divers Parts of *Africk*, deſtroying the Uſurpers and Robbers in thoſe Countries, for which he was ſurnamed *Herculius*, becauſe *Hercules* was principally employed in ſuch Exploits. But *Diocleſian* proceeded farther, and called himſelf *Jovius*, from *Jupiter*; and reſted not here; but afterwards, like *Caligula* and *Domitian*, aſſum'd the Title of Lord, challenged Divine Honours, and ſuffered himſelf to be adored as a God: Tho' at the ſame Time he is ſaid to have carryed himſelf more like a Father than a Tyrant.

*of* Maximian.

The Wars managed by the two *Cæſars*, *Conſtantius*, and *Galerius*, proved not ſo proſperous at firſt as thoſe of the Two Emperors. *Conſtantius* found *Carauſius* poſſeſs'd of all *Britain*, and likewiſe ſo valiant and politick, that he could not prevail againſt him; but being continually alarmed and invaded by Inundations of *Germans*, he was conſtrained to come to an Accommodation with him. So that *Carauſius* remained intire Poſſeſſor of *Britain* for ſeven Years; and then was ſlain by his familiar Companion *Allectus*, who held the Country three Years longer. But at length he was overthrown and ſlain by *Prætorian* Prefect, call'd *Aſclepiodotus*, who recovered *Britain* to the Empire, after it had been ten Years uſurped by Rebels and Traitors. In the mean time *Conſtantius* was employed againſt the *Germans*, and other barbarous Nations, with whom he had ſeveral Battels; in the laſt of which, in one Day, he was both Overthrown and Conqueror: For coming to a general Battel with them in a Morning near the City of the

*of* Conſtantius.

the *Lingones*, his Troops fought so negligently, that they were driven to turn their Backs, and fly to the City, together with *Constantius* himself. But coming to the Gates of the City, he found them fast secured; and was in such Extremity, that if he had not suddenly been drawn up the Walls by a Rope, he had been slain by the Enemy. Having thus entered the City, he called the Soldiers together, and inciting them by his Speeches, five Hours after, when the Enemy expected no Attack, he commanded all the Gates to be set open, and suddenly sallying out, he set upon them with such Fury and Bravery, that after a long Fight, he entirely defeated them, and killed 60000 of their Men.

During these Transactions in other Parts, *Galerius* began a War against the *Persians*, no less hazardous than the rest; especially in the beginning, when *Galerius* near the City *Carræ*, came to a General Battel with *Narseus* their King; and rashly venturing with too small an Army, tho' he fought with extraordinary Courage, he was overthrown, and lost the greatest Part of his Army. *Diocletian* at the same time was coming from *Egypt* into *Mesopotamia*, where he was met by *Galerius*, who immediately alighted from his Horse, and approach'd the Emperor's Litter to salute him. But *Diocletian* without staying, or bidding him take Horse, suffered him to attend his Litter several Miles on Foot, much blaming his Conduct and Indiscretion in these last Actions. But at length giving him leave to depart, he enjoyned him to levy new Troops to retrieve his Honour, and defend his Province; which *Galerius* immediately put in Execution, *Diocletian* remaining with his Troops in *Mesopotamia*, to prevent the *Persians* invading that Province. *Galerius* having gathered together the Legions of *Sclavonia*, *Dacia*, and *Mœsia*, and other *and of Galerius.*

Forces, he marched into the Kingdom of *Armenia*, which *Narſeus* had entered, with whom he began a War with great Order and Exactneſs, and with no leſs Courage and Valour. The two Armies approaching, both Generals by mutual Conſent joyned Battel, one being animated with the Reſolution of preſerving, and the other of recovering his Honour: And the Soldiers having almoſt the ſame Intentions, the Battel proved very ſevere and bloody; but the *Roman* Army conſiſting of ſelect and diſciplined Men, obtained the Victory, tho' not without much Danger and Difficulty. *Narſeus* eſcaped by Flight, and *Galerius* purſuing the Victory, entered his Camp, where he took the King's Wives, his Children, his Siſters, and many of the Nobility of *Perſia*, with great Riches and Booty. Then marching forwards with his Forces, he Invaded *Narſeus*'s Country, and made great Devaſtations, without meeting any Reſiſtance; from whence he repaired to *Meſopotamia*, to wait on *Diocleſian*, where he was received as in Triumph, *Diocleſian* going out to meet him, and doing him great Honour. The Affairs of the *Eaſt* being thus eſtabliſhed, and the *Parthians* and *Perſians* overthrown, *Diocleſian* and *Galerius* returned into *Europe* and *Italy*, where they were met with great Joy and Applauſe by *Maximian* and *Conſtantius*, who likewiſe had been very ſucceſsful in their ſeveral Charges.

Theſe great Men had now brought Peace and Security to three Parts of the Empire, the *Eaſt*, *Weſt* and *South*; but the Northern Nations could not be throughly ſubdued, as well for their Fierceneſs and Courage, as their frequent withdrawing themſelves into cold, barren, and inacceſſible Places, which only themſelves could endure: So that the *Roman* Commanders judged it impoſſible to paſs any farther with their Armies, ſatisfying themſelves in chaſing them out of the Limits of the

the Empire, tho' they would afterwards return with greater Fury than at first, being continually troublesome and formidable. Now the *Scythians*, *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Alanes*, *Carpi*, *Catti*, *Quadi*, and other barbarous Nations, assembled themselves in incredible Numbers, with Intention to pillage and inhabit more fertile Countries, and began to make dangerous Invasions again into the *Roman* Territories; against which the two Emperors with their two *Cæsars* marched with several Armies, dispersing themselves in such an exact Manner, that one was always ready to assist another. At length, after many Hazards, Hardships, Losses and Dangers, they repell'd all these barbarous Nations, and took innumerable Herds of them Prisoners; which afterwards being set at Liberty, certain depopulated Provinces were given them to inhabit. In these Wars young *Constantine*, the Son of *Constantius*, nobly signaliz'd his Youth by many brave Exploits, particularly taking the *Sarmatian* General Prisoner, and bringing him alive to *Galerius*. *Diocletian* having obtain'd these great Victories and Advantages, and having settled Peace in the Empire by the Industry of himself and his Assistants, was desirous of obtaining the usual Reward of great Exploits, and return'd to *Rome*, which he entered in solemn Triumph, together with his Collegue *Maximian*, and their two *Cæsars*, *Constantius* and *Galerius*. This was in the seventeenth Year of *Diocletian*'s Reign, and was as magnificent as ever was seen in *Rome*; in which was exposed an infinite Mass of Treasure of the Spoils of the *East*, of *Ægypt*, and other Nations by them subdu'd: There were many Chariots full of Arms, and of Vessels of Gold and Silver, and many famous Prisoners, particularly the Wife and Children of the King of *Persia*, with many Kings and Commanders of the *Alanes*, the *Catti*, and

*Their joint Expedition,*

*and Triumph.*

other Nations. These Wars which had continu'd for many Years, were exceeding burthensome to the *Roman* Empire, as well by Means of the Vastness of the Armies, as the Exactions and Avarice of the Emperors: However, no Emperor ever kept the State in greater Subjection than *Diocleſian*, who by his remarkable Vigour, and fortunate Management of Affairs, made himself obey'd by all People; and even *Maximian* look'd upon him as his Father, and *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* as their Lord, his Subjects not daring to approach him without Marks of Adoration. Whereas it was the Custom among former Emperors, to allow Petitioners to kiss their Hands, and sometimes their Cheeks; *Diocleſian* on the contrary, by a publick Edict, commanded that all Men, without Distinction, should kiss his Foot prostrate upon the Earth; and for the greater Magnificence, he caus'd his Shoes to be set with Pearl, and precious Stones of the greatest Value.

In the midst of this Peace and Prosperity, *Diocleſian*, partly from his Pride and Cruelty, and principally from his superstitious Zeal to declining *Paganism*, resolv'd to suppress *Christianity*, which for several Years had encreas'd with such a Current of Prosperity, as corrupted too many of its Professors. And passing into *Asia*, to the City *Nicomedia*, he took an Occasion from several pretended Affronts, to raise a Persecution against the *Christians*, commanding the *Christian* Churches to be pull'd down, their Bibles to be burnt, the better sort to be branded with Infamy, and the Vulgar to be made Slaves. But these were but a Preludium to what succeeded; other Edicts being publish'd, commanding those who refus'd to offer Sacrifice, to be expos'd to all Kinds of exquisite Pains and Torments. This was the Tenth and last General Persecution of the Catholick Church, which began

*The tenth general Persecution.*

*A. D.* 303.

gan in the 19th Year of *Diocleſian*'s Reign, 239 Years after the firſt under *Nero*, 213 after the Second under *Domitian*, 196 after the Third under *Trajan*, 136 after the Fourth under *Antoninus Philoſophus*, 101 after the Fifth under *Severus*, 68 after the Sixth under *Maximinus*, 53 after the Seventh under *Decius*, 46 after the Eighth under *Valerian*, and 28 after the Ninth under *Aurelian*. As this was the laſt Perſecution, ſo it was the moſt ſevere of all others; like the laſt Efforts of an expiring Enemy, who uſes his utmoſt Power and Strength to give a parting Blow. It were endleſs and almoſt incredible, to enumerate the Variety of Sufferings and Torments; it is ſufficient to obſerve in this Place, that they were ſcourged to Death, had their Fleſh torn off with Pincers, and mangled with broken Pots, were caſt to Lyons, Tygers, and other wild Beaſts; were Burnt, Beheaded, Crucify'd, Thrown into the Sea, Torn in Pieces by the diſtorted Boughs of Trees, roaſted by gentle Fires, and Holes made in their Bodies for melted Lead to be pour'd into their Bowels. This Perſecution laſted ten Years under *Diocleſian* and ſome of his Succeſſors; and the incredible Numbers of *Chriſtians* that ſuffer'd Death and Puniſhment, made them conclude that they had compleated their Work; and in an ancient Inſcription they tell the World, *That they had effac'd the Name and Superſtition of the* Chriſtians, *and had reſtor'd and propagated the Worſhip of the Gods.* But they were ſo much deceived, that this haſtned the Deſtruction of *Paganiſm*, and ſhortly after *Chriſtianity* became victorious and triumphant over all the Powers and Artifices of Mankind.

Not long after the iſſuing out of theſe bloody Decrees, *Diocleſian* return'd to *Rome* to celebrate his Second *Decennalia*; from whence he ſoon after repair'd again to *Nicomedia*; and there after various

Considerations and Reflexions upon his present Circumstances, he fix'd upon a surprizing Resolution, which none of his Predecessors ever thought of, which was entirely to resign and relinquish the *Roman* Empire, and to lead a private Life for the future. And as tho' it was not sufficient to leave the Empire himself, he persuaded and almost compelled his Associate *Maximian* to do the same; which between them was agreed and concluded by Letters and Embassies, in such a Manner, that both in the same Day, *Maximian* in *Milan*, and *Diocletian* in *Nicomedia*, resigned the Empire, and divesting themselves of their Imperial Robes, they descended from their Thrones, and made themselves equal with private Persons, after *Diocletian* had reign'd 20 Years, and *Maximian* above eighteen, both together making the Thirty ninth Emperor of *Rome*. Many Authors applaud and extol this Act of *Diocletian*'s, mentioning it as a Superlative Instance of Greatness and Generosity, that he could so easily and freely part with the Empire of the World; but *Lactantius* in a Piece lately recover'd from Darkness, assures us, that this Resignation was wholly caus'd by the means and Contrivances of *Galerius*, who coming to *Nicomedia* shortly after a great Sickness of the Emperor's, threatned him with a Civil War if he refus'd to resign, as he had done *Maximian* before; and that *Diocletian* finding himself declining in Years and Authority, with many servile Tears was constrained to comply with his Demand. However we are assur'd by many, that after his Resignation, his Life was very easie and pleasant to him, having retired to his Birth-place *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, where for several Years his principal Employment was managing a Garden and an Orchard, saying to his Visitors, *That he began now to live, and to see the Beauty of the Sun*. And when afterwards *Maximian*, and

**Diocletian and Maximian *resign the Empire.***

other

others perſuaded him to reaſſume the Empire, he replyed, *That if they had enjoyed ſo much Eaſe and Quiet as he they would not have diſturbed him.* He likewiſe ſhewed them his Cole-worts in his Garden, and told them, *That he took greater pleaſure in planting of them, than in governing the Empire.* But notwithſtanding this eaſy Life, Heaven's Vengeance overtook him at laſt in his Death, which was by Poyſon, or Madneſs, or both, tho' he is acknowledged to have done infinite Service, as well as Diſkindneſs to his Country, for which he ought both to be applauded and condemned. This Remarkable Reſignation hapned in the 1057th Year of the City, 327 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, 304 after our Saviour's Nativity, 206 after the laſt of the Twelve *Cæſars*, and 111 after the publick Sale of the Empire.

## CHAP. VII.

*From the Resignation of* DIOCLESIAN, *to the Removal of the Imperial Seat to* Constantinople *by* CONSTANTINE the Great, *the Forty first Emperor; which was the greatest Step to the Ruin of the* Roman *Empire.*

*Containing the space of about* 26 *YEARS.*

A. D. 304. I. THE Resignation of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, was a great Surprize to the *Roman* Empire, which had so often seen its best Blood shed for the obtaining of it: However, we find no great Marks of Dissatisfaction in any, all being ready to acknowledge the two *Cæsars*, *Constantius* and *Galerius* for Emperors, according to the particular Appointment of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, *Constantius* was sirnamed *Chlorus* from his Paleness, and was marryed to *Theodora*, Daughter-in-Law to *Maximian*; and *Galerius* to *Valeria*, Daughter to *Diocletian*. The first was very Noble by Descent, near allyed to the Emperor *Claudius*, vertuous, valiant, of an affable and merciful Temper; the latter was ignoble, of a signal Valour and Courage, but withal churlish, incontinent, cruel, and a barbarous Persecutor of the *Christians*. Notwithstanding this Disparity of Humours and Dispositions, *Diocletian* while he reigned, by his remarkable Policy and uncommon Management, preserved a constant Agreement between them after his Resignation,

**Constantius *and* Galerius *made Emperors.***

## GALERIUS XL.

nation, to prevent all future Conteſts that might ariſe, they readily agreed to make a diſtinct and independent Diviſion of the Empire between them. *Conſtantius* had the *Weſtern* Parts of the Empire, namely *Italy*, *Sicily*, the greateſt Part of *Africk*, together with *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Britain* and *Germany*; and *Galerius* the *Eaſtern* and the largeſt Share, namely, *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, all the Provinces of *Greece* and the leſſer *Aſia*, together with *Ægypt*, *Syria*, *Judæa*, and all the *Eaſt*. This Diviſion being made, the Government of ſo many Provinces ſeem'd too great a Charge and Burthen to the Pacifick Temper of *Conſtantius*, who chuſing rather to govern well than to govern much, freely relinquiſh'd the Provinces of *Africk* and of *Italy* to *Galerius*, contenting himſelf with *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and his Part of *Germany*. On the other Side *Galerius* finding his Provinces to increaſe, and the Affairs of the Empire burthenſome and difficult to manage with Security to himſelf, he made choice of two Aſſiſtants, and created them *Cæſars*; the one was *Severus*, to whom he allotted the Government of *Italy* and *Africk*, and the other his Siſter's Son *Maximin*, to whom he gave the Government of the *Eaſt* in *Aſia*, reſerving to his own particular Management all the Provinces that belong'd to *Illyricum* and *Greece*. So that the World was in a manner govern'd by four Heads, *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* Emperors, and *Severus* and *Maximin*, *Cæſars*, who were both Dependents of *Galerius*.

*and divide the Empire between them.*

**Severus and Maximin *made* Cæſars *by* Galerius.**

*Conſtantius* was about 54 Years of Age when he enter'd upon the Government, which he manag'd to the general Satisfaction and Approbation of all Men, preſerving his Provinces free from all Kinds of Wars and Rebellions, during his ſhort Reign.

The

The *Gauls* not only loved him, but almoſt adored him before he was Emperor, for under his former Adminiſtration, they had eſcaped the ſuſpected Policy of *Diocleſian*, and the bloody Raſhneſs of *Maximian*. His principal Deſire was to benefit and enrich his Subjects, ſaying, *It was better to have the Wealth of the Land diffuſed, and in the Hands of Many, than to be locked up in Princes Coffers*; concurring with *Trajan*, who compared the Exchequer to the Spleen, the great Growth of which cauſed the Limbs to be leſſened and weakened. He ſo little affected Pomp and Splendor, that on Feſtival Days, when he entertained many of his Friends, he generally borrowed Furniture and Plate from other Perſons, for the Uſe of his Table: And being in his former Adminiſtration by *Diocleſian*'s Ambaſſadors reproached for his Poverty, he only intimated his Wants to the People, and in a few hours amaſs'd ſuch infinite Sums from their voluntary Contributions, that the Ambaſſadors were amazed; he telling them, *That the Love of the People was the richeſt and ſureſt Treaſure of the Prince, and that his Subjects Money was by that Means always at his Devotions, which he never thought ſafer than when they were Keepers of it.* After their Departure, he returned all the Subſidies that were preſented him; being by this voluntary Poverty, richer than *Diocleſian*, and all the Princes who were his Partners. He was of a merciful and generous Temper, and much honour'd and favour'd the *Chriſtians*, not permitting any Violence or Injury to be offered them: However, being urged by *Galerius*, he once politickly pretended to proſecute them, and commanded all the Officers of his Houſhold, who were *Chriſtians*, to change their Religion, or to leave their Places; but when ſome of them did ſo, he ſent them away with great Diſgrace, ſaying, *That thoſe who were not true to their God, would never be faithful to their Prince.*

Con-

## Galerius, &c. XL.

*Conſtantius* in the ſecond Year of his Reign repair'd to *Britain*, and reſided at *Eboracum* or *York*, where falling into ſome Sickneſs, he began to be much concern'd for the Safety of his Son *Conſtantine*, who for ſeveral Years had been kept at the Court of *Diocleſian*, as an honourable Pledge for his Father's Fidelity, and ſince his Reſignation in that of *Galerius* in the *Eaſt*, *Galerius* hated *Conſtantius*, and was jealous of his Son, whom he would have removed by a violent Death, but he knew that the Army admir'd *Conſtantine*, and would revenge it. He ſought therefore under Pretence of Sports and Martial Exerciſes to have diſpatched him; but he was ſtill preſerved by the Hand of Providence. His Father had often ſent for him, and had been as often deny'd; and now in this Sickneſs he had renew'd his Importunity: So that *Galerius* being aſhamed to deny this reaſonable Requeſt, ſign'd him a Warrant to go the next Day, reſolving upon ſome Artifice to ſtop him in his Journey, and prevent his Arrival in *Britain*, and therefore order'd him to come the next Morning to receive his final Inſtructions. But *Conſtantine*, as ſoon as *Galerius* was gone to his Reſt, took Poſt-Horſes with all ſpeed, and at every Stage where he came, beſides thoſe few he made uſe of, he ham-ſtring'd all the Horſes that he left behind him. *Galerius* calling for him the next Day, and underſtanding that he was gone the Night before, immediately commanded ſeveral to purſue him; but hearing ſoon after that the Poſt-Horſes were all diſabled, he burſt out into a violent Paſſion of Rage and Grief. In the mean time *Conſtantine* travelled with the utmoſt ſpeed, and arriving at *York*, found his Father paſt Recovery. *Conſtantius* receiv'd him with the utmoſt Marks of Joy, and

riſing

riſing up in his Bed, gave him ſeveral uſeful Inſtructions and Directions, and particularly recommended the *Chriſtians* to his Care and Mercy. Being ask'd which of his Children ſhould ſucceed him, having two Sons by *Theodora*; neglecting his ſecond Wife and her Progeny, he cry'd aloud, *None but the pious* Conſtantine! and ſhortly after expir'd in the Arms of this beloved Son. This was the Death of *Conſtantius Chlorus* the Fortieth Emperor of *Rome*, in the 56th Year of his Age, after he had been *Cæſar* about ſixteen Years, and Emperor ſomewhat above two; a Prince of admirable Vertues and Accompliſhments, and infinitely belov'd and lamented by all his Subjects. He dy'd in the 1059th Year of the City, 306 Years after our Saviour's Nativity, and 24 before the Removal of the Empire by his Son *Conſtantine*.

*The Death of Conſtantius.*

*A. D.* 306. Conſtantine *made Emperor.*

II. Upon the Deceaſe of the Emperor *Conſtantius*, his Son *Conſtantine*, now about 36 Years of Age, was unanimouſly ſaluted Emperor of the *Weſt*, by the joyful Acclamations of the Army upon the Account of his own, as well as his Father's Merits; being a Prince of moſt promiſing Vertues and Accompliſhments, of profound Policy and Capacity, and of no leſs Modeſty than Magnanimity. According to the moſt general Opinion, he was born in *Britain*, of *Helen* the firſt Wife of *Conſtantius*, a *Britiſh* Princeſs, and was marry'd to *Fauſta*, the Daughter of *Maximian* who reſign'd the Empire with *Diocleſian*, being afterwards ſirnamed *the Great*, from his many great Actions and Exploits. For a conſiderable Time he contented himſelf with the Name of *Cæſar*, not immediately aſſuming the Title of *Auguſtus*, or Emperor, expecting the Senior Emperor ſhould have ſent him that Title, but in vain: For

## Galerius, &c. XL.

For as ſoon as his Image wreath'd with the Imperial Laurel, was preſented to *Galerius*, he was ſo enrag'd, as to condemn both it and the Meſſenger to the Fire, but by his Friends was diſſwaded from the Execution. Therefore that he might ſeem to allow that voluntarily, which he wanted Power to prevent, he ſent him the Purple, but withal made *Severus* Emperor, and gave him only the Title of *Cæſar*. But *Conſtantine* ſtood in no need of his Approbation to confirm his Title; his Father's declar'd Will for his Succeſſion, and the univerſal Conſent both of the Army and the whole *Weſt*, put his Right beyond all Diſpute. His Image, according to the Cuſtom of new Emperors, being expos'd in *Rome*, immediately provoked the Ambition of *Maxentius*, and taking an Opportunity in the abſence of *Severus*, whoſe Government the *Prætorian* Soldiers hated, he proclaim'd himſelf Emperor by their Aſſiſtance, and ſome conſiderable Officers then in *Rome*. He was Son to *Maximian* by *Eutropia*, an ordinary Woman of *Syria*, and was very popular among the Soldiers, whom for Recompence he allowed to commit almoſt all Kinds of Outrages and Diſorders in the City. This was ſome Surprize to *Conſtantine*, but a greater to *Galerius*, who immediately ſent *Severus* with all ſpeed towards *Rome*, to ſuppreſs this new Uſurper; and for a farther Security, he encourag'd old *Maximian*, who led a private Life, to reaſſume the Empire, which he willingly did, expecting to diſpoſſeſs his Son *Maxentius*, and in Time to become ſole Emperor. *Severus* marched with his Army up to the Walls of *Rome*; but his Soldiers conſidering againſt whom they were to fight, immediately abandon'd him, ſo that he was conſtrain'd to fly, and to ſhut himſelf

Maxentius *in* Rome, *uſurps the* Empire.

ſelf up with a Handful of Men in *Ravenna*, to avoid old *Maximian*, who under Pretence of aſſiſting his Son, was marching that way, finding that he could not avoid being deliver'd up, he at length reſign'd his Imperial Purple; which Submiſſion could only purchaſe him an eaſie Death, which was by opening his Veins.

*The Death of Severus*

In the mean time the reſtleſs *Maximian* made uſe of all Methods to regain his former Dignity and Authority, and us'd many Perſuaſions to engage his old Partner *Diocleſian* in the ſame Expedition; but all in vain. Nor did he meet with better Succeſs at *Rome*; for there he caus'd ſuch Confuſions and Miſchiefs among the *Prætorian* Soldiers, that he was oblig'd to fly into *Gaul* to *Conſtantine*, who honourably received him as his Father-in-law, and as one who had been Emperor. From whence he repair'd to *Galerius*, and was forced to fly a ſecond time into *Gaul*, where his Thoughts were ſo fix'd upon Rule and Empire, that he endeavour'd to corrupt his Daughter *Fauſta*, and to deſtroy his Son-in-Law *Conſtantine*. But his Treaſon was ſoon diſcover'd, and flying with ſome Forces into *Marſeilles*, he was purſu'd, beſieg'd, and ſtript of his Imperial Robes by *Conſtantine*, who finding himſelf daily expos'd to new Plots and Conſpiracies, at length could allow him no greater Mercy than to let him chuſe his own Death, which *Lactantius* tells us was Hanging: A Death which he had long before merited by his Cruelties and Barbarities to the *Chriſtians* and others. In the mean time *Galerius*, after the Defeat and Death of *Severus*, gathered together all his Troops, and in a great Rage march'd into *Italy* againſt *Maxentius*, reſolving to ruin the Inhabitants, and particularly to deſtroy all the Senate. But he was ſtopp'd in his furious Career; for his own Soldiers upon their Approach to *Rome*, conſidering the Conſequence of this unnatural

*The Death of Maximian.*

natural War, began to deſert, and were in a ſtaggering Condition; which threw him into ſuch a Fright, that fearing the Fate of *Severus*, he caſt himſelf at his Soldiers Feet, and ſervilely begged, *That they would not deliver him up to his Enemies*; and then marched away with ſuch Fear and Conſternation, that a ſmall Body of Men would have been ſufficient to have ruined him. Infinite Ravages and Outrages were permitted by Him, and committed by his Army in all Parts of *Italy* in their March; ſo that inſtead of being a *Roman* Emperor he became the Plunderer of *Italy*, retiring back into his own Diviſion, after he had in a ſavage Manner deſtroyed the whole Country. Not long after his Return to his Province, he ſent for old *Diocleſian*, before whom he created *Licinius Cæſar*, or rather Emperor in the Place of *Severus* deceaſed; who was originally the Son of a poor Labourer in *Dacia*, but a very politick and excellent Commander. The Preſence of *Diocleſian* was made uſe of to give the greater Authority to the Choice; which notwithſtanding gave but ſmall Satisfaction to *Maximin* in the *Eaſt*, who much envyed this new Advancement.

Licinius *made* Cæſar *or Emperor by* Galerius.

About the ſixth Year of his Reign, he was viſited with a filthy and incurable Diſtemper; beginning firſt with an Ulcer and Impoſthume in his Privities, which increaſing, proved incredibly nauſeous both to the Sight and Smell; ſo that all the Arts of Phyſicians and Surgeons were ineffectual. His Diſtemper encreaſed ſlowly and gradually, and afterwards his Thighs were over-run with Putrefaction, the Bottom of his Belly conſumed, his Bowels laid open, and the whole Maſs of his Body turned into an univerſal Rottenneſs, which was accompanyed with infinite Numbers of

of Worms and Vermine, and such insupportable Torments, that he often endeavoured to kill himself, and caused some of his Physicians to be slain, because their Medicines were ineffectual. He languished in this Misery a full Year, tho' not in the Extremity of it; in which Space he began to reflect upon his unjust Cruelties to the *Christians*; and in great Haste consulting with *Constantine* then in *Gaul*, he commanded all Laws and Edicts against them to be abolished; and to that Effect sent his Letters and Decrees into all the Provinces of *Greece*, and into the *East*, where *Maximin* was Governour. Besides which he caused many *Christians* to be brought into his Presence, whom he desired and beseeched to make Supplication to the true God for his Health and Recovery. But his Putrefaction still increasing, not long after the Publication of his Edict, he breathed his last, having recommended his Wife and Son to *Licinius*, and put them into his Hands. This was the miserable End of *Galerius Maximian*, who in Conjunction with *Constantius*, makes the Fortieth Emperor of *Rome*, after an impious Reign of near seven Years, two with *Constantius*, and almost five with *Constantine*; being a Prince who had done some Service, but greater Injury to the State, and by his barbarous Cruelties to the *Christians*, had drawn down the peculiar Vengeance of Heaven upon his Head. At his Death he left the Empire divided among four; *Constantine*, Emperor of *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and *Germany*; *Licinius*, his Successor and Emperor of the Provinces of *Illyricum* and *Greece*, *Maximin*, *Cæsar*, and Governour of *Asia* and the *East*; and *Maxentius*, Usurper of *Italy* and *Africk*.

*The Death of* Galerius.

III *Licinius*

## Licinius, &c. XLI.

III. *Licinius* was now generally acknowledged Emperor in the Room of *Galerius*, and peaceably took upon him the ſame Provinces; while *Conſtantine* governed *Gaul* and his Provinces with great Succeſs and Proſperity, tho' ſtill continuing in the *Gentile* Religion. Having reigned about ſix Years, he began to be highly concerned for the City of *Rome*, which was miſerably oppreſſed by the intolerable Outrages and Inſolencies daily committed by *Maxentius*; and being ſolicited by an Embaſſy ſent purpoſely to him by the Senate and People of *Rome*, he took up a Reſolution worthy of ſo great a Mind, to march againſt him, and free the City from the Tyrannies and Extravagancies of that Uſurper. He was no ſooner engaged in this Expedition, but like a prudent Man began to think on ſome Aſſiſtance beyond the meer Strength and Courage of his Army; and knowing that there were many Deities at that time worſhiped in the World, his firſt Care was, which of theſe to implore as his Protector and Tutular Guardian. He obſerved the fatal Miſcarriages of his Predeceſſors, who had violently promoted the Multiplicity of Gods; and that notwithſtanding their utmoſt Protections, their Wars had generally been unproſperous, and their Ends unfortunate and untimely: On the contrary, his Father who had acknowledged and adored only one God, had happily ſucceeded in his Undertaking; upon which Conſideration he reſolved to lay aſide the vulgar Deities, and adhere to the God of his Father; to whom he humbly addreſs himſelf, beſeeching him to make himſelf known to him, and aſſiſt him in this Expedition. And Heaven heard his Prayer, and anſwered in a man-

*A. D.* 311. **Licinius** *ſucceeds* **Galerius** *in the Empire.*

**Conſtantine's** *Expedition againſt* **Maxentius.**

ner ſo miraculous, that *Euſebius* acknowledges, it would not have been credible, if he had not received it from the Emperor's own Mouth, who ſolemnly ratifyed the Truth of it with his Oath. The Army was upon their March, and *Conſtantine* ſeriouſly employed in theſe devout Ejaculations, when the Sun declining, there ſuddenly appeared a Pillar of Light in the Heavens, in the Faſhion of a Croſs, with this Inſcription upon, or about it, ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ, *In this overcome.* This was a ſurprizing Sight both to *Conſtantine* and his whole Army; and the Commanders and Officers prompted by their *Aruſpices*, looked upon it as an inauſpicious Omen, portending a very unfortunate Expedition. But it made ſuch a happy Impreſſion upon the Emperor's Mind, that being farther encouraged by Viſions that Night, he cauſed the next Day a Royal Standard to be made like that which he had ſeen in the Heavens, and to be born before him in his Wars, as an Enſign of Victory and Safety; after which he conſulted with ſeveral *Chriſtian* Biſhops, and by them was inſtructed in the principal Points of *Chriſtianity*, reſolving at leiſure Hours to peruſe the Holy Scriptures.

*A miraculous Appearance.*

*Conſtantine* with great Confidence and Aſſurance marched through *Italy*, with an Army of about 90000 Foot and 8000 Horſe; and notwithſtanding all Oppoſition, he in a ſhort Time advanc'd almoſt to the Walls of *Rome*, incamping his Army in a large Plain before the City. This formidable Approach ſomewhat rouſed *Maxentius*, who had given himſelf up to Eaſe and Luxury, as well as Charms and Inchantments, dividing his Hours between Pleaſure and Superſtition. He never went out of the City, and ſeldom out of his Palace; ſo extraordinary lazy and unactive, that to remove into the *Saluſian* Gardens, tho' to enjoy a freſh

## Licinius &c. XLI.

freſh Scene of Pleaſure, was accounted a Journey, and an Expedition, as a certain Orator juſtly jeers him. But now he ſaw himſelf oblig'd to leave the City, therefore ply'd the Altars with various Sacrifices; and commanded the *Sibylline* Books to be ſearch'd; and the Anſwer brought him, was, That this Day the great Enemy of *Rome* ſhould periſh, which he underſtood of *Conſtantine*, and apply'd the Succeſs to himſelf. So leaving all Things in the beſt Poſture, he quitted the City, and advanc'd againſt *Conſtantine* with far more numerous Forces, his Army conſiſting of 170000 Foot, and 18000 Horſe, a great part of whom being *Romans* and *Italians*, and having felt ſo much of his Tyranny, deſir'd nothing more than to ſee him fall at the Enemies Feet. However the Ingagement was fierce and bloody, till Victory having hover'd a while, reſted on *Conſtantine*'s Side; for the Enemies Cavalry being routed, the whole Army fled, and thinking to eſcape the neareſt Way, by a Bridge of Boats, which *Maxentius* had built over the *Tyber*, and had contriv'd with ſecret Springs and Engines, purpoſely to drown *Conſtantine* if he paſs'd that way, were caught in their own Snare: For the Engines giving way, the Boats parted, and overpreſs'd with the Weight of the Company, ſunk to the Bottom of the River, and *Maxentius* himſelf along with them, whoſe Body being found, his Head was ſtricken off, and carry'd upon a Pole before the Army. This was the deſerved End of an impious Tyrant and Perſecutor, after he had uſurp'd and poſſeſs'd part of the Empire ſix Years.

*The Defeat and Death of* Maxentius.

*Conſtantine* having obtain'd this noble Victory, with no great Loſs on his ſide, the Senators and People of *Rome*, with their Wives and Children, came *A. D.* 312.

came out of the City to receive him; and with infinite Acclamations, ſtil'd him their *Father*, *their Saviour*, *and Author of all their Happineſs.* In this Manner he was attended into *Rome*, with incredible Joy and Dilatation of Heart, every one reſounding the Praiſes of this Emperor; but he would attribute nothing to his own Power or Policy, but all to God alone. And in the right Hand of all the Statutes that were erected to his Honour by Decree of Senate, he caus'd to be engraven the Figure of the Croſs, with the ſame Inſcription he had ſeen in the Heavens; only in one he had likewiſe an Inſcription, intimating, *That under the Influence of that victorious Croſs*, Conſtantine *had deliver'd the City from the Yoke of Tyrannical Power, and had reſtor'd to the Senate and People of* Rome *their ancient Splendor and Glory.* And about this Time, we are told, that he commanded by publick Edict, that no Man for the future ſhould ſuffer the Death of the Croſs; which till now was looked upon as moſt ignominious of all others. Settling all Affairs in Peace and good Order in the City, and making wiſe and juſt Laws and Ordinances, to ſhew himſelf grateful for the Benefit he had received, he began to beſtow many Favours and Gifts upon the *Chriſtians*, gradually building them Churches and Places of Prayer, endowing them with Rents and Means for the Maintenance of the Prieſts and Miniſters, with Neceſſaries and Ornaments for Divine Service; all which were done by ſeveral wary Steps and Degrees. Shortly after his Victory, He and *Licinius*, to whom he marryed his Siſter *Conſtantia*, by one conſent iſſued out their Decrees through all the Provinces and Cities of the Empire, commanding that the *Chriſtians* ſhould be eaſed from all Grievances, made free, and received into all Offices and Places of Authority; which now finiſhed that great Perſecution begun by *Dioclesian*,

*cleſian*, which had raged in ſeveral Parts of the Empire for ten Years. Theſe Decrees being ſent into the *Eaſt*, were likewiſe obeyed by *Maximin*, tho' much againſt his Inclinations, being a mortal Hater of the *Chriſtians*. All this the *Gentiles* beheld with an envious and malicious Eye, as what portended the fatal Declenſion, if not the final Overthrow of their Religion; and were more confirm'd in theſe Suſpicions when they ſaw the Emperor neglected the celebration of the grand *Secular Games*, which were at this Time to have been exhibited, but were put down upon the Accouut of the great Mixture of *Pagan* Devotions. *Conſtantine* was now Lord of a large part of the Empire, having increaſed his former Dominions by the Addition of all *Italy*, *Sicily*, and the Province of *Africk*; and now living in Peace and Proſperity, he made many new and advantageous Laws for the Good and Peace of the Publick. He alſo took great care to reduce all Arts and Sciences to their ancient Perfection, highly honouring and encouraging ſuch Maſters as were excellent, who at this time were greatly decay'd and diminiſhed. He buſily employ'd himſelf in the moſt honourable Exerciſes, being frequently reading, writing and indicting, and hearing of Embaſſies and Complaints, which were brought to him from ſeveral Provinces; and to all Men he ſhewed himſelf very affable, mild, courteous and bountiful; ſo that his greateſt Enemies have been obliged to acknowledge many Vertues and Excellencies in this Prince.

*Conſtantine* living in this Proſperity, *Maximin* who govern'd in the *Eaſt*, ſeeing himſelf rich and powerful, accounted it a Diſhonour to him to be inferior to *Licinius* or *Conſtantine*; and therefore

Maximin *invades the Empire.*

assuming the Name of *Augustus* and Emperor, and revoking the Privileges granted to the *Christians*, he began to declare himself an Enemy, especially to *Licinius*, who commanded in the Provinces neareſt to his. And knowing that *Licinius* was making Provisions againſt him, truſting to the Multitudes of his own Soldiers, he immediately march'd towards him, and began a ſevere War both by Sea and Land. After ſeveral Encounters and Conflicts, they both came to a general Battel, in which *Maximin*'s numerous Troops were overthrown, and purſued with that Fury, that moſt of them were cut in Pieces, the reſt all yielding themſelves to *Licinius*. *Maximin* himſelf eſcaping by Flight, immediately changed his Habit, to prevent Diſcovery, till he could arrive at a Place of Security. And imagining himſelf to have been deluded by his Magicians and *Pagan* Prieſts, he put many of them to Death, and trying all Methods to appeaſe the divine Vengeance, he iſſued out his Decrees in favour of the *Chriſtians*, allowing them Liberty to build Churches, and to officiate as they thought fit. Having again levy'd conſiderable Forces, and reſolving to try his Fortunes in a ſecond Battel, Heaven was pleas'd to fruſtrate all his Deſigns by his Death, firſt afflicting him with infinite Pains and Torments all over his Body, cauſing him to bite his Hands, and to caſt himſelf from his Bed to the Floor; and this Torment continuing many Days, ſo that he could neither eat, drink nor ſleep, at length his Eyes ſtarted out of his Head, ſo that he dy'd raging and in Deſpair, confeſſing upon his Death-Bed, that all this was but a juſt Puniſhment upon him for his ſpiteful and virulent Proceedings againſt *Chriſt* and his Religion. This was the juſt and miſerable Death of a bloody Tyrant, and one of the moſt barbarous Perſecutors of the Church, by which

*His Death.*

Means

Means the Churches in these Parts began exceedingly to flourish, and the *Christians* for the present enjoyed a very serene and prosperous Season. *Constantine* and *Licinius* now remained sole Lords and Emperors of the *Roman* Dominions; only the latter met with some Opposition in the *East* by *Valens*, whom the Army had made Emperor after the Death of *Maximin*. But *Licinius* soon put an End to his Life and Empire together; and being in full Possession of the *East*, he punished the Enchanters, Sorcerers, and the Ministers and Instruments of *Maximin*'s Cruelty; and also caused his Sons to be slain whom he had made *Cæsar*. Not long after this, one *Alexander* a Commander in *Africk* rebelled and usurped the Name and Authority of Emperor; against whom *Constantine* sent an Army from *Rome*, which coming to an Engagement, *Alexander* was overthrown and slain: So that the whole Empire now remained peaceably under the Command of *Constantine* and *Licinius*. And tho' the Dignity of these two were equal, yet the Valour and Reputation of *Constantine* was far greater, and he was much better beloved and esteemed by all Men than *Licinius*; remaining most commonly in *Rome*, administring Justice to all Men with Wisdom and Discretion, reading the Holy Scriptures, and daily enriching and propagating the Church of God.

Valens, *and* Alexander *defeated.*

*Licinius* who had hitherto dissembled with *Constantine* and the World, having now the whole *Eastern* Empire at his Command, began to shew himself in his proper Colours, heartily espousing the Cause of the *Pagans*, and by a Law expressly forbad the *Christian* Bishops to visit the Houses of the *Gentiles*, lest their intimate Converse might promote the Propagation of *Christianity* among them.

*The wicked Practices of* Licinius.

But not ſatisfied with this, he took Occaſion to ſhew his utmoſt Malice, raiſing a moſt bloody Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*, whom he rigorouſly purſued with all poſſible Cruelties: So that the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, as *Euſebius* obſerves, ſeemed like Night and Day, a dreadful Darkneſs overſpreading the former, while the latter enjoyed all the happy Sun-ſhine of Peace and Proſperity. He likewiſe made uſe of ſeveral treacherous Practices againſt the Perſon of *Conſtantine*, whom he both envyed and hated, contriving all imaginable Methods to deſtroy him. In Compaſſion to the *Chriſtians* deplorable Condition, and to chaſtiſe the monſtrous Inconſtancy and Ingratitude of *Licinius*, as well as his horrible Perfidiouſneſs and Hypocriſie, whom no Tyes of Blood or Intereſt could oblige, *Conſtantine* reſolved upon an Expedition againſt him. Great Preparations were made on both Sides, and the two Emperors and Armies meeting in *Panonia* near *Cybalis*, *Conſtantine* in the midſt of his *Chriſtian* Biſhops and Chaplains, begged the Aſſiſtance of Heaven, while the other called for his Pagan Prieſts, Fortune-Tellers and Inchanters. And the Succeſs was according to their Practice; for immediately after a ſharp Battel was fought between them, where notwithſtanding *Licinius* made a brave Reſiſtance, all his Forces were overthrown, and his Camp enter'd, he himſelf flying as far as the City of *Bizantium*. Where to relieve himſelf, and to ſtrengthen his Intereſt and Authority, he made one of his Commanders call'd *Martian*, *Cæſar*, who was Maſter and Steward of his Houſhold; and raiſing all the Forces he could, he prepared for a ſecond Battel. In the mean time *Conſtantine*, making his Sons *Criſpus* and *Conſtantine*, *Cæſar*; he ſeiz'd on the Provinces of *Dacia*, *Mœſia*, *Macedonia*, and others in *Europe*, which were ſubject to *Licinius*. *Licinius* having now

now gather'd together a conſiderable Army, renew'd the War, which prov'd very variable and expenſive, till by the Interceſſion of his Wife *Conſtantia*, and Siſter to *Conſtantine*, a Truce and Peace was made between them. But through the Envy and Malice of *Licinius*, the War broke out a ſecond Time, which was carry'd on by Sea and Land with greater Power and Fury than ever. And both theſe Emperors and Rivals coming again to a general Battel, in the Province of *Bithynia*, whither *Licinius* had withdrawn himſelf, after vaſt Struglings and Bloodſhed, the Piety and Valour of *Conſtantine* prevail'd, and *Licinius* being entirely defeated, eſcaped by Flight to *Nicomedia*, whither *Conſtantine* purſued and beſieged him. Yet by the Means of his Wife *Conſtantia*, *Conſtantine* granted him his Life, upon Condition he ſurrendered himſelf, and agreed to lead a private and obſcure Life. We are told that *Conſtantine* confirmed theſe Conditions by Oath, and ſent *Licinius* to *Theſſalonica*; but afterwards fearing a new Rebellion, or rather indeed finding him actually ingaged, he commanded him to be put to Death, together with *Martian* whom he had made *Cæſar*: For which Act *Conſtantine* is blamed by ſome Authors, and excuſed by others. This was the fatal End of *Licinius*, who with *Conſtantine*, may be called the 41ſt Emperor of *Rome*, after a wicked Reign of thirteen Years after the Death of his true Predeceſſor *Galerius*; being a Prince not only blam'd for his great Ignorance in Learning, which he called a publick Peſt, but alſo juſtly branded with his great Cruelties, Incontinence, and Avarice, This hapned in the 18th Year of the Reign of *Conſtantine*, the 1077th of the City, and 323d of our Saviour.

*The Death of Licinius.*

IV. The

*A. D.* 223. Constantine *Sole Emperor.*

IV. The Defeat and Death of *Licinius* gave *Conſtantine* full Power and Authority, and made him ſole Monarch of the *Roman* Empire; his Reign being for ſome Space attended with an univerſal Peace and Security, *Chriſtianity* and all Arts daily flouriſhing and encreaſing. He was generally beloved, and much honoured by his Subjects, for his Juſtice and Clemency; and no leſs dreaded by the barbarous Nations, for his Conduct and Valour: but was moſt of all eſteemed and admired by the *Chriſtians* in all Nations, whoſe Affairs he now promoted with greater Vigour than ever. He beſtowed many extraordinary Benefits, Privileges, and Donatives upon the Biſhops and Churches, and generally upon all *Chriſtians*, entirely aboliſhing all Laws and Edicts that had ever been made to their Prejudice; and he iſſued out ſpecial Edicts, commanding that no more Temples ſhould be built to the Honour of any *Pagan* God. He alſo commanded that in all the Provinces of the Empire, the Orders of the Biſhops ſhould be exactly obſerved; and to ſuch as wanted a Competency for Subſiſtance, he aſſigned Goods and Rens to maintain them during their Lives. He not only took Care for the *Chriſtians* in the Empire, but uſed ſuch Methods by his Ambaſſadors and otherwiſe, that in *Perſia* and other Countries, they were not oppreſſed, as formerly; ſo that the Goſpel was incouraged and propagated in many Parts of the World, by the Means and Methods of this mighty Emperor. But in this great Proſperity of the Church, its Peace was highly diſturbed, and its Purity dangerouſly corrupted by the Errors and Hereſies of the famous *Arius*, a Prieſt in *Alexandria*; which in nine or ten Years time, became ſo popular and prevalent in many Provinces, that the

the Emperor himſelf was obliged to interpoſe, and make uſe of extraordinary Remedies for this Infection. In order to which, he reſolved to call in the Aſſiſtance of the whole *Chriſtian* Church; and thereupon iſſued out his Letters into all parts of the *Chriſtian* World, ſummoning the Biſhops and Clergy to meet at an appointed Day at *Nice*, the Metropolis of *Bithynia* in the leſſer *Aſia*; and this was the firſt general Council eſtabliſhed by human Laws ſince our Saviour's Nativity. To this Place repaired about three hundred and eighteen Biſhops, beſides an innumerable Company of Preſbyters and Deacons, together with the Emperor himſelf in great Pomp; all which Number, except about ſeventeen, unanimouſly condemned the Hereſie of *Arius*, who was thereupon baniſhed, together with his Aſſociates.

*The firſt General Council at Nice. A. D. 325.*

In the ſame Year *Conſtantine* conferr'd the Dignity of *Cæſar* upon his Son *Conſtantius*, who was the ſecond he had by *Fauſta*, and ſent him into *Gaul* to defend that Province againſt the barbarous Nations. He likewiſe celebrated his *Vicennalia*, or twentieth Year of his Reign, both at *Nicomedia* and *Rome*; and made many new Regulations in the Laws and State, reſtraining the Exorbitances of Uſury, and many other Inconveniences. And whereas ſeveral Complaints were made againſt his Favourites and particular Friends, he publiſhed an Edict this Year, allowing and inviting any one to come freely and accuſe them, promiſing Rewards to thoſe who made good their Accuſations, concluding his Edict with a moſt religious Proteſtation of his Sincerity. But notwithſtanding his worthy Adminiſtration, we are told, that about this Time he did ſome Acts which gave Opportunity to his Enemies much to blacken his Reputation; which were his putting to Death his Son *Criſpus*, and

*Criſpus and Fauſta put to Death.*

and his Empreſs *Fauſta*, with ſome other Friends: And theſe, according to the moſt probable Accounts, were occaſioned firſt by the Empreſs's falling in Love with her Son-in-Law *Criſpus*, who finding his Virtue equal to his Beauty, and impregnable againſt all her Solicitations, partly through Rage and Diſappointment, and partly to ſecure the Succeſſion of her own Sons, accus'd him to the Emperor of Violence to her Honour, and procured his Death. But the Emperor ſoon after finding out her Treachery, and himſelf notoriouſly abus'd, commanded her to be be put to Death, with ſome others that joyn'd with her in her impious Projects. Some Authors wholly deny this Story, and that *Criſpus* and *Fauſta* were ever put to Death; but a greater Number aſſure us that they did ſuffer, tho' ſome of them are unſatisfi'd about the Occaſion, declaring that the Cauſes were ſecret and unknown. *Conſtantine* was ſoon diverted from theſe domeſtick Troubles, by dangerous Irruptions of the *Sarmatians* and *Scythians*, againſt whom he made great Preparations; and building a Stone Bridge over the River *Danube* for his Conveniency, he fought ſeveral Battels with theſe People, and reduced them, and likewiſe the *Goths* not long after to Obedience.

*Conſtantine* having now reſtored perfect Peace and Tranquility to the *Roman* Empire, took up a Reſolution of transferring the Seat of the Empire to ſome other place: Whether it was, becauſe he was offended at the Affronts of the People of *Rome*, when at a certain Feſtival he ſpake contemptibly of thoſe ſacred Rites, as *Zoſimus* reports it; or whether, becauſe he ſhould not honour that place with his Court, which for ſeveral Ages had been the chief Stage of Idolatry, and Scene of Martyrdom and Perſecution; or whether, becauſe he

he thought the *Eaſtern* Parts more requir'd his Preſence to defend them, not only againſt the Incroachments of the *Perſians*, but againſt the Inroads of the *Northern* Nations, which at that time uſually broke in about thoſe Parts; or whatſoever elſe the Occaſion was, it was certainly a Policy very fatal und unfortunate to the Empire. He firſt made choice of a Plat at *Chalcedon* in the leſſer *Aſia*, to build a City; but we are told that upon meaſuring the Ground, an Eagle catched up the Line, and flew with it over to *Bizantium* on the other ſide the Water, which diverted the Undertaking. However at length he fix'd upon *Bizantium*, a City of *Thrace*, ſituated upon the *Iſthmus*, or Neck of the *Helleſpont*, between *Europe* and *Aſia*, a Place which Nature ſeem'd to have form'd, on purpoſe to command the World. He re-ediſy'd and enlarged this City, beautifying it with moſt ſtately and magnificent Building, and all the ſeveral Ornaments which Art could invent, or Wealth could purchaſe, or any curious piece of Antiquity, whic *Rome* or any other part could furniſh; ſo that to enrich this City, he impoveriſhed moſt of the Cities of the Empire. He likewiſe endowed it with vaſt Privileges and Immunities, peopled it with the beſt Families he could draw from *Rome*, or other places in the Empire; and by a Law engraven upon a Stone Pillar, and plac'd in the *Strategium*, near the Emperor's Statue on Horſe-back, he commanded that this City ſhould be call'd *NEW-ROME*; tho', notwithſtanding the Edict, it retains the Honour of his Name, being call'd *Conſtantinople* to this Day. In imitation of *Rome* he took in Seven Hills by a Wall, which for Height, Thickneſs and Beauty, was the nobleſt in the World. The Foundation was laid in the 23d Year of his Reign, *A. D.* 328. and finiſhed and dedicated about 330.

*Conſtantine removes the Imperial Seat to Bizantium. A. D.*

about two Years at which Time the Emperor repair'd to it, and ſettled there with all his Court, making it the *Imperial* Seat, as was alſo obſerved by all his Succeſſors. This made a great Alteration, and different Circulation in the Body Politick; for the Empire which before had been declining by its old Age, grievouſly diſtemper'd by inward Heats and Diſtractions, and labouring under ſo vaſt a Bulk and *Plethora* as Nature could not govern, being forc'd as it were by *Conſtantine* to change its natural, and native Air, by ſo violent an Alteration, it contracted its Mortal Infirmity. And the Empire by this means being ſometimes divided by a kind of Neceſſity, it ſo far declin'd, that about 146 Years after, all the *Weſtern* Parts were torn in Pieces and deſtroy'd by the barbarous Nations, and *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelf pillag'd and intirely poſſeſs'd by the *Goths*.

This great Alteration of the Removal of the Imperial Seat, was made in the 25th Year of this Emperor's Reign, and the 1084th from the Building of *Rome*, 372 Years after the beginning of the Empire under *Julius Cæſar*, 355 after the full Settlement of it by *Auguſtus*, 330 after our Saviour's Nativity, 234 after the laſt of the twelve *Cæſars*, 213 after the Death of *Trajan*, when the Empire was in the greateſt Extent, 137 after the publick Sale of the Empire, 71 after the Beginning of the thirty Tyrants, and about ſeven before the Death of *Conſtantine*. He alſo new modell'd the Empire, dividing it into four Quarters, over which were four principal Governors call'd *Prætorian Præfects*. Theſe contain'd 14 Dioceſſes, each governed by a *Vicarius*, or Lieutenant, under the *Prefects*, reſiding at the Metropolis of the Dioceſs; and the Dioceſſes were divided into 120 Provinces, each ruled by a *Preſident* reſiding at the chief City of the Province.

In

In many other Cities was an Officer call'd *Defenſor Civitatis*, in each of which was a Biſhop, in every chief City of a Province was an Arch-biſhop, and in the chief City of a Dioceſs a Patriarch, the Dioceſſes were as following. 1. *Britain*, now *England*, and part of *Scotland*, divided into 5 Provinces. 2. *Gaul*, containing the Modern *France*, part of the *Low-Countries*, *Germany* and *Italy*, and divided into 17 Provinces. 3. *Hiſpania*, containing the Modern *Spain*, *Portugal*, and part of *Barbary*, and divided into 7 Provinces. Theſe Three made up one of the Four Parts of the Empire, rul'd by that *Præfect* called *Præfectus-Prætorio Galliarum*. 4. *Italy*, containing about half the Modern *Italy*, with part of *Switzerland*, and divided into 7 Provinces. 5. *Rome*, containing the reſt of the Modern *Italy*, with the Iſlands, and divided into 10 Provinces. 6. *Africa*, containing the greateſt Part of the Modern *Barbary*, and divided into 6 Provinces. Theſe Three made another of the Four Parts of the Empire, and ruled by the *Præfectus-Prætorio Italiæ*; to which Prefecture was afterwards added the Dioceſs of. 7. *Illyricum*, containing the Modern *Hungary*, *Sclavonia*, *Boſnia*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, with part of *Germany*, and was divided into 7. Provinces. 8. *Dacia*, containing the Modern *Tranſilvania*, *Walachia*, *Moldavia*, *Beſſarabia*, *Servia*, and part of *Bulgaria*, and divided into 5 Provinces. 9. *Macedonia* or *Greece*, containing the Modern *Macedonia*, *Janna*, *Canina*, *Livadia*, *Morea*, and part of *Arbania*, and divided into ſeven Provinces Theſe Three made another of the Four Parts, ruled by the *Præfectus-Prætorio Illyrici*. 10. *Thrace*, containing the Modern *Romania*, and part of *Bulgaria*, and divided into 6 Provinces. 11. *Pontus*, containing near half the Modern *Natolia*, and divided into 11 Provinces. 12. *Aſia*, containing moſt

of

of the reſt of the Modern *Natolia*, and divided into 11 Provinces. 13. The *Orient*, containing all the Modern *Soria*, the *Holy Land*, *Diarbeck*, with Part of *Natolia* and *Arabia*, and divided into 15 Provinces. 14 *Ægypt*, containing all the Modern *Ægypt*, with part of *Barbary*, and divided into 6 Provinces. Theſe Five Dioceſes made up the laſt and the greateſt of the Four Parts of the Empire, and was governed by the *Præfectus-Prætorio Orientis.*

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